

VOLUME VII

S-TAIBA

E. J. BRILL'S
FIRST
ENCYCLOPAEDIA
OF ISLAM
1913-1936

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DR. TH. ARNTJENS, A. C. WERLEIGH

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LEIDEN - NEW YORK - LONDON - MOSCOW

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Photomechanical Reprint

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LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KØBENHAVN • KÖLN

1987

Originally published as *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples* by E. J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1938

Cover lay-out: Roland van Helden, Amstelveen, The Netherlands

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Encyclopaedia of Islam.

E. J. Brill's first encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936.

Reprint. Originally published: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913-1938.

Includes bibliographies.

I. Islam—Dictionaries. 2. Islamic countries—
Dictionaries and encyclopedias. I. Houtsma, M. Th.
(Martijn Theodoor), 1851-1943. II. Title.
III. Title: First encyclopaedia of Islam.

DS35.53.E53 1987 909'.097671 87-10319
ISBN 90-04-08265-4 (set: bound)

ISBN 90 04 08265 4
90 04 08496 7

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 13^b, l. 5, read: Nr. 24 and 31, instead of Nov. 24 and 31.
 P. 18^a, l. 32, read: 1894, Nr. 1, instead of Nov. 1, 1894.
 P. 38^b, l. 4 from beneath: the words "The *Bustān*... and" are to be cancelled.
 P. 74^b, l. 23, instead of 1385, to be read 1386.
 P. 88^b, l. 30, instead of Nov. 2, to be read: Sept. 3.
 P. 109^b, l. 3, read: 637, instead of 620 (Feb. 2, 1222).
 l. 49, 64, instead of Nāblūs, to be read Nāblus.
 P. 112^a, l. 46, 69, instead of v., to be read iv.
 P. 203^a, l. 23, 26, 37, instead of Kaifa, to be read Kaifā.
 P. 234^b, l. 42, to be added: or ISHBĪLIYA.
 P. 238^a, l. 9, instead of 275, to be read 235.
 l. 62, instead of *i. o.*, to be read *della nascita*.
 P. 256^a, l. 33 and 39, read: third, instead of second.
 P. 272^a, l. 46, instead of *Khallikān*, to be read *Khallikān*.
 P. 308^a, l. 28, read: two, instead of a.
 P. 308, addition of the author to the art. SHAMMAR. Palgrave may be relied on for the main facts. He certainly went to Shammār, Kašīm and Riyād; Doughty was convinced of this. He is untrustworthy in details. He sketched in times, distances, incidents very imperfectly remembered. (Kindly communicated by Dr. D. G. Hogarth).
 Art. SHAṬṬĀRIYA. Cf. further: Muḥammad Ghushī b. Ḥasan b. Mūsā Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i Abrār*, Cod. Calc., especially fol. 92 sqq.; Ethé, *Cat. Pers. MSS. India Office*, N^o. 1913; Iwanow, *Cat. Pers. MSS., A. S. B.*, N^o. 1303; do., *Curzon Coll.*, N^o. 434.
 P. 314^b, l. 6, instead of Constantine, read: Constantius.
 P. 330^a, l. 53, 56, instead of Dérénbourg, to be read Derenbourg.
 P. 389^a, Art. SHUBĀT. The last sentence is to be read as follows: In the year 1300 of the era of the Seleucids (989 A. D.), according to al-Birūnī, the stars of the 9th and 10th stations set on the 3rd of Shubāt, those of the 23rd and 24th rose on the 16th of that month.
 P. 414^b, l. 5, instead of 434, to be read: 454.
 P. 506^b, l. 10, Add: The place occurs on a map by Rawlinson, in *J. R. G. S.*, x. (1841).
 l. 8 beneath, insert: According to R. Bell (cf. his *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, p. 52, note) *sūra* is derived from Syriac *sūrā*, also found in the forms *šūrtā* and *sūrtā*, which is used in the sense of "writing", especially "a portion of scripture".
 P. 612^b, l. 38, instead of: naiveté of his language, when expressing terror, read: naiveté of his dialectal language.
 P. 636^a, l. 5, instead of *Muḥāḍirah*, to be read *Muḥāḍara*.
 P. 660^b, l. 2, instead of 1101, to be read 1099.
 P. 679^b, l. 44, instead of Kalā'ūn, to be read Ḳalā'ūn.
 P. 689^a, l. 18, instead of Černyaev, to be read: Černyiew.
 P. 735, Art. THA'LAB. To be added: cf. Ign. Kratchkovsky, *Le manuscrit du "kitāb al-muḡālasāt" de Ta'lab au Musée Asiatique (Comptes Rendus de l'Ac. des sciences de l'U. R. S. S., 1930, p. 211—217)*.
 P. 804^b, l. 62, instead of *Orgine*, to be read *Origine*.
 P. 855^b, l. 45, instead of Ghat and Ghadames, read: el-Barkat and Fehout and an important rectification of the frontier in the region of Ghat and Ghadames.
 P. 885^a, l. 9, instead of 'Uḡud, to be read: 'Uḡūd.
 l. 10, instead of *Mohammedan*, to be read: *Mohammadan*.
 P. 976^a, l. 42, instead of Nūḥ I, to be read Naṣr b. Aḥmad.
 P. 980^a, to the first alinea to be added: The building of the monument of Firdawsī has been taken in hand by the Committee for the Preservation of National Monuments (*Andjuman-i āthār-i millī*).
 P. 987^b, l. 28, instead of Aḥwas, read: Aḥwaš.
 P. 988^b, l. 7, instead of 826, read: 282.
 P. 990^a, l. 17, add: Sismondi (1813), Fauriel (1846), von Schack (1865), Burdach (1918), Singer, Asín (1919) and Nykl (1931) have made enquiries into the possibilities of contact between Orient and Occidens regarding this point.
 l. 58, add: Finally the 'udhri love became an abstract idea of beauty.
 l. 60 sq., read: Zāhiri, *Kitāb al-Zahra*; extracts have appeared in my *Recueil de textes inédits* (Paris 1929), p. 232—240; the text will be edited by Nykl, who has also translated the *Ṭawḡ* of Ibn Ḥazm (*The Dove's Neck-ring*, Paris 1931).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 994^a, l. 43, to be read: Umayyad period. Creswell thinks that it was rebuilt by the 'Abbāsīd prince 'Isā b. Mūsā; this would lead to its identification with Kaṣr Muḳātil, which was one of the last stations of Ḥusain before Karbalā' (cf. my *Mission*, i. 47, col. 2).
- P. 1048^a, l. 35, instead of Salier, to be read: Sallier.
l. 37, after "by", insert: G. R. Potter (London 1929, following Derenbourg and Schumann) and by.
l. 60, read: many, instead of any.
l. 63, to be added: cf. *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, xxxiv. (1908), p. 308 sq.
- P. 1049^b, l. 3, instead of Salier, to be read: Sallier.
l. 9, to be added: and Ph. Hitti, in *R. A. A. D.*, x. (1930), p. 513—525, 592—603.
l. 52, instead of 1200, read: 1136^b.
- P. 1052^b, l. 52, to be added: a Waḳūf-Me'arīf Direction ("Vakufsko-mearifsha direkcija").
- P. 1063, Art. 'UZAIR. To be added to the *Bibliography*: Joshua Finkel, in *Macdonald Presentation Vol.*, Princeton 1933, p. 162
- P. 1177^a, art. YÜRÜKS, *Bibliography*. To be added: *Türkmen 'Ashiretleri*, ed. by the General direction of the affairs of the nomads and the emigrants, Istanbul 1334 (by دوقتر قراييليج ومهندس راوليغ; with the addition: "translated from German"), esp. p. 33—45 and p. 178—184; Ahmet Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966—1200)*, Istanbul 1930 (contains several documents concerning the Turkish nomadic tribes in the period between 1559 and 1786); Ali Riza, *Cemupta Türkmen Oymakları*, i., Istanbul 1931—1932 (review by T. Kowalski, in *Archiv Orientalni*, vi. 296—304); E. M. Hoppe, *The Yuruks*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1933, p. 25—28; vols. ii. and iii. of the work of Ali Riza have been published at Ankara in 1933; they contain further interesting discussions and photographs regarding the Yürüks. (F. BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)
- P. 1183^a, l. 22, to be read as follows: and Zābag are ruled by the same king. Ishāk b. 'Imrān, d. in 907, mentions etc.;
l. 7 *ab infra*, in stead of Sumatrabhūmi, read: Sumutrabhūmi.
- P. 1183^b, l. 24, in stead of *Wai*, read: *wai*;
l. 32, in stead of eastern, read: western;
l. 35, to be added: G. Coedès, *Les inscriptions malaises de Grivijya*, *Bull. de l'Ec. franç. de l'Extrême-Orient*, xxx., 1930, p. 337—380; G. Ferrand, *Quatre textes épigraphiques de Sumatra et de Banka*, *J. A.*, 1932, p. 271—326 and the literature cited there.
l. 37, in stead of Malaya, read: Malayu;
- P. 1213^b, *Bibliography*. To be added: Malati (d. 377 = 987), *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa 'l-Radd*, MS. Damascus (private copy. Makes the chief of the Z. a Zaidi, a political opponent of the *saiyids* and the Arabs); Ibn Abi 'l-Hadīd, *Sharḥ Nahḍj al-Balāgha*, Cairo, n. d., ii. 310—362. — The *Shu'ūbi* author Aḥmad b. al-Mu'allī 'Ammī, from Basra, has written a *Kitāb Akhbār Ṣāhib al-Zandj*, which is lost (Astarābādī, *Manḥadī al-Makāl*, lith. Teheran 1306, p. 30). The orthodox *Shi'is* emphasise, as an apocalyptic coincidence, the *zuhūr* of this rebel and the *ghaiba* of their mahdī (Ibn Zainab Nu'māni, *Kitāb al-Ghaiba*, lith. Teheran, p. 73—75).

ṢĀ' (Ṣuwā'; m. or f. in Arabic) a measure for grain "of the value of 4 *mudd* (*modius*) according to the custom of Medina" (*Lisān*). If the cubical contents of the ṣā', like that of the *mudd*, varied with town and district as far as commercial transactions were concerned, the value of the ṣā' was from the canonical point of view fixed in religious law by the Prophet in the year 2 A.H. when he laid down the ritual details of the orthodox feast of 'Id al-fiṭr, which carried with it the compulsory giving of alms called *Zakāt al-fiṭr*, the value of which in grain was one ṣā' for each member of a family. It was, of course, the ṣā' of Medina that was chosen as the standard measure and the *mudd* of Medina henceforth was called *mudd al-nabi*.

This primitive *mudd* of orthodox Islām was standardised by Zaid b. Thābit; and it is from this standard that the *mudd*'s and ṣā's made henceforth for religious use seem to have been copied more or less accurately. This is, at least, what I have been able to prove for the Maghrib from various documents. According to these documents, the official capacity of the *mudd al-nabi* would be approximately 5 gills and that of the ṣā' 5 pints.

The Muslim jurists give the following estimates of this measure. For them the value of the ṣā' is $26 \frac{2}{3}$ riṭl, the riṭl being equivalent to 128 Meccan drams and the dram $50 \frac{2}{5}$ grains of barley. We see how lacking in precision this definition is. If there is no *mudd* or ṣā' available the quantity of grain to be distributed for the *Zakāt al-fiṭr* is measured with the hands held together, half open, with palms upwards.

Lastly, besides this use of the ṣā' and of the *mudd al-nabi*, these measures are further used in certain measurements required by religious law: 1. to calculate the *Zakāt* and 2. to measure the minimum quantity of water necessary for an ordinary ablution (*wuḍū'*, a *mudd*) and for general (*ghusl*, a ṣā').

Bibliography: The Arabic dictionaries, especially the *Muḥiṭ al-Muḥiṭ* (Beyrout 1870), ii. 1221, col. 1; the treatises on Muḥammadan law and the collections of Ḥadīth; Alfred Bel, *Note sur trois anciens vases en cuivre gravés, trouvés à Fès et servant à mesurer l'aumône légale du Fiṭr* (Bull. Archéolog., Paris 1917, p. 359—387, illustrated), where further references are given. (ALFRED BEL)

SĀ'A (A.), a time, a period of time, especially the hour. Following the custom of the Greek astronomers, a distinction is made between the equal or astronomical (sidereal) hour, *sā'a falakiyya*, which corresponds to a revolution of the heavens of the fixed stars through 15° and is also

called *mustawiya* (uniform), and the unequal, curved, *mu'waddiyya*, also an hour of time, *zamāniya*, which is the result of dividing day and night each into 12 hours and therefore varies with latitude and season and in the higher latitudes becomes quite absurd. — In the language of religion *sā'a* is also the hour of death and the hour of the resurrection (see *ḲIYĀMA*). To measure the course of the hours of day and night "hour-machines" (*ālāt al-sā'āt*) are used. Just as the German word *Uhr* from *hora* (Greek *ῥα*) exists alongside of *horologium* (*horloge*), so in Arabic we have *sā'āt* and *sā'a* as names of the clock. Other names may be recognised as corruptions of Greek loan-words, like *binkām* or *pingān* from *πινγκας*, *mangāna* from *μαγγανον*, or translations like *sarrāḳat al-mā* from *κλήψυρα*; others are of Persian origin like *targahūra* (from *tarkihār* = patena). That the quadrant and the astrolabe were used for measuring astronomical time is well known and will not be discussed here nor will the use of the gnomon or sun-clock in its various forms as a horizontal or vertical clock. What we call clocks in the stricter sense are the sand and water clocks and similar mechanisms known from ancient times, which had already been provided by the Byzantines with arrangements to cause balls to fall, to strike bells, to extinguish lamps, to cause figures or musical automatons to work and thus call the attention of a person to the passage of time without his paying special attention or make him hear or see it from a distance. It is noteworthy that the oldest account of a clock from the Muslim East is found in Einhard's *Annals*. He tells us under the year 806/807 that the Emperor Charlemagne's Ambassador Radbert died on the way back from the Caliph's court, while Abdella, the envoy of the "king of the Persians", i.e. the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd arrived with monks from Jerusalem and brought with him a wonderful clock, a description of which is given by Einhard. E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser have devoted special attention to the investigation and explanation of Arabic sources. The most important work on clocks is Ismā'il b. al-Razzāz al-Djazarī's *Kitāb fī ma'rifaṭ al-Ḥiyāl al-handasiyya* of the year 602 = 1205/6 (cf. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, p. 137, N^o. 344; cf. p. 226 sq.). The author describes here in all detail of construction ingenious clocks, which get their name from the particular figure that appears on them (ape-clock, elephant-, sharpshooter-, writer-, drummer-clock, etc.). Another important work is Riḍwān b. Muḥammad al-Ḳhurāsānī's treatise on the clock on the Ghairūn Gate at Damascus (cf. Suter, *op. cit.*, p. 136 sq., N^o. 343). Of clocks with wheels, which first reached the East in the xvth century,

an account is given by Taḡl al-Dīn in a work composed in 1552/3. The clocks of King Alfonso of Castile owe their perfection to Moorish skill.

Bibliography: E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge SBPMS Ergl.*, iii. (1905), p. 255, v. (1905), p. 408, vi. (1906), p. 11, x. (1906), p. 348, xii. (1907), p. 200, xxxiv. (1914), p. 17, lix. (1918/19), p. 272; E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur, Nova Acta*, vol. c, N^o. 5 (Halle 1915); do., *Uhr des Archimedes, Nova Acta*, vol. ciii, N^o. 2; E. von Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*. (J. RUSKA)

SA'ĀDA (A.) felicity, good fortune. The root *s-d'* and some of its derivatives is associated in various connections with pre-Islamic Arab conceptions. Its general meaning is given as "auspicious, fortunate (*y-m-n*, opposite *n-h-s*). The proper name Sa'd (feminine Su'ād, see the article SA'D) may therefore be synonymous with Hebrew names like Benjamin and Gad. Sa'd is also found as the name of a god; Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 65) suggests that al-Sa'ida (a house round which the Arabs used to run) was originally an epithet of al-'Uzzā. Sa'd followed by the genitive also often occurs as the name of a star (cf. also the articles SA'D, AL-SA'DĀN) and as the name of a tribe.

The form *Sa'daika* in the *talbiya* formula (which is especially used on the Ḥadjj but also in the ṣalāt, see the article TALBIYA) may be very closely connected with the root meaning (= *y-m-n*); cf., however, the Arabic dictionaries under *s-d'*.

Sa'āda (also with a following noun in apposition, in the proper name Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān; see this article) seems to be a specifically Muslim term (opposite: *shakāwa*). It is not found in the Kor'an; in Ḥadīth it has an eschatological colouring (cf. *yawm al-sa'āda*, day of the resurrection, Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.), especially in connection with predestination. It is said, for example, that the people of *sa'āda* are helped by God towards works of *sa'āda* (al-Bukhārī, *Ḍjanā'iz*, bāb 83; Muslim, *Ḳadar*, trad. 6; al-Tirmidhī, *Ḳadar*, bāb 3). As a result of a development of a train of thought common to monotheistic religions, the word in the combination *ahl-al-Sa'āda* = the Muslims (cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*) assumes a less exclusive meaning. In court language it means majesty, highness and *Dār al-S.* court (Dozy s. v.). *Der-i Sa'adet* is a name for Constantinople and *Sa'adetti* a title in the Turkish official hierarchy.

Bibliography in the article itself.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SA'ĀDAT 'ALĪ KHĀN, Nawāb of Oudh (q. v.), from 1798 to 1814; on the death of his brother, Āṣaf al-Dawla, in September 1797, a reputed son, Wazīr 'Alī Khān, who had been purchased by the late Nawāb but never formally adopted, had been appointed to succeed, but four months later he was set aside as incompetent, and the British Governor-General, Sir John Shore, installed in his place Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān, who had been living under British protection in Benares since 1776. His reign is noteworthy for the extension of British control over the Oudh territories. A treaty concluded with the late Nawāb in 1775 had placed these territories under the protection of the East India Company, which undertook to provide troops for their defence in return for an annual subsidy; in 1798, a fresh

treaty increased the subsidy to 76 lakhs a year and transferred the fort of Allāhābād to the Company as an arsenal, the Company undertaking to maintain a body of 10,000 men for the defence of the Nawāb's dominions both against internal and external enemies. The mutinous behaviour of the Nawāb's troops prompted the new Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley (1798—1805), to propose that this useless and dangerous force, which Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān had himself declared would be useful only to the enemy, should be disbanded and replaced by the Company's troops. Alarmed by the dangers that threatened his person, Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān was at first eager for this reform, but afterwards refused his consent, and only in 1801 yielded to pressure and signed the Treaty of Lucknow; this relieved him from all pecuniary obligations to the Company, by the cession of six districts yielding a revenue equal to the cost of the Company's troops, and the Nawāb undertook to introduce into his territories a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to check the ruin that threatened the resources of his country. He carried out his promise so effectually as to leave behind him the reputation of having been the wisest and strongest administrator that Oudh had ever known. He died in 1814 and was succeeded by his second son, Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaidar.

Bibliography: Saiyid Ghulām 'Alī, *Imād al-Sa'ādāt*, p. 169—174 (Lucknow 1897); Durgā Prasād, *Bustān-i-Awadh*, p. 99—109 (with portrait; Lucknow 1892); Sir C. U. Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties relating to India*, I, p. 118—137 (Calcutta 1909); Sir John Malcolm, *The Political History of India from 1784 to 1823*, I, p. 170—177, 273—283 (London 1826); *A Selection from the Despatches of the Marquess Wellesley*, ed. by S. J. Owen, p. 188—207 (Oxford 1877); H. C. Irwin, *The Garden of India, or chapters on Oudh history and affairs*, p. 100—111 (London 1880). The following sources appear to be still unpublished: Harsukh Rāe, *Madjma' al-Akhbār* (Brit. Mus., Or. 1624); Muhammad Muḥtashim Khān, *Ta'rikh-i-Muḥtashim* (Bankipore Public Library, N^o. 605).

SAB', SAB'A, the number seven, which has a special significance for Muslims as for other — Semitic and non-Semitic — peoples. The preference for this number in various conceptions and actions goes back in part to borrowing from Jews, Christians and other peoples but in part was already indigenous among the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs. The latter is doubtless true of the sevenfold ṭawāf around the Ka'ba, the sevenfold course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (cf. SA'Y) and the sevenfold casting of stones at the Ḥadjj (see DJAMRA i. 1012 sq.). Another series of these beliefs is connected with peculiarly Muslim customs and views. As early as the Kor'an we find mention of the seven Maḥānī (xv. 87), which expression is usually referred to the *fātiha*, which consists of seven verses (cf. A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, p. 58). The Muslim community bases its right to acknowledge *variae lectiones* of the sacred text of the Qur'an on one (of many) explanations of the tradition, that the Kor'an was revealed in seven *ahruf* (Bukhārī, *Khushūmāt*, bāb 4; *Faḍā'il al-Kor'an*, bāb 4, 27; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 270—274; Abu Dā'ūd, *Witr*, bāb 22; Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ* bāb

37 etc.; cf. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranlegung*, Leiden 1920, p. 37 sqq.). In matters relating to ritual purity the figure three has as a rule the preference (cf. THALĀTH). We are only told that soiled vessels should be cleansed seven times (e. g. Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 89—93; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 37). Ritual prostration should take place on seven parts of the body (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 133, 134, 137, 138; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 227; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 150 etc.). In another case seven alternates with four, namely in the grouping of commands and prohibitions (Bukhārī, *al-Maḥālim wa'l-Ḥaḍāb*, bāb 5; Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 3 etc.; cf. Bukhārī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 40; *Haid*, bāb 26, etc.); in the dating of the *Lailat al-Ḳadr* seven is found as well as the, in this case much more frequent, numeral ten (Bukhārī, *Lailat al-Ḳadr*, bāb 2).

On the Christian model the deadly sins are limited to seven (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 23; *Hudūd*, bāb 44; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 144); but other classifications are also found.

In cosmology also the number seven is a favourite, one which may be partly due to borrowing. There are seven heavens and seven earths (Sūra ii. 27; Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb 2). Hell has seven gates (Sūra xv. 44); Medina also ultimately has seven gates (Bukhārī, *Fitan*, bāb 26). Cf. further the article SAB'ĪYA. The number seven is particularly frequent in medicine and magic. Water was poured over the sick Muhammad in seven waterskins (Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 145); ulcerated parts of the body are cauterised seven times (Bukhārī, *Tamannī*, bāb 6). In Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord* (Algiers 1909), p. 154, there is an account of a *qadual* consisting of 7×7 squares, of which the upper row contains the "seven seals". In the same work the text of the amulet of the *ṣab'a uḥūd* is given (p. 112). Cf. further the same book, p. 91, 100, 118.

Numbers like seventy (*ṣab'ūna*), seven hundred, etc. have also a special significance. Earthly fire is described as one seventieth part of hell-fire in strength (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb 10). The sweat of the children of men on the Day of Resurrection will percolate seventy ells into the earth (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 47). When a sevenfold *istiḡfār* is mentioned, we are probably to assume New Testament influence in this case (Sūra ix. 81). Seventy thousand members of Muhammad's *Umma* will go straight to Paradise without a day of reckoning (*ḥisāb*; Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 316; Tirmidhī, *Ḳīyāma*, bāb 12, 16); seventy thousand will enter with radiant countenance (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 18; *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 50, 51; Muslim, *Ḍianna*, trad. 14—17); seventy thousand through the intercession of a member of the community (Dārimī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 87); seventy thousand in Paradise will be given the appendage to the liver of the fish to eat (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 44; Muslim, *Ṣifāt al-Munāfiḳīn*, trad. 30). The *Bait al-Ma'mūr* is entered daily by seventy thousand angels, who never return there again (Bukhārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, bāb 42).

We may safely assume that the number seven was regarded as a rounded whole; but it is going too far, following out this conception, to try to derive with Hehn the root *s-b-c* and its equivalents in other Semitic languages from the root *sh-b-c* (work quoted below, p. 91 sqq.).

Bibliography: J. Hehn, *Siebennzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im alten Testament* (Leipzig. Semit. Stud., ii. 5, Leipzig 1907) (A. J. WENSINCK)

SABA', the name of the people and kingdom in South-western Arabia in the first millennium B.C., frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, in Greek, Roman and Arabic literature and especially in the South Arabian inscriptions; the old Arabic sources, which are mainly inscriptions, and isolated references in Greek sources, give us further information regarding the history of Saba' in the first centuries A. D. down to the period of Muḥammad. In Assyrian, on the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions down to the eighth century, *Sab'u* was the name of a country, as was *Shabi(a)t* (also *Shabt(i)*, *Shaba*) in the hieroglyphic texts, although of a comparatively late date. In the Bible, *Shebā* was the name of a people and country and in the South Arabian inscriptions also *Saba'* means the land or kingdom and people (which is in keeping with the Sabaeen constitution).

The oldest known literary references to Saba' are, of course, the Semitic, especially those in the cuneiform inscriptions. While the oldest certain mentions only date from the eighth century, historical documents from Mesopotamia of a much earlier period seem to refer to Saba'. For example *Sabu* in a Sumerian inscription of Aradnannar, Patesi of Lagash, a contemporary of the last kings of Ur, of the second half of the third millennium B.C., is perhaps a name for the "land of the Sabaeans". Hommel (in Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia 1903, p. 739) speaks of *Sabum* of the time of the kings of Ur (after 2500 B. C.) as the *Seba* of the Old Testament "in Central Arabia"; on this see also *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung*, Munich 1897, p. 37). In the inscriptional narratives of the campaign of Tiglat-Pileser III (745—727) against North Arabia, among the tribes who offered their submission we find Sabaeans mentioned, the oldest certain reference for this people. Sargon II (722—705) in his *Annals* (for the year 715) mentions the Arabs of the desert dwelling afar off, the Queen Samst of Aribi already mentioned in the narrative of Tiglat-Pileser just quoted and the Sabaeen It'amar, who along with others brought rich gifts of tribute (gold, frankincense, jewels, etc.). With the latter name Lenormant compared It'amar, the name, known from inscriptions, of several rulers of the oldest period of Saba'. Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*¹, (henceforth quoted as *K. A. T.*, p. 55) and Kiepert's (*Lehrb. d. alten Geogr.*, p. 187) suggestion that the reference here is not to the South Arabian Saba' has been rejected by D. H. Müller (*Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, ii. (1881), p. 989 (do. in *Sabäische Denkmäler*, 1883, p. 108 against Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* Leipzig 1881, p. 303, who sought to locate the Sab'u of Sargon's inscriptions in North Arabia; cf. Winckler in the *M. V. A. G.*, 1898, p. 18; but see also W. M. Müller, *Studien u. Vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, *ibid.*, p. 36); Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte u. Geographie Arabiens*, ii. Berlin 1890, p. 263 and Grimm (*Mohammed*, Munich 1904, p. 18) from the fact that the tribute consisted of regular South Arabian products deduced that even in Tiglat-Pileser's time, as in Sargon's, the Sabaeans were South Arabians;

others have more recently been inclined again to transfer It'amar's abode to North Arabia (cf. M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage in Der islamische Orient*, ii. Berlin 1909, p. 131, 458).

From Sprenger's point of view, who maintained it to be certain that Arabia was the original home of the Semites (*Leben und Lehre des Mohammedi*, i. Berlin 1869, p. 241 sq. and *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 293 sq.; following him Schrader, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxvii. 421 and other notable authorities), which is still the view most generally held (cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altentums*, i³. 2, p. 386 sq.), one can understand his untenable suggestion that the Sabaeans and the Minaeans came from Ḥaḍramūt and that the kingdom of Saba' was founded from Shabwat (*Geogr.*, p. 162, 230, 246, 248, 301). More recently Winckler (e. g. *K. A. T.*³, 1903, p. 7, 11, 136 sq., 156; *Die Völker Vorderasiens in Der Alte Orient*, i². 1, 10) and Weber (*Arabien vor dem Islam*, p. 3 sq.; *Westasien* in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, iii. 3, 5, 220, 225) have categorically declared Arabia to be the original home of the Semites. Hommel (*Grundr. der Geogr. u. Geschichte des alten Orients*², i. Munich 1904, p. 10 sq., 24, 80, 132) more cautiously sees in Eastern Arabia (including Chaldaea) at least the last starting point for the migration of all the Western Semites. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 93 sqq. has adopted a decided position against this theory of the original home. There are well founded reasons against believing that Arabia should be regarded as the cradle of all Semitic peoples. Even with this hypothesis and the assumption of an Arab migration based upon it (see most recently *Westasien*, p. 226, but also the admission there p. 242) the relation between Arabia and Babylonia does not become absolutely clear. The reverse is really more probable, that the superfluous population of the fertile Euphrates region was forced towards Arabia, in the first place to the pasturelands bordering it on the west, from which Semites naturally found their way back from time to time. In spite of Nöldeke's arguments (*Die semitischen Sprachen*², Leipzig 1899, p. 11) it is as little probable that North Africa is the home of the Semites (so again Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 6 sq., 9 and other writers) or that there was a south-northward tendency in the immigration of the Sabaeans towards Africa. On the contrary there are indications, according to Guidi's view (*Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici*, in the *Atti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, 1879), which is defended by Jacob (*Altarab. Beduinenleben*², Berlin 1897, p. 28 sq.), that the southern Euphrates territory was the oldest known home of the Semites, from which in the course of centuries migrations took place towards west and south. The way in which Arabia was peopled from there cannot, of course, be more definitely ascertained. Probably the Semites did not penetrate into Arabia by a single route but by two main routes; the one, which may have been taken by the tribes out of whom rose the Minaeans and Sabaeans of the historical period, seems to have led through the arable lands along the west coast to the south, somewhat on the line of the later caravan route, and the other along the western shore of the Persian Gulf to 'Omān and Ḥaḍramūt, roughly in the direction of the later eastern frankincense route. The Sabaeans, or their mother-stock, would naturally keep to the west and south coast regions, which offered the most suitable areas for

settlement on account of their good soil and water-supply. According to Hommel, the Sabaeans probably first entered South Arabia from Djōf in in North Arabia in the viiith century B. C. (see *Grundriss*, p. 142).

The Old Testament (Gen., x. 7, I Chr., i. 9) calls *Shebā* the eponym of the land and people of South Arabia, the first son of Ra'mā, therefore a Kūshite, but in Gen., x. 28 (I Chr., i. 22) he is called a son of Yoktān and in Gen., xxv. 3 (I Chr., i. 32) a son of Yokshān, son of Abraham. These are not, however, references to three different *Shebās*: a people with such extensive trading connections had obviously intermarried a good deal with neighbours on the sea, on the caravan routes or in the stations and could therefore easily be given different genealogical classifications (Dillmann on Gen., x. 7). According to some, *Sebā* is originally identical with *Shebā* and only dialectically differentiated from it to distinguish the African Sabaeans (e. g. v. Kremer, *Die süd-arabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866, p. 110 sq.; D. H. Müller in the tenth edition of Gesenius's *Hebr. Wörterb.*).

The etymology of the name Saba' is not certain (on the best known attempts to explain it, — those of Kremer, Hommel, D. H. Müller and Glaser — as well as on other points see my more comprehensive treatment of the subject in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's *Realencycl. der klass. Altentumswiss.*, s. v. *Saba*, henceforth quoted as *R. E.*, col. 1499. —

The Bible shows that the Sabaeans supplied Syria and Egypt with spices, especially with frankincense, and also exported gold and jewels thither (cf. Psalms, lxxii. 15; Ezek., xxvii. 22; Isaiah, lx. 6; Jerem., vi. 20) and the Greek and Roman accounts (see below) agree with this. Other Biblical passages, which describe the Sabaeans as a wealthy trading people — the essential feature of the Biblical account of Saba' — are Ezek., xxxviii. 13; Ps., lxxii. 10; Job, vi. 19 (referring to Sabaeans caravans), i. 15 [where the Sabaeans appear plundering in North Arabia; according to D. H. Müller, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁹, 1889, article *Yemen*, p. 738, colonists or caravans, which occasionally combined robbery with trading, at any rate according to a good source (*K. A. T.*, p. 150, and the story is not a bold poetic fiction, as W. M. Müller, *Studien*, p. 36, note 1 suggests); according to Winckler, *op. cit.* (cf. Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 748), in the passage in Job the Sabaeans are thought of as Beduins of the North Arabian desert]. Joel, iii. 8, mentions the Sabaeans as "a people far off" to whom the sons and daughters of Tyre and Sidon will be sold by Judah (cf. the mention of sacred slaves, e. g. from Gaza in South Arabian inscriptions; see Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 421). — To appreciate properly the much discussed story of the Queen of *Sheba* (I Kings, x. 1, 4, 10, 13; cf. II Chron., ix. 1 sq., 9, 12), who is said to have visited Solomon, it is decisive that all that we know of Saba' and Ma'in contradicts the supposition that there were queens there (*K. A. T.*, p. 237). In any case we are not to see in the story evidence of the existence of the rule of queens in Saba', in which Glaser still believed (*op. cit.*, p. 380, 384 sq., 403); also E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altentums*, i. 2, p. 23), still less a support for the assumption that the oldest Sabaeans inscriptions belong to the ixth or xth century, or that in the time of Solomon there was only one great land of the Sabaeans stretching far to the north (Gla-

ser, *op. cit.*, p. 403). Nor have we to identify in the Sabaeen princess a queen of Yareb, the alleged ancestral home of the Sabaeans (Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, henceforth quoted as *A.A.*, p. 231, note 1, 235, note 1, 272, 312 sq. and Weber, *Studien*, i. 32), but in all probability we have simply in the guise of fiction a memory of the existence of queens in North Arabia, of whom for example those of Aribi are known from history to have existed. The motif has also found a place among the Arabs (in *Korān* xxvii. 16 sq.) and has been developed in the legend of Bilqīs [q. v.], Queen of Saba'.

Next in chronological order come the references to Saba' in Greek and Roman literature. In the former the oldest is Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 2, a much discussed passage of great importance for history and topography, in which (on good authorities, perhaps even Androstenes) Saba' and three other South Arabian kingdoms are quoted as the place of origin of spices. In the sentence γίνεται ὁ λίβανος καὶ ἡ σμύρνα καὶ κασία καὶ ἐν τῷ κινάμωμον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων χειρρονήσῳ περὶ τε Σαβὰ καὶ Ἀδραμύτα καὶ Κιτίβαινα (var. Κατάβαινα) καὶ Μαμάλι (var. Μάλι), Σαβὰ does not mean, as many think, a town (namely Σάβαι, the capital of the Sabaeans), but the land of Saba', just as Ἀδραμύτα means the land of Ḥaḍramūt (on the form of the name, the Greek representation of which has been wrongly interpreted among recent writers even by Th. Bent, *Expedition to the Hadramut* in the *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1895, p. 316 and *Southern Arabia*, 1900, p. 71 sq., see *R. E.*, col. 1300) and Κιτίβαινα Katabān (see the art. KATABĀN). The expression περὶ Σαβὰ in this passage does not mean "around Saba'", as it has been translated e.g. by D. H. Müller, Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 420), and still more recently, but "in Saba'", i. e. "in the land of Saba'".

Theophrastus is obviously mentioning here the three well-known South Arabian territories and a fourth not so well-known, Mamali, as the areas which produce frankincense (λίβανος, name of tree and resin, also λιβανωτός, name of the resin, Arabic *luḥān*; on the other Semitic equivalents see *R. E.*, col. 1301), myrrh (σμύρνα, μύρον, etc., Arabic *murr*, also found in inscriptions), cassia and cinnamon (*zimt*: perhaps not Semitic). On wrong modern interpretations of this passage and the passage of similar content in Herodotos, iii. 107, particularly for a refutation of the utterly unfounded proposal to read in Theophrastus ΣΑΡΑ (said to be for *Shahr*, *Shehrāt*) instead of ΣΑΒΑ, and also in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 52, and Solin, 710, *Sara* for *Saba*, and finally on Glaser's (*op. cit.*, p. 41 sq.) extraordinary notion that Theophrastus's statements regarding the South Arabian kingdoms refer to Somaliland in its whole extent, see *R. E.*, col. 1302 sq. Noteworthy also are Theophrastus's details (ix. 4, 2-4, 7-10) regarding frankincense and myrrh (as regards which Theophrastus's statement regarding the area which produces them is wrongly limited to Ḥaḍramūt as a result of the already mentioned misinterpretation of the passage [in the above quoted *Grundriss d. Geographie*, p. 137 and following it again quite recently], ix. 4, 5 sq.; on the Sabaeans as dwellers in a mountainous area, which yields myrrh and frankincense, and as exporters of these products; on the honesty of the Sabaeans in intercourse with one another, which rendered the watching of the spice-bearing

trees unnecessary (cf. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, p. 32); concerning the temple of Helios, the most sacred in the land of the Sabaeans, which was used as a place for keeping the whole harvest of myrrh and frankincense, an instructive testimony to the worship of the sun among the South Arabians; for further details, as well as for information regarding the actual occurrence of these spice-trees in South Arabia see *R. E.*, col. 1307 sq. and the quotations from and collocation of the travellers' reports in A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, p. 128 sqq., 136 sqq.; lastly on the attempt to connect Saba' with the land of frankincense, Punt, see *R. E.*, col. 1312 sq.).

The next most ancient Greek authority on Saba' is contained in the much more copious statements of Eratosthenes preserved in Strabo, xvi. iv. § 2, still very important for the historical side of Sabaeen studies, which in combination with the Theophrastus passage give a fairly clear picture of the oldest configuration of the South Arabian kingdoms as known to the Greeks and Europeans in general in the time of Eratosthenes. According to this authority, who, like Theophrastus, was able to make use of the results of the campaigns of Alexander as well as itineraries of sailors and caravan-travellers, there lived in South Arabia four main peoples: the Μείναιοι on the Red Sea with their capital Κάρνα, next to them the Σαβαῖοι with their capital Μαρίαβα, then the Καταβανεῖς down to the straits and passage into the Arabian Gulf with the capital Τάμνα, and farthest east the Κατραμωτίται with their (chief) town (πόλις) Καβάταρον. All these towns were under absolute rulers (kings) and were prosperous. This passage (with the others in Strabo) contains the oldest known account of the respective topographical situation of the four South Arabian kingdoms with a complete list of the four principal nations and the capitals. The Sabaeans, according to Eratosthenes, were neighbours of the Minaeans (see the article ΜΑΪΝ for further information). It does not follow from his statement that the latter lived in the territory on the Red Sea, that he thought the Sabaeans did not also live on the sea, as Glaser (*Skizze*, p. 16) deduced and Weber (i. 9 in the main text) was also inclined to conclude. The correct interpretation is in agreement with the evidence of Arabic sources and of other Greek and Roman authors, for example Agatharchides (Diodoros, iii. 46) and Pliny (vi. 145) on Sabaeen places on the Red Sea and the reference in Stephanus Byzantinus, *Μαρίαβα μητρόπολις Σαβαίων πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῳ*, referring expressly to the passage in Strabo, in which we can still see the correct idea that Saba' stretched down to the sea. According to the description of Eratosthenes, which naturally begins with the north (this disposes of W. M. Müller's doubts, *Studien* etc., p. 36, note 2), Saba' was in his time bounded on the north by the kingdom of Ma'in, on the south (and south-west) by Katabān and by Ḥaḍramūt in the east. At that time the land of the Sabaeans stretched to the west and south coasts, as it did in the time of Pliny (vi. 154; *ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus*); only their territory on the south coast, concerning which D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, ii. 987, was rather doubtful, was larger. It apparently included the Raidān coast between 'Aden and Ḥawar (according to Glaser, p. 20). Glaser's disbelief in the statement of Theophrastus to the effect that the Sabaeans also owned a part

of the frankincense coast, was unfounded and quite wrong, as well as the alteration in the text which he proposed to suit his hypothesis in two passages in Theophrastus *Σαβαῖος* for *Σαβαῖος* (Glaser, *Punt*, p. 45 sq.; cf. above). Pliny also (xii. 52), which Glaser, following Sprenger, had also to alter, repeats that the Sabaeans had possession in the frankincense region, which Sprenger himself acknowledged (*Bemerkungen* etc., *Z D M G*, xlv. 505). *Μαρίαβα*, the name of the capital of the Sabaeans according to Eratosthenes and Artemidoros, reproduces the Arabic name (inscriptions Maryab, Mārib, in the authors Ma'rib) as accurately as possible with the suffixed vowel *a*.

In the time of Eratosthenes, the part of the west coast south of Saba' and the most western part of the south coast was inhabited by the *Καταβανής*; the eastern neighbours of the Sabaeans were the *Χατράμωντιται* whom he mentions last (see *R. E.*, col. 1324 sq. and the article ΚΑΤΑΒΑΝ).

A comparison of the passage in Strabo with the list of South Arabian peoples in Theophrastus (see above) shows that three of them are mentioned by both authors, the peoples of Saba', Ḥaḍramūt and Qatabān, while our two authorities differ regarding the name of the fourth people, whom Theophrastus calls the *Μαμάλι* (var. *Μάλι*) and Strabo the *Μινάιοι*. The assumption of a corruption in the text would easily restore perfect agreement between the two. Mordtmann for example in the *Z D M G*, xxx. 323 has explained *Μαμάλι* as a corruption of *Μινάιοι* and D. H. Müller also (*R. E.* in the articles *Arabia*, ii. 348 and *Chatramis*, where Eratosthenes is confused with Pliny, and *Anzeiger Ak. Wien*, 1909, p. 4) has assumed that the reading MAINAIA may be restored with absolute certainty for MAMAIA in Theophrastus; that is to say both authors are referring to the Minaeans. But this proposed alteration in the text, which would take the oldest mention of the Minaeans among the Greeks back to the time of Alexander the Great, need not be considered absolutely necessary (Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 138 has also argued against it). The two Greek authors are writing from different points of view: the botanist is not so concerned as the geographer with giving a full list of South Arabian kingdoms but is only interested in those regions which yield spices. The form Mamali also finds support in the *Μαμάλα καμή* of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 5. Sprenger who sticks to *Μάλι* (*op. cit.*, p. 92, 263, 266) identifies the latter without giving any evidence with Mahra (as does Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 137: "probably the Mahra coast"). Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 420, simply takes Mali for the land of the Minaeans without giving the slightest proof.

Following the passage from Eratosthenes, we have in Strabo xvi. iv. § 5 sq. the relatively short account by a later authority, Artemidoros, of the land of the Sabaeans. The people — very fortunately (cf. Agatharchides in Photius, § 97 and K. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minores*, i. 186) — are called "a very powerful people" in whose land myrrh, frankincense and cinnamon grow and on the coast — a fact confirmed by modern travellers — the balsam tree also (cf. Theophrastus, iv. 4, 14 *δποβάλαμον*) and other aromatic trees and plants. Then follows information regarding the abundance of fruits in the land, regarding the capital Mariaba, laws and duties of the king, commerce and the wealth gained by the Sabaeans through trading, as well as their agriculture and other details,

which are repeated in almost the same words by Diodoros (iii. 47) from Agatharchides, who was also Artemidoros's authority — a fact which does not seem to have been appreciated in modern writers, who regard Artemidoros as an independent source. The above quoted reference to the occurrence of frankincense among the Sabaeans seems to be contradictory to Strabo's (xvi. iv. § 2) note *φέρει δὲ λιβανὸν μὲν ἡ Καταβαλία σμύρναν δὲ ἡ Χατράμωντις*, following Eratosthenes; to remove the difficulty it has been assumed sometimes that there was confusion on the part of Eratosthenes and sometimes, as in quite recent writers, that the Qatabānians had lands in the frankincense region and that there was later a change in their ownership by which part at least of Qatabān passed to Saba'. However possible this may be and however little misgiving one may have about it in this case, it must also be borne in mind that Strabo's sentence cannot be taken from its context and placed in another context as an argumentum ex silentio. From the statement that Katabania produced frankincense it does not follow that Katabania alone produced it and that it was not found elsewhere in South Arabia. Besides the substance of Eratosthenes's remark is only found in Strabo's version.

Strabo (xvi. iv. § 23) goes on to give an account of the campaign against South Arabia of Aelius Gallus in the year 24 B. C., based on direct information; he is the earliest authority on the campaign (cf. also ii. 118, xvii. 819; Pliny, vi. 160 and Dio Cassius, liii. 29 [= Zonaras, x. 33]). The complete failure of this campaign, which was the first and most important direct contact between Rome and distant Saba' and which had been undertaken by Augustus, as Strabo tells us, in the hope of winning the wealth of the Arabs, especially of the Sabaeans, was, as Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 45 sq.) has already emphasised in contradiction to Strabo's version, the result of the ignorance of the Romans regarding the country and people and the want of any special preparations (on the specialist literature on the subject and modern critics of the eastern policy of Augustus like Flügel, Mommsen, Winckler, Glaser, Weber, Hartmann, on the accounts of the fighting in Strabo and Pliny, the route of Gallus's march — which Sprenger for example gives wrongly — and the minor military successes of the Romans regarding which the accounts differ cf. *R. E.*, col. 1344 sq., 1380 sq.). In disagreement with the usual accounts (in d'Anville, Gibbon, Karl Müller, Sprenger, whom almost all recent writers followed, Kiepert, Mommsen, Zehme, Mordtmann, Aug. Müller, D. H. Müller, Winckler, Weber) I only mention here that the farthest point reached by the Roman expedition, which Strabo (§ 24) calls *Μαρούαβα*, the town of the *Ῥαμ(μ)ανίται* who were ruled by Ilasaros, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 22 and Pliny vi. 160 call Mariba, was not the Sabaeen capital Mārib, as, following Vincent, Forbiger and Ritter, Glaser has again recently (*op. cit.*, p. 57 sq.) rightly emphasised and Landberg also, according to whom (*Arabica*, v. 82) Strabo's *Μαρίαβα* (as it has generally been written since the time of v. Kremer instead of *Μαρούαβα*, although without any justification) is undoubtedly the Maryama the ruins of which lie in the district of Baiḥān al-Qaṣīb on the Wādī Baiḥān (south-east of Mārib; see the description in Landberg, *op. cit.*, p. 21 sq.; full information

regarding this district *ibidem*, p. 3—63; the old contrary view is still championed by Grimme, *Mohammed*, p. 20). Glaser was, however, wrong in his attempt to locate this town exactly, which he, thinking of Caripeta in Pliny, vi. 160 which, as Fresnel had already pointed out, recalls the Arabic *ḵharība* 'ruins', saw in the later Sabaeans capital Širwāḥ (west of Mārib). Caripeta, however, goes back not to *Ḵharība* but to the place-name Ḥarīb. Much more worthy of attention is Landberg's connection of the Ramanite city, — the name of which, it is true, he wrongly reads Mariaba and erroneously considers to be the Mariaba Baramalacum in Pliny, vi. 157 — with the Arabic Maryama and with *Μαρίαμα* in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 37, as well as with Mariamat in the inscriptions, with which is to be identified the *Μαρίαμα* of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 38, presumably the modern Maryama in Ḥaḍramūt (not as Mordtmann-Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 104, thought). But he wrongly records it as a city of the *Μαρίται*, the Arabic Ma'n (p. 24). Landberg is wrong also in his location (in Baiḥān al-Dawla, a district south of Baiḥān al-Kaṣāb) of the limit reached by the Roman expedition, mentioned by Dio Cassius, the name of which he wrongly (following Glaser) considered to be Adula. *Ἀδουλα*, as the name should rather be written, is, according to D. H. Müller's suggestion, the *ΥΤΛ* (usually read Yathil) of the Minaean inscriptions. Mommsen wrongly (*Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 22) found a contradiction between the statement of Augustus regarding the terminus of the campaign ("*usque in Sabaeorum fines*") and those of Strabo and Pliny and sought to explain it by saying that Augustus was describing South Arabia with a generalising but not correct expression as the "land of the Sabaeans". The farthest point reached by the expedition was actually — as Augustus rightly says — in the land of the Sabaeans and, according to Strabo, in the land of the Ramanitai i.e. of the Radmān or the Rhadami of Pliny, which is in agreement with the *Monumentum*. Ilasaros, whose name and person have been wrongly interpreted, is the Ilsharḥ Yaḥḍib, whom we know from inscriptions, regarding whose attitude to the political situation in Saba' during the Roman campaign Hartmann (p. 153 sq., 173 sq. etc.) has made erroneous suggestions (see *R. E.*, col. 1371 sq.).

The reports of this campaign, the military and political importance of which for the history of Saba' has been very much overestimated by Sprenger, Dillmann and Fabricius, brought the Roman world a better knowledge of the land and people of South Arabia — among other information a correction of the Greek statements hitherto current regarding the spices which Arabia exported. As a result of the information obtained from Gallus, Strabo (§ 24) was able to distinguish the divisions of South Arabia according to the predominant activity or quality of its inhabitants — in contrast to the earlier political division of South Arabia based on Eratosthenes (Strabo, § 2) —, a division made from the social and economic point of view which included for example the caste-system that still exists to-day in Arabia, similar to Pliny's account, vi. 161, who also relies on Gallus. Strabo goes on to deal with family life in South Arabia, including community of women, a testimony, with which passages in the inscriptions have been compared, as evidence for polyandry in Saba', the

occurrence of which Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 7) has wrongly denied; it must be granted, however, that many inscriptions, when properly interpreted, can no longer be used as evidence for the existence of polyandry.

Copious information regarding the land and the capital, the customs, mode of life and constitution of the Sabaeans and about South Arabia generally are contained in the two excerpts from Agatharchides (*περί τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης*, vol. 5, probably concluded about the year 132/1) preserved in almost identical terms in the *Bibliotheca Photius'* and in Diodoros (iii. 38—48). Agatharchides was the source used by Artemidoros also. The statements regarding spices which filled the whole land with natural, pleasant odours may be compared with Herodotos, iii. 113, Pliny, xii. 86, and Wrede's report (*Reisen*, p. 80 on the Wādī Muntish, p. 77 on the Djabal Šidāra, p. 82 on the Wādī Ḵhilāfat). Noteworthy also is the information he gives regarding the Sabaeans royal city *Σάβαι*, on the constitution, on the laws and duties of the kings, whose rule was hereditary in a particular family (which is confirmed by the South Arabian inscriptions), regarding customs and activities of the people, who are praised as brave soldiers, industrious tillers of the soil and traders and skilful sailors, and regarding the trade with Egypt, Syria and Phoenicia and the resultant wealth and luxury of the Sabaeans which surpassed that of all other Arabs (cf. the above mentioned statements of Strabo following Artemidoros). *Σάβαι* and *Μαρίαβα* in Strabo, xvi. iv. § 2 (following Eratosthenes), § 19 (following Artemidoros), in Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v., as well as *Μαριβάτα* (corrupted from *Μαριάβα*, according to Mordtmann) in Pliny, vi. 155 are (what Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 62, 153, 287 has not noticed) only two different names of the same town, the capital of Saba', Mārib [q. v.]. The name *Σάβαι* finds an analogy in the fact that Arab writers also sometimes call the Sabaeans capital Saba', e.g. al-Idrisi, Abu 'l-Fidā', as well as Ibn Ḵhordādhbeh and the Turks (see Mordtmann, *Sabäische Denkm.*, p. 3, note 1). The statement in Photius that the capital stood on a not high hill has been erroneously doubted by Kremer (*op. cit.*, p. 9, note 2) and confirmed by the observation of modern travellers, like Arnaud, Halévy and Glaser (Strabo's remark; "on a hill covered with trees" may be considered a sign of the decline in vegetation). — From the statement in Photius (§ 101, middle of the page) Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xii. 249), Kremer (*op. cit.*, p. 9) and Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 10) have wrongly deduced that the Sabaeans sent out colonies or at least trading settlements into foreign lands, especially India; we are rather to understand trading voyages by sea by *στέλλειν* (intransitive) *ἀπ' οἰκίας*.

The literary references to Saba' and Arabia in general, as well as the reports of merchants and travellers, influenced the later literature of the Greeks and that of the Romans from the first century A.D. It is to them — particularly to poets of the time before the expedition of Gallus — that we owe the typical conception of the rich and fortunate Sabaeans in a remote Eldorado. I shall here pass over these references in poetic literature, as they have not the importance of independent sources and only observe that as a result of this conception of Saba', the chief country in Arabia, — as is intelligible with poetic lan-

guage — *Sabaus* gradually came to be used, not with the limited application to Saba², but in the general sense of "Arabian", so that even expressions like Vergil, *Georgica*, i. 57, *molles sua tura Sabaci (mittunt)* ii. 117, *solis est turea virga Sabaeis*, etc., are not to be used as arguments in the reconciliation of apparent differences in the nomenclature of South Arabian areas, that produced frankincense, and it cannot be deduced from them that Vergil allotted the frankincense tree to the Sabaeans alone as distinct from other South Arabians.

The amplification of the previous knowledge of the country from first-hand accounts, as a result of the Roman campaign, is also reflected in Pliny's references, which augment the extracts preserved from the older Greek writers by many details, although they are in parts confused and corrupt. The majority of the towns mentioned by him in vi. 160, which Gallus is said to have destroyed, can be proved to have existed from the South Arabian inscriptions, or from al-Hamdānī, the first author who mentions them after Pliny, or from other geographical sources. Pliny's account, based on new information regarding Arabia, which goes back to Gallus or reached Rome by other ways from time to time, is of historical importance in as much as it mentions a people, not mentioned by Strabo or Agatharchides, who produced a lasting alteration in political conditions in Saba². After giving (probably from Juba) in vi. 158 the *Homeritae* after the Minaei (Ma'in) and Rhadamaei (Radmān) among the Arabian peoples, in 161 Pliny, expressly quoting the explorations of Gallus as his authority for this period, calls attention with the words *numerissimos esse Homeritas* to a fact which forms a turning point in the history of Saba², the rise of the Hīmyars (Homeritae, the *Ḥumayrāt* of the Greeks). This is the oldest reference preserved to the Hīmyars and their strength. At the time of Gallus, political supremacy in South Arabia was no longer in the hands of the Sabaeans under the ancient dynasty of the "Kings of Saba²", but had passed to the Hīmyars under rulers with the title "Kings of Saba² and Dhū Raidān". The definite report of Gallus, who says that the Hīmyars were a predominating people in South Arabia and the legitimate conclusion that they were at this time already in possession of the hegemony, agrees at once and convincingly with Glaser's deduction (cf. *Die Abessinier*, p. 31) from the inscriptions that the beginning of Hīmyar rule is to be placed in the second — at latest the first — century B. C., and is evidence against the attempt (made by Mordtmann, Mommsen, Hartmann and others) to shift the beginning of the Hīmyar period to a date after the beginning of the Christian era, nor does it even help the endeavours of others, like Kremer and D. H. Müller, to place it towards the end of the first century B. C. Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 38) would not pronounce definitely for this date of about 70 B. C., but talks of "somewhere after 175 B. C., but certainly not after the birth of Christ" it is tempting, he says, to take 115 B. C., but there are objections (p. 31 sq.; so also Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, p. 33; Hommel, *Geschichte des alten Morgenlandes*³ (Sammlung Göschen, Leipzig 1908, p. 148 and cf. here the article ARABIA, i. 377 sqq. etc.). Sprenger's (*op. cit.*, p. 76 sq., 225), Dillmann's (*op. cit.*, p. 204) and Hartmann's (*op. cit.*, p. 469,

note 1) hypotheses of the contemporaneousness of and even of a causal connection between the rise of the Hīmyar power and the Roman campaign thus lose any basis.

A further reference to the kingdom of the Hīmyars is in Pliny, vi. 104, *intus oppidum, regia eius, appellatur Sapphar*, i. e. Zafār, the capital of the Hīmyars. We see, however, from Pliny that the Sabaeans in the time of Juba still held an important position — although they were no longer the lords of Southern Arabia — and the land ruled by them was no smaller in area than in the time of Eratosthenes. Of minor points, we shall only mention here that of Pliny's references (vi. 161) to their economic life and their wealth the expression *agrorum rigua* finds confirmation in the testimony of the inscriptions to the old irrigation works of South Arabia (wells, canals, dams and cisterns) and in the statements of al-Hamdānī regarding irrigation (see below), the mention immediately afterwards of *mellis ceraeque proventus* (cf. Strabo, xvi., iv. § 2) agrees with the fact that almost all the mountain regions of South Arabia are rich in honey (cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 249; Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 69 — evidence for honey and wax in the Raidān district; also Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 238; Bent, *Expedition*, p. 330, *Southern Arabia*, p. 117; Harris, *A Journey*, p. 22 and other travellers' narrations; cf. the statements in al-Hamdānī, *Djāzirat al-'Arab*, p. 103, 105, 123, 194). The words preceding in Pliny, *silvarum fertilitas odorifera* (cf. Agatharchides in Photius, § 95 and Diodoros) refer to the Sabaeans wealth in the frankincense region (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 250), *auri metalla* to the occurrence of gold, namely in the coast regions (cf. Agatharchides, § 95, on the land of the Debai rich in gold; Strabo, xvi., iv. § 18; Pliny, vi. 150 on the *auri metalla* of the *litus Hamacum* and especially al-Hamdānī, p. 153, 177 etc. on gold mines in South Arabia and modern travellers such as Halévy and Glaser (Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 69, *Punt*, p. 77) would look for the gold mines in 'Asir only or in Saso (East Somāliand), but there can be no possibility of a reference to East Africa in the Pliny passage. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 249, would also locate the mines in the interior of the country (see further discussion below). Pliny's note (xii. 58) on the gathering of frankincense may be compared with the statements of Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam*, iii. 577). Of importance for the history of civilisation also is the fact reported in xii. 54 that the collection of frankincense was considered a religious act, that only the Sabaeans as lords of the land of frankincense and with them the Minaeans were allowed to look upon the frankincense tree (when it was being ceremonially treated), that there were said to be not more than 3,000 privileged families who claimed the hereditary right to the sole possession of frankincense trees for themselves and their descendants: *sacros vocari ob id nec ullo congressu feminarum funerumque, cum incidant eas arbores aut metant, pollui*, where Sprenger (*op. cit.*, p. 92) and Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 3; *Punt*, p. 44) proposed quite unjustifiable alterations in the text. *Congressus feminarum funerumque* are to the present day in Islām more or less connected with *djanāba* (pollution; cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 219). Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 415, remarks that the passage in Pliny appears to throw some light on the aversion of the Muslims to burning fragrant spices etc. at funerals, which is discussed

by de Goeje (*L'encensement des morts chez les anciens Arabes in Actes du 14^e Congrès intern. des Orientalistes*, iii./i.), and concludes that it was forbidden in South Arabia to use frankincense in the funeral service, while nothing was known of this in North Arabia; but so early a writer as Pliny, xii. 82 talks of the *hominum etiam in morte luxuria* in Arabia Felix and modern travellers also confirm the use of incense at interments.

It is instructive for the ancient history of South Arabia that Pliny still gives for the time of Juba and Gallus the same four peoples that Eratosthenes gives as the chief peoples with a regal constitution, the Sabaei, Minaei, Catábanes and Atramitae (Chatramotitae); see the articles *QATARĀN* and *MA'IN*. The words in vi. 154, following the mention of the Sabaeans: *pars eorum* (Sabaeorum) *Atramitae quorum caput Sabota* etc., and xii. 52: *Atramitae pagus Sabaeorum in monte excelso, a quo octo mansionibus distat regio eorum turifera* (similarly Solin, p. 710: *Atramitae pagus Sabaeorum*, who is dependent on Pliny, a fact which Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 296 and Glaser, *Punt*, p. 47 have not recognised), show that Ḥaḍramūt in the time of Juba (not only in the first century A.D., as Glaser, *Punt*, p. 46 thought) had become a part of Saba², and that Saba² extended farther to the east, so that a change in the balance of power in South Arabia had set in while the Sabaeans efforts at expansion were being continued (Bent, *Southern Arabia*, p. 49, 240, 265 and 269 speaks of ruins of Sabaeans antiquity in the coast area of Zafār near Mirbāt). The following words: *regia tamen omnium Marelibata* (*Marciaba*, see above) again emphasise Saba²'s suzerainty over Ḥaḍramūt and the position of Ma'rib as the capital of the whole kingdom (on erroneous alterations in the text of Pliny and Solin see above). The principal passage on the transport of frankincense is xii. 63 (*tus collectum Sabotam . . . convectitur . . . ibi decumas deo quem vocant Sabim mensura non ponderi sacerdotes capiunt nec ante mercari licet*). The frankincense was therefore bound to pass through the capital of Ḥaḍramūt, Sabota (*Shabwat* in the inscriptions, also mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī, now a ruined site between Baiḥān and Shibām) and pay duty there. This custom of levying tolls still survives among many tribes, Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 27) informs us. An analogy to the statement that taxes were levied on spices by the temple is quoted by D. H. Müller from the inscriptions, *Burgen*, ii. 1024, note 3 (on the inscription Halévy, *op. cit.*, p. 187); see also Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, i. 6 (on Glaser, 480 = Arnaud, 53); compare also Theophrastus's statement (ix. 4) regarding the tithes paid out of the frankincense harvest for the priests of the temple of Helios of the Sabaeans (and Landberg, *Dathina*, p. 457 on the harvest tithes to the *Mashā'ikā*). The God Sabis was considered by Mordtmann (*Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 57) to be the moon-god Sin, indeed, he later regularly explained the name Sabis as Sin (*ZDMG*, xlv. 186). Quite recently the Pliny passage has been again referred to the moon-god, sometimes with proper caution, and sometimes as if it were an established fact. Not only, however, has it no connection with the moon-god, but the context of Pliny suggests that Sabis refers to Sabota; besides, Theophrastus speaks of the sun-god, from which it does not, of course, follow that

Sabis is to be identified with the sun-god, as do Ritter, Sprenger, Glaser, etc. The name also, in these identifications, would remain unexplained. Probably Sabis is a form of name which appears to have arisen neither through a misunderstanding nor through a corruption of the text, but is simply "the (Lord, God) of Sabota" (*Shabwat*; either *Dhū Shabwat* or regularly "*Shab(a)wi*"; cf. *R.E.*, s. v. Sabis).

It is not the above quoted mention of the Homeritae in Pliny that is to be regarded as the oldest known reference in literature to the Ḥimiyars, but the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, which is older than Pliny's work, but younger than his principal literary sources, and, indeed, as I have endeavoured to show in *R.E.*, col. 1462 sq., differing from previous dates proposed by Dillmann, Mommsen, Hartmann, Glaser etc., seems to have been composed between 40 and at latest 51 A.D., probably between 40 and 45. A light is thrown on the political situation by the statement in the *Periplus*, § 23, that Charibaël, the lawful king of two peoples, the Homeritae and their neighbours, the Sabaites i. e. Sabaeans, was ruling in the capital Saphar. Saba², therefore, was under Ḥimiyarite rule at the time of the composition of the work. Saphar is Zafār (near Yarīm), the capital of the "kings of Saba² and *Dhū Raidān*", an identification which Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 50, could not upset. Ma'rib was no longer the royal capital. *Sabaeirne*, the Egyptian form for *Sabaïos*, is also found in the Axum inscription and this too supports the manuscript reading *Sabaeirou* against the emendation proposed by the editor (Fabricius, p. 60 following Salmasius). The Ḥimiyarite king Charibaël is probably the Kariba'il Watar Yuhā'im, King of Saba² and *Dhū Raidān*, known from inscriptions and coins. Hartmann's attempt to identify him (*op. cit.*, p. 154 sq., 173 sq.) collapses with his baseless premises.

A tremendous revolution in the history of Saba² took place in the period between the erection of the inscription of Adulis (*Corpus inscr. Graec.*, iii. 5127 B) in about the first third of the second century A.D., about 127, and that of the bilingual inscription of Axum of the middle of the fourth century (before 356). In the former the King of the Axumites mentions that he has waged war from *Λευκή κόμη* (al-Ḥawrā') southwards as far as the land of the Sabaeans. While he was thus forced to halt in his campaign on the northern frontier of Saba², Aizanas ('Ezānā), who erected the bilingual inscription, already calls himself "King of Axum and Ḥimyar and Saba²", etc. The most important parts of South-west Arabia had therefore been conquered by the Axumites since the beginning of the second century A.D. The doubts of Dillmann, Hartmann and others regarding the actuality of this conquest, with the inscriptional testimony for which the mention of ambassadors *ad gentem Axumitarum et Homeritarum* (Cod. Theod., xii. 12, a) agrees, are unfounded. The fact that Ḥimyar occurs before Saba² in the series of titles enables one to deduce that the former was the kingdom proper, beside which Saba² occupied the second place, having not yet sunk into insignificance. With the official title of the inscriptions may be compared the double title of the Ḥimyar king in the *Periplus*.

The testimony of the Abyssinian inscriptions, that Aizanas was king of Ḥimyar and Saba², agrees, as Glaser (*Die Abessinier*, p. 5 sq.) emphasises,

with the fact that the South Arabian inscriptions from the end of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century mention no Yemeni rulers; the latter do not appear again until 378 A. D. and then occur uninterruptedly until the first quarter of the sixth century, when (525) the Abyssinians again conquered South-west Arabia. The foundation of the power of the Axumite kingdom was an interruption of the last period of the South Arabian kingdom, from the beginning of which, about 300 A. D., the kings assumed the longer title "of Saba', Dhū Raidān and Ḥaḍramūt and Yemnat" in place of the previous title "of Saba' and Dhū Raidān".

From the statements of Ptolemy, who, apart from unimportant references, is the Greek literary source for Saba' that follows the *Monumentum adulitanum* in order of time, it may be deduced that in his map the Sabaeans (vi. 7, 23) no longer occupied so large an area as they still did even in the time to which Strabo and Pliny refer, but seem to have become limited to the northern half of their former territory; the Ḥimyarites, on the other hand, occupied a considerable part of the south coast, and other smaller peoples are also mentioned as inhabiting the South Arabian territory, which must have belonged to the Sabaeans as late as the end of the second century A. D. Quite recently the words of Ptolemy: *Κοτταβανοὶ μέχρι τῶν Ἀσάβων ὁρίων, ὑφ' οὗς ἡ λιθωντοφόρος χώρα* have been erroneously interpreted to mean that after the Sabaeans the frankincense region was under the rule of the Ḳatabānians, and further assumptions were based on the statement that Ḳatabānians were still settled there, although an independent kingdom of Ḳatabān then no longer existed. The lucid syntax and the linguistic practice of Ptolemy, according to which ὑπό with the accusative means "south of", "situated below", shows that it is just the reverse that is the case. Ptolemy separates geographically the frankincense region and the homes of the Ḳatabānians. Sprenger (p. 264 etc.), from his likewise erroneous point of view, has difficulty with the statement that the Ḳatabānians in the time of Ptolemy were "thrust out of this possession" (cf. the article ḲATABĀN).

In agreement with the Arabic sources, Ptolemy introduces us to a period of progressive decline of Saba'. The occasional mentions of Saba' in the Greek topographers of the first centuries A. D. are of no independent value. The name Saba' disappears from Greek and Roman literature from the end of the fourth century A. D. After this date we only have an occasional isolated reference to the Homeritae, whose name became gradually applied to the whole of South Arabia.

Only half a century ago, Sprenger (*op. cit.*, p. 246) was able to say that the Greeks and Pliny were the only sources that gave us information regarding the Sabaeans. Our knowledge of the history of ancient South Arabia which, until quite recently, could only be supplemented a little by the isolated references in the Old Testament and the quite insufficient, because utterly unhistorical, traditions of the Arabs, was increased in an extraordinary fashion by finds of inscriptions, principally in South Arabia, and the increasing progress in the study of the ancient history of the east has also thrown new light on the history of Saba'.

Yet the explorer Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 159), famous for his epigraphical finds, does not hesitate to say that the correct interpretation of the few statements

in the classical authors is no less necessary than the elucidation of the inscriptions of Saba', and that the latter and the passages in classical writers supplement and explain one another. In any case we must not lose a sense of perspective in face of the decisive importance of the inscriptions for the study of political and cultural history; being the only direct historical source they form our most important material for research into the past of Saba' and South Arabia generally. The history of the opening of this rich and still unexhausted mine of material for research is associated with very few names. Carsten Niebuhr, a member of the expedition sent out by the Danish government in 1763, who travelled through South Arabia from Lohaiya to Mokhā, Ta'izz and Ṣan'ā', being more particularly engaged in geographical, ethnographical and natural history work, first reported, as the result of enquiries, the existence of old inscriptions in the ruins of Ṣafār (south-west of Yarīm) near Ṣan'ā' (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 94), without having seen the text itself, except for a copy of an inscription which a Dutchman had sent him; after him the first knowledge of South Arabian inscriptions was brought to Europe by Seetzen, a native of Oldenburg, who, stirred by Niebuhr's information, copied inscriptions in and around Ṣafār on his return from Ṣan'ā' to 'Aden (1810). The copies sent by him to Europe of five short, unimportant, Sabaean texts were published in 1811 and, though at first not understood, formed the humble beginning of the science of Sabaean studies, the future importance of which was as yet quite unrealised. Further progress was made by Wellsted (1834/5: (discovery of the inscription of Ḥisn al-Ḡurāb on the Ḥaḍramūt coast and of Naḳab al-Ḥaḍjar), Cruttenden (1836: five short Sabaean fragments in Ṣan'ā'), both Englishmen, by Wrede (1843; but the report of his travels in Ḥaḍramawt and the copy of the Ḥaḍramawt inscription of 'Obne were only published in 1870 from his papers after his death by Maltzan) and others, among whom special mention must be made of Arnaud who in 1843 was the first European to visit Mārib and to pave the way for later more successful discoverers (ignored by Glaser, *Petermann's Mitteil.*, 1887, p. 27), and there as well as in Ṣan'ā' and Ṣirwāḥ prepared copies of 56 inscriptions in all, mainly short ones. A valuable addition to our knowledge was the acquisition of inscribed stones and bronze plates from 'Amrān by Choghlan (1860). Gesenius (1841), Rödiger (1841, 1842) and Oslander (1856, 1863/4) then gained renown by deciphering and elucidating the material found. The *Eben Safir* is only of importance as a description of Yemen; this is the Hebrew account of the travels of Jacob Saphir (i., 1861; ii., 1866) who went from al-Hodaïda via Ṣan'ā' to 'Amrān and then back to 'Aden; the book was first made generally known through D. H. Müller (*Burgen*, i. 6 sg.) and formed a kind of guide-book for Halévy. A new epoch in the study of inscriptions is marked by the rich results of the memorable journey of Jos. Halévy, who, one may say, was the first European since Aelius Gallus to succeed (in 1869) in travelling from Ṣan'ā' right up to the Wādī Naḍjran and entering the land of the South Arabian Dīfōf, the centre of the ancient Minaean country, and visiting several very ancient Arabian sites, rich in inscriptions, which so far no other European since him has seen. The con-

crete scientific yield of this journey of exploration, not sufficiently appreciated by his immediate contemporaries, consisted of 686 copies of inscriptions of which about 50 (some 30 Minaean) were fairly long (published in the *J. A.*, 1872), the most important addition to our store of inscriptions yet made, which, marking a tremendous advance on the initial stages, helped to lay the true scientific foundation for Sabaeen research and the knowledge of the sources for the study of the ancient history of South Arabia. Some new inscriptions were made known through the journey of Captain Miles (and Werner Munzinger) in the Wādī Maifa'at (1870). The travels of Heinrich von Maltzan (1870/1, in the coast regions of Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt), Millingen (1873, from al-Ḥodaida to Ṣan'a'), R. Manzoni (1877—80, between 'Aden, Ṣan'a' and al-Ḥodaida), Schapira (1879, from 'Aden to Ṣan'a' and district and back to al-Ḥodaida) and Harris's more recent *Journey through the Yemen* (London 1893) are not of interest from the epigraphical point of view but from the geographical; Manzoni's work and Maltzan's later contributions are also valuable for the study of dialects. The Austrian S. Langer (1882), who sacrificed his life to the spirit of research on his epigraphical journeys from al-Ḥodaida first to Ṣan'a', then to 'Aden, as did Seetzen before him and Huber after him, gained copies of 22 inscriptions (Nos. 19—22 only odd letters). Further details of the history of discovery in Arabia are given in Weber's monographs, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, p. 10 sqq. (which also contains information regarding the history of civilisation and religion, contents, alphabets and language of the inscriptions) and more especially his *Forschungsreisen in Südarabien bis zum Auftreten Eduard Glaser's* (*Der Alte Orient*, viii. 4, 1907) and Hommel's account in Hilprecht's *Explorations*, p. 693 sqq. (see also his *Chrestomathie*, p. 63 sqq. with bibliography). A new era in this branch of research was introduced by the Arabian travels of the Austrian Glaser whose epigraphic discoveries (in all over 2,000 inscriptions) far surpassed all previous efforts in this field. D. H. Müller's prophecy (*Burgen*, i. 340): "There will still be courageous men, who will place themselves in the service of science and undertake the exploration of the country and collection of inscriptions", was realised in Glaser in an undreamed-of fashion. On his first three journeys alone, (1882—1884 (from al-Ḥodaida to Ṣan'a' and from there three tours of exploration north and west from this neighbourhood), 1885—6 (from al-Ḥodaida to Ṣan'a' and from there to the south-east and east as far as 'Aden; exploration of the ruins of Zafār), 1887—8 (from 'Aden to Ṣan'a' and thence to Ma'rib, where alone he copied nearly 400 inscriptions, while Arnaud and Halévy together only got 44 copies mostly of small fragments), he enriched our knowledge by some 1032 inscriptions, by sketch maps and philological observations and some 616 Arabic manuscripts. A portion of the manuscripts was published by the French Academy (*C. I. S.*, IV, i.—iii.), numerous inscribed stones (mostly Minaean) are in London, others in Berlin (published by Mordtmann in 1893). The manuscripts for the most part went to Berlin and to the British Museum (see C. Rieu, *Suppl. to the Cat. of Arabic MSS. in the B. M.*, London 1894). Of his epigraphical discoveries special mention may be made of the Ḥadaḡān inscription, the great

Ṣirwāḥ inscription, one of the most important historical documents from South Arabia (on his fourth journey he brought back a further and perfect squeeze of it), and the two great inscriptions from Ma'rib relating to the bursting of the dam. His fourth journey was the most successful (1892—1894, from 'Aden to Ṣan'a', from which natives were sent out to prepare squeezes; among the new inscriptions were nearly 100 Ḳatabānī; linguistic studies; acquisition of 251 Arabic manuscripts). A portion of the treasures acquired for Vienna, a valuable collection of 39 inscribed stones, coins, numerous sculptures and other antiquities, was published by D. H. Müller. Further particulars are given by Weber in *Eduard Glaser's Forschungsreisen in Südarabien in Der Alte Orient*, x. 2, 1909 (cf. Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 717, 720 sqq.). Glaser could not make further use of the opportunity he still had for further journeys and discoveries because he no longer found the necessary comprehension of the importance of scientific work at the Ministry concerned. Immeasurable treasures were thus irrevocably lost to science.

Working on the epigraphic material that has been gradually accumulating since Halévy's time, Halévy, Praetorius, Mordtmann, D. H. Müller, Glaser and others (for details see *Bibliography*) have made important contributions to the elucidation of the language and contents of the inscriptions. As to later journeys of exploration in South Arabia, A. Defer's journey in Yemen in 1887 was only planned to study botany. L. Hirsch, who in 1893 was, so far as we know, the first European to visit Shibām, the modern capital of Ḥaḍramawt, and Tarīm, was only studying natural history, with topography and ethnography. Soon after him in 1893—4, J. Theodore Bent with his wife travelled in Ḥaḍramūt as far as Shibām and in 1895 in the frankincense country (Zafār to Mirbāt), likewise without being particularly interested in epigraphy. Carlo Landberg in 1896 took a squeeze and photograph of the already known inscription of Ḥiṣn al-Ḡurāb; the results of his enquiries made in 'Aden in 1895—97 regarding previously little known regions between Yemen proper and Ḥaḍramūt, particularly regarding Dathīna, 'Awāliḳ, al-Ḥaḡina and also regarding Baiḥān, Maryama, Raidān, Ḥarīb, Timna' and even Shabwa are given in his valuable work *Arabica* (iv. and v.). The South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Academy in 1898—9, which was also supported by the King of Sweden, only succeeded in reaching 'Azzān in the Wādī Maifa'at and did not get to Shabwa. While the epigraphical results of this expedition fell behind expectations, its members took the opportunity in 1899 of making linguistic and natural history researches on the island of Socotra (see *soḳoṭrā*) [G. W. Bury, who went to Baiḥān on behalf of the expedition, brought back from Ḳohlān (Ḳatabān) squeezes and photographs of inscriptions]. In 1902 W. Hein collected linguistic material in Gishin in Ḥaḍramūt on behalf of the Vienna Academy and at the same time collected information there and later in Vienna from natives regarding Ḥaḍramūt. His collected notes, published without any editing in 1914 after his death, contain much that is new and noteworthy. Hartwig Derenbourg was able from squeezes obtained by the French Academy to publish a few *Nouveaux textes yéménites inédits* in the *Rev. d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.*, v. 117 sqq.

Glaser's finds, epoch-making of their kind, are not yet completely published (a survey of the inscriptions discovered by Glaser was given so far as then known by Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, p. 59—62; see also Glaser, *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, i., 1908, 1 A sq.). The great work prepared by him on Saba' (announced, for example, in Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 722, and Weber, *Glaser's Forschungsreisen*, p. 15, on Glaser's authority) has not yet been published. The great mass of documents left by him (consisting of copies of about 1,000 inscriptions, of geographical and archaeological notes, diaries, sketches and maps), the importance of which may be summed up by saying that it is the first duty of Sabaean studies to arrange them methodically and publish them scientifically, was handed over to D. H. Müller to edit. But neither was he spared to publish this material. After his death in 1910, N. Rhodokanakis in Graz was given the task. The latter calls his treatise *Der Grundsatz der Öffentlichkeit in den süd-arabischen Urkunden* (S. B. Ak. Wien, clxxvii. Abh. 2, 1915; interpretation of inscr. Glaser N°. 890 = Halévy 49, Gl. 904 = Halévy 51, Gl. 1548/9 [Sabaean], Gl. 1606 [Katabānian] and Osiander 4, with systematic discussion of the problems of debt, taxation, ownership and legislation raised by the inscriptions) the first preliminary study to the "Corpus Glaserianum", the publication of which the Vienna Academy has in hand; he describes as a second preliminary study the first part of his *Studium sur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altjemenischen* (S. B. Ak. Wien, clxxviii. Abh. 4, 1915; explanation of passages in the Habish inscription, Glaser 1076 and Gl. 480 [cf. above] and especially a grammatical essay on the so-called parasitic *k* in South Arabic, for the phonetic explanation of which he postulates a double accent in Minaeo-Sabaean; the appendix contains annotations to various inscriptions). Next came his *Die Bodenwirtschaft im alten Südarabien* (Ans. Ak. Wien, 1916, N°. xxvi., a survey of the results of the researches contained in the second part of his *Studien sur Lexikographie* etc.) and the second part itself (S. B. Ak. Wien, clxxxv. Abh. 3, 1917, discussion of Minaeo-Sabaean inscriptions relating to buildings, boundaries and irrigation, and of inscriptions relating to agriculture with explanatory notes on the dedication and erection of buildings, on legal questions relating to water supplies and the possession of land, on taxation and administration). The next three publications of Rhodokanakis contain hitherto unpublished Katabānian inscriptions: *Katabānische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft* (S. B. Ak. Wien, xciv. Abh. 2, 1919, five inscriptions from the Glaser collection: edicts of Katabānian kings on the management of state properties, with a thorough investigation, into Katabānian economy and administration) and *Katabānische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft*, Series 2 (S. B. Ak. Wien, cxviii. Abh. 2, 1922, three inscriptions with far reaching investigations, particularly as regards the third, Glaser 1693 [concerning date, locality and character of the language of the text] with observations on the Hamdānids and dynasties in South Arabia generally, and lastly *Die Inschrift an der Mauer von Kōhlān-Timna* (S. B. Ak. Wien, cc. Abh. 2, 1924, discussion of the inscription Glaser 1404 [remains of a building protocol], 1397 sq. [a criminal and taxation law] and, to explain the *mukarriḥ* title among the Katabā-

nians, still more texts); on the inscription Gl. 1005 sq. see *W. Z. K. M.*, xxxi. 22 sq. In *Katab. Texte*, i. 6, note 3, it is mentioned that O. Weber is preparing an abbreviated edition of the "work on inscriptions" left by Glaser. The work collecting all South Arabian inscriptions in which references are also given to earlier, less important publications, is Part iv. of the *Paris Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (Inscriptiones Hamyariticas et Sabaeas continens)*, Tomus I, in four fascicles, 1889, 1892, 1900, 1908; of Tomus II the first two parts, 1911, 1914, have appeared; after the death of H. Derenbourg the editorship was taken over by M[ayer] L[ambert]; Tomus III will contain the Minaean and Katabānian inscriptions). The language of the inscriptions which may be divided into two main dialects, the Minaean and Sabaean, is discussed by Hommel in the *Grundriss*, p. 133 sqq., who includes under the Minaean, along with the Minaean royal inscriptions proper, the Katabān and Haḍramūt inscriptions (so also *Explorations*, p. 728 sq.). On the grammar of Minaeo-Sabaean (which he considers the oldest representative of the "Arabic section of the Western Semitic", of which we have coherent texts, *Grundriss*, p. 78 sq.) see his fundamental account in his *Chrestomathie*, p. 9 sq. (on the language see also earlier contributions by D. H. Müller, *Encycl. Brit.*, article *Yemen*, p. 740 (brief); Weber, *Arabien*, p. 15 sq. (popular); on the script see Osiander in the *Z D M G*, xx. 205 sq.; D. H. Müller, *Seh. Denkm.*, p. 105 sq.; Hommel *Chrestom.*, p. 3 sq., *Explorations*, p. 730, *Grundriss*, p. 145 sq. (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 13 sq., *Westasien*, p. 235) etc.; on the religion, Osiander in the *Z D M G*, vii. 463 sq.; D. H. Müller, *Enc. Brit.*, 741 (*Burgen*, ii. 1032); Hommel, *A. A.*, i. 156 sq., *Explor.*, p. 733 sq., *Grundriss*, p. 85 sq., 143; cf. in this *Encycl.*, i. 377 sqq. (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 18 sq. [popular]; Grimme, *Mohammed*, p. 29 sq.); on symbols of deities on the monuments Grohmann (see below, *Bibliography*).

Important material is also yielded by the Minaean, Lihyān, Nabataean and Ḥamūdān (proto-Arabic) inscriptions in North-Western Arabia, which Doughty discovered in 1876—78, and the texts of the copies prepared by Euting (1883: 4) — in some cases for a second time, after Doughty and Huber — of the Minaean and Lihyān inscriptions of al-ʿUlā (published by D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, 1889; the Minaean have again been published by Mordtmann, *Beiträge*, 1897).

One of the principal questions raised by the sources for the history of ancient Saba' is what is known as the Minaean question, i. e. the relation in order of time of the inscriptions of the Minaean kings to the Sabaean and with this the relation of the two kingdoms to one another. Working on the material available just before Glaser's travels, D. H. Müller (*Burgen*, ii. 935 sq., 981 sqq., 985 sqq.) had for the first time attempted to prepare a list of Sabaean rulers (cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 133 sq., 137 sq.) and divided the history of Saba' into three periods (a survey is given also in the article *Yemen* in the *Encycl. Brit.*). These periods are known as 1) the *Mukarriḥ* period (the pronunciation *Mukarriḥ* selected by him and afterwards retained of the word *m-k-r-ḥ*, the vocalisation of which is uncertain, the name of the priest-kings, is not to be used;

others read *mukarrab*, *makrub*, *makrib*, plur. *makārib*; see Mordtmann, *Anzeige*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 189; Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 65; Hommel, *A. A.*, p. 134; cf. above i. 399 sq.; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132, 599 etc.); 2) the period of the kings of Saba', and 3) the period of the kings of Saba' and Raiddān. According to him, the beginning of the kingdom of Saba' would be placed in the eighth century B. C., to which period also belongs the mention of the Sabaeen Iti'amar in the Sargon inscription, and its end in the first century A. D. While the chronology of the Sabaeen kingdom and its dynasties may be laid down with an accuracy that is fairly satisfactory, the question of the age of the Minaean kingdom is incomparably more difficult to settle, because there is no clue available for the definite dating of the inscriptions of the Minaean kings. In their attempts to arrange also the Minaean kings Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 407 sq., Weber, *Studien*, p. 44 sq. and Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 126 sq. (cf. also Hommel, *A. A.*, p. 26, *Chrestomatie*, p. 90, *Grundriss*, p. 136) have come to conclusions essentially different from that reached by D. H. Müller (*Burgen*, ii. 1021 sq.) before them. The latter thought that the two kingdoms of Saba' and Ma'in existed side by side with one another and were rivals (p. 1031). In direct opposition to this view Glaser (in 1889) in the first part of his *Skizze* argued that the Minaean kingdom preceded the Sabaeen in time and was destroyed by the latter which thereupon assumed the hegemony over South Arabia. Bearing in mind the number (about 29) of the names of Minaean kings so far discovered and a supposed duration of their rule of about 750 years, he was forced to put the beginning of Minaean rule back before 1500 B. C., indeed, he even went back as far as 2000 B. C. (i. 55). In several passages of the second volume of his *Skizze* and in later publications he again comes back to the subject of his Minaean theory. He claimed to have proved that the Minaean inscriptions date far back into the second, probably even the third, millennium B. C. (ii. 110; cf. 330). He had no misgivings about supposing that we have to take the Minaean kingdom back to the beginning of the Hyksos period, i. e. the twenty-second century B. C., Glaser's theory was defended by Hommel (first in the *Beilage zur Münchener Allgem. Zeitung*, 1889, N^o. 291, and in his later works, e. g. in the *A. A.*, p. 2 sq., 10, 40, 235, in the *Altisrael. Überlieferung*, p. 77, in his *Chrestomathie*, p. 2 (p. 86 further bibliographical references), in *Explorations*, in the *Grundriss*, p. 134, 150, in his *Gesch. des alten Morgenl.*, p. 106, 123, 148, in this *Encyclop.*, i. 399 sq., also notably by Winckler (*M. V. A. G.*, 1898, p. 19, 43 sq.; 1906, p. 89 sq.) in his *Geschichte Israels*, his *Altorientalische Forschungen*, in *K. A. T.*, p. 140 sq., 150 and in Helmolt's *Westasien*¹, iii. 247 sq.) and by Weber (in his monographs [already mentioned], in *Der Alte Orient* and in his edition of Winckler's *Westasien*, p. 235 sq.), Grimme, *op. cit.*, p. 16 sq. and Benzing, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 16. H. Derenbourg, *Nouveau mémoire sur l'épigraphie minéenne*, Paris 1895, p. 7 also puts the Minaeans before the Sabaeans.

A survey of the essential points in the lively controversy raised by Glaser's bold proposals has been given by Weber, *Studien*, i., and he has at the same time collected everything that seems to

support Glaser. Immediately after the appearance of the first part of Glaser's *Skizze*, Halévy raised objections to this Minaean theory; D. H. Müller then reiterated his view (*Beilage zur Münch. Allgem. Zeitung*, 1890, Nov. 24 and 31; *W. Z. K. M.*, viii. 6, 161). The following also declared themselves against Glaser: Mordtmann (*Anzeige*, p. 182 sq.; *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 400; *Beiträge*, p. 105 sq., 115); Sprenger, *Bemerkungen*, p. 502 sq.; E. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altertums*, ii. 382; Lagrange in the *Rev. bibl.*, 1902, xi. 256 sq.; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris f. semit. Epigraphik*, ii. 101 sq.; Hartmann, *Z. A.*, x. 25 sq. and in his main work, p. 4, 131 sq.; Huart, *Geschichte der Araber*, i. 46 sq. etc. Meyer further pointed out that all previous assumptions regarding the history of the Semitic alphabet would be upset by Glaser's placing the Minaean inscriptions in the second millennium B. C. We can hardly place the origin of the Phœnician alphabet before 1000 B. C.; the date of origin of the Minaean script, which is characterised by the regular, almost technical formation of geometrical figures, is certainly not earlier. This seems at once to take the ground from Glaser's theory. We must describe the dating of this alphabet to 2000 B. C. (Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 109, 146; Weber, *Westasien*, p. 163; cf. Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 730) or even "at the latest far back into the third millennium" (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 15) as a quite improbable hypothesis, in spite of all that has been ascertained in recent time regarding the oldest form of the Hebrew alphabet. Nor have the speculations regarding the South Arabian epigraphy which have been renewed by the discovery of what are known as the Kenite Sinai inscriptions led to anything. Against the views of Hommel, Weber, Winckler, etc. Huart also says regarding the supposed age of the alphabet that the date 1500 is certainly much too high for the period of Minaean rule.

Graeco-Roman tradition also affords arguments on the Minaean question, notably the above quoted testimony of Eratosthenes in Strabo, xvi. 768, which has already been cited against Glaser by Halévy, D. H. Müller and others and of which Mordtmann has said that he cannot see how this passage is to be explained away. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 9 betrays the precariousness of his case when he says that he must assume without giving any reason that Eratosthenes was probably "mistaken"; i. e. in his account true and false, past and present conditions are confused. Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 15 had previously sought to dispose of the contradiction between his views and the clear evidence of Eratosthenes by asserting without proof that the latter was wrongly informed. For the interpretation of this passage, for suspecting which neither Glaser nor Weber give any ground of proof or probability and, indeed, none can be given, it is decisive that according to it all four leading South Arabian peoples — including, of course, the Minaeans whom our author mentions first, as well as the Sabaeans and the other two — were under absolute rulers (*μοναρχοὺνται*). The fact that Eratosthenes gives for the time of his authority irrefutably the same kind of constitution, namely the regal, for Minaeans and for Sabaeans, cannot be disposed of by any artifice. It also shows what value there is in Glaser's assertion (Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 7 sq.) "that the classical authors nowhere mention a kingdom, but always only a land of Minaea", or in Winckler's

(*op. cit.*, p. 45) statement that between 500 and 200 B. C., there were no Minaeans in North Arabia because there never had been any at any time. Grimme's doubts (*op. cit.*, p. 17) as to whether the Minaeans of the Greeks are the people in question in the inscriptions are also unfounded.

Against Glaser's theory the circumstance is also decisive (cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 131 sq., 136) that, as we can deduce with absolute certainty from the mention of kings and kingdoms together in the inscriptions, there were kings of Ma'in and kings of Saba' reigning alongside of one another. To Glaser's argument that the two kingdoms practically never mention each other in their inscriptions, even Weber (*op. cit.*, p. 18) was forced to confess that "the Minaeans actually brought themselves on two or three occasions to break the mysterious silence", and the Sabaeans likewise. But this means confessing the impossibility of holding this theory in any form.

Glaser's view that the Minaeans had already begun to decline soon after the Hyksos period (*op. cit.*, p. 451) and had sunk into barbarism towards the end of the first century B. C. (p. 22, 69, 93, 95, 232), or were actually an extinct people (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 31) is disposed of by the statement of Artemidoros (Strabo, xvi. 776) and extracts by others from Agatharchides (§ 87, 97, in the middle) on the commercial activity and the wealth of the Minaeans and further by Pliny's statement regarding their independent position alongside of Saba' and their competition with the Sabaeans in the frankincense trade (see above), still more palpably by the significant fact that Ptolemy calls the Minaeans alone "a very great people" out of all the peoples of Southern Arabia.

The inscription of the Minaean sarcophagus of Gize, which shows that Minaeans were still supplying spices for the Egyptian temples in the Ptolemaic period, and the Minaean and Greek inscription on Delos of the second century B. C., which records the erection of an altar to Minaean gods, are likewise, as Praetorius has rightly observed (*Z D M G*, lxiii. 220), unfavourable to Glaser's theory, and, agreeing with the Greek and Roman evidence, are proofs that the people, language and culture of the Minaeans survived into the second century B. C. and certainly to a still later period.

The palaeography and grammar of the inscriptions likewise give no support to the Minaean theory. D. H. Müller was the first to point out that of the Sabaeen inscriptions those written boustrophedon belong to the oldest period of Sabaeen history and at the same time show the earliest forms of letters. Contradicting Hommel's (*A. A.*, p. 22 sq., *Chrestomathie*, p. 2, 6) suggestion that the Minaean inscriptions are older in grammar and epigraphy than the Sabaeen, Mordtmann (*Beiträge*, p. 107) held that the Minaean inscriptions that have survived to us are later than the oldest Sabaeen texts and older than the Sabaeen texts of the later period (*ibid.* p. xi., note 2) and that Hommel's deductions from the palaeography of the Minaean inscriptions were very wide of the mark.

He also insisted (*op. cit.*, p. 106, *Z D M G*, xlvii. 400) that the fact that only one of the extant (or so far known) Minaean inscriptions is written boustrophedon, is not very much in favour of the claim for a very high antiquity for these

inscriptions in contrast to the Sabaeen. It must, of course, be remembered that there are texts written boustrophedon which are later than normal ones written from right to left. But although the Minaean alphabet may show occasional less developed forms, it is recognised (e. g. by Weber, p. 11) that the forms of the Minaean letters on the whole agree perfectly with the Sabaeen of the oldest period. In spite of the archaic features of the Minaean language in comparison with the Sabaeen (on the dialectal distinctions between the two see D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, p. 1009; specially thorough, especially from the lexical point of view, is Mordtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 107 sq., *Z D M G*, lii. 400; Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 133, note 3), Hommel, *A. A.*, p. 23, asserted that the Minaean inscriptions might nevertheless be later than the Sabaeen or contemporary with them, as in them older forms — as happens elsewhere — might have survived into the latest period (see also Mordtmann, p. 115 on the more conservative retention of the older vocabulary in Minaean and (p. xi.) of archaic forms of the script); we need not take account of mixed forms of earlier and later origin occurring in one and the same text.

None of the grounds on which Glaser bases his theory are convincing, (they are detailed in Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 7). That Sabaeans are so rarely mentioned in Minaean texts and Minaeans even more rarely in Sabaeen sources, facts on which Glaser and his supporters lay so much stress, is explained partly from the relations of the two rivals (D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, p. 1031; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 135), partly from the fact that the "subject matter of the inscriptions, which are not in any sense annals, afford little opportunity for mentioning such matters" (Mordtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 115, note 1), as the texts preserved from this period deal mainly with the buildings and religious matters, being occasional or ad hoc inscriptions, and only rarely touch on foreign affairs (Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 102). But these few references are quite sufficient to settle the main question. It is noteworthy that, although Grimme (*op. cit.*, p. 17) still proposed to put the date of the earliest Minaean kings far beyond 1500 B. C., other champions of this theory, in calculating the earliest initial date for the Minaean kingdom, have now gone in the other direction and put it much below Glaser's figure. While Winckler in the first edition of *Helmolt's Westasien*, p. 244 still held that the Minaean period could hardly have begun after 1500 B. C. (cf. p. 245), Weber significantly wrote in the second edition in the same passage (p. 235) "hardly after 1200 B. C." (cf. p. 237, "from about 1200 B. C."). Hommel, although he still put the collapse of the Minaean kingdom about 650 B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 396), and, according to him, the South Arabian (p. 394) inscriptions "begin from at least 800 B. C., but more probably many centuries earlier", also later (here above i. 399 sqq.), says that Glaser's assumption would presuppose the placing of the Minaean kingdom from 1200 to 700 B. C. at least (in *Explorations*, p. 729 he still puts it at 1400—700 B. C.), and that at most it may be granted that "the oldest Sabaeen inscriptions were contemporary with the latest Minaean" (above i. 399 sqq.). On Weber's clever defence, Lidzbarski (p. 101) says that it will hardly gain further adherents for the Minaean theory and Weber himself has to confess (*Glaser's*

Forschungsreisen, p. 30) that "no obvious proof for Glaser's view has yet been produced".

Against the theory, in perfect agreement with the Greek and Roman authorities and the ancient South Arabian sources, most readily agreeing with them, and following D. H. Müller, we must insist that the kingdom of Ma'in existed contemporaneously with that of Saba' and at the very earliest began in the eighth century B.C. (see, for example, Mordtmann in *W. Z. K. M.*, viii. 371; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132 etc.). Its end did not come about 230 B.C. (so Hartmann, *op. cit.*; similarly Mordtmann, *Anzeige, Z D M G*, xlv. p. 184 and *Beiträge*, p. 106: "soon after Eratosthenes"), but it existed at least down to the second century B.C. Saba's rivalry first with Ma'in (and Ḳatabān) as well as with the Ḥimyar was of far reaching significance for its history. The period of transition from its oldest period, the so-called *mukarrib* period, the period of the priest-kings, and the next epoch, whose rulers residing in Ma'rib, contemporaries of the kings of Ḳatabān and Ḥaḍramūt, bear the title "kings of Saba'" (expressing the emancipation of the kingship from the priesthood) and whose beginning may be placed about 500 B.C., is represented for us by the great Širwāḥ inscription (Glaser, N^o. 1000). The following (the Ḥimyarite) period, that of the "kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān" (from the hill or ancestral citadel of Raidān; the name occurs in Sanskrit also as *Duryōdhana* [in the second book of the *Mahābhārata*]) and the last period (from 300 A.D. to the end of the independence of Ḥaḍramūt, that of "the kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān and Ḥaḍramūt and Yemnat") have been sketched above.

At the period of the rise of Islām, Saba' was beginning to disappear from the memory of the Arab world. For Islām, which kindled new wars in the land and brought about the final collapse of the ancient kingdom, the decline of which had been begun by the Persians and Abyssinians, Saba' soon became an echo of the past, indeed, the very essence of the pre-Muḥammadan period, with which only scholars still concerned themselves. The new creed had the greatest interest in obliterating all recollection of the pagan period, not only in the stone monuments which still survived the natural weathering — these were destroyed to provide material for new buildings, or to be burned for lime or sometimes out of sheer vandalism — but also in literature, and even in consigning the ancient language to oblivion. This explains why, as Sprenger (*op. cit.*, p. 244) rightly remarks, it would be useless labour to seek for any reliable information regarding the Sabaeans in Arabic sources. The relative value of the various sources for our knowledge of Saba' was estimated with equal accuracy by the most successful discoverer of inscriptions (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 159) in his verdict that it was not the legendary tradition of the Arabs, containing very little matter of value and usually misleading, and not the poetry of the time shortly before and after Muḥammad, which would give us a true picture of the past, but "simply and solely the ancient inscriptions and the few statements in the classical authors". The relatively scanty references in Arabic authors may be divided for our purpose into two main groups. The one consists of valuable geographical and historical statements regarding architectural remains of Saba's past and details

of ancient Sabaeen history, including archaeological matter and the other far less valuable legendary elements, which survived in tradition after the disappearance of Sabaeen culture and which also permeated the quasi-historical references to the affairs of the Ḥimyar state which lay nearer in point of time. The supreme authority for information of the first category, who, of all Muslim authors, gives us the most numerous and most valuable items of information regarding Saba', is al-Ḥamdānī whose "Description of the Peninsula of Arabia" is our main literary source for the geography of Arabia in general and who (he was a Yemeni, a native of Ṣan'ā), out of patriotic interest in the old buildings and other antiquities of South Arabia that still existed in his time, has collected everything associated with them, often, indeed, already interwoven with legend, in his *Ikhl*, a history of Yemen and a description of its antiquities. The part of the eighth book of the *Ikhl*, which still exists, describing the citadels was, edited for the first time (Arabic text and German translation with explanatory notes) by D. H. Müller (*Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Ikhl des Ḥamdānī*, S. B. Ak. Wien, 1879, xciv. 335 sqq. and xcvi. 1881, p. 955 sqq.), who added additional notes from the tenth book, which deals with the genealogy of the Ḥamdān, as well as illuminative passages from the *Ṣifa Djasirat al-'Arab*. Part i. gives in the first place al-Ḥamdānī's account of Ḡhumdān and Ṣan'ā; al-Ḥamdānī quotes verses on Ḡhumdān and then gives the story of the foundation of the building by Šem and South Arabian traditions regarding Ṣan'ā; he goes on to give further information regarding the temperature of the country, the preservation of food in it; details regarding the topography of Ṣan'ā, the ruins of the citadel of Ḡhumdān, and quotes verses relating to it, which reflect the legends clinging to the castle as a wonder of architecture. He next deals with *Šhibām-Yaskhum*, the old monuments and great palaces in *Šhibām*, *Šhibām Bait Akyān* (cf. the descriptions in the *Djasira* and *Yākut*, *Mu'djam*, iv. 437, iii. 248 sq.). Next comes the district of *Ḍahr*, *Bait Ḥanbaṣ* (cf. al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 198 and the *Djasira*), *Ḥadaḳān* and *Riḍā'*, *Širwāḥ*, one of the most celebrated castles of Yemen (verses are quoted), *Ḡhaimān* (the Ḥimyar tradition regarding As'ad Tubba' is quoted, given in full in Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 86 sq.), *Dāmigh*, *Zafār* and other citadels. This is followed by a short list of the citadels of *Sarw* (highlands of the Ḥimyars) and *Ḥaḍramūt*. Al-Ḥamdānī's description of Ma'rib and Saba' is important for its subject matter, on the basis of which Müller (in Part ii.) endeavoured on several points to throw a brighter light on ancient Saba' and in particular to show that it is the inscriptions which must be used for the reconstruction of the lists of Sabaeen kings, rather than the statements of Arab tradition. Al-Ḥamdānī's description deals with the state of the remains of the dam, the inundation which spoiled the dam, the citadels of Ma'rib (with quotations from the poets). Al-Ḥamdānī's unhistorical statements regarding the builder of the dam (*Luḳmān b. 'Ād*, a mythical personage) are corrected by the evidence of inscriptions which mention *Itiḥamar Baiyin* as the builder. It is worthy of note that Arnaud's description of the remains of the dam and Halévy's report agree with al-Ḥamdānī's account in the main details. Of

the Yemenī citadel of Rawḥān (between al-Djōf and Ma'rib) al-Hamdānī says that it at one time belonged to the family of the Naṣḥk (on which he also gives information in the tenth book; following him also Naṣḥwān, *Shams al-ʿulūm*; Müller, *op. cit.*, ii. 1001, note 3). In the Minaean area he mentions the citadels of Barākīsh and Maʿīn (with quotations from the poets).

The *Diasira* also contains geographical details regarding the territory of Saba', which, however, no more enables us to form a comprehensive impressive picture than the scattered notices in later Arab geographers, because they consist almost entirely of isolated names; and it is difficult to form a general idea from them. D. H. Müller, in editing the text (2 vols., Leiden 1889—1891) had therefore to struggle with extraordinary difficulties. Glaser, who, like Sprenger before him, had made very great use of al-Hamdānī, was later able to test the readings of this edition on the spot for the areas in which he travelled from his own observations and the evidence of natives.

The few memories of the history of the Sabaeen period that have survived in the prose or poetic traditions of the Arabs are beyond the range of our consideration, as they have more or less assumed the form of legend. A. v. Kremer, *op. cit.* (cf. his *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volkssage von Jemen*, Leipzig 1867), has collected the essential matter on the subject. In tradition also we find analogies to the Greek stories (cf. e. g. von Kremer, p. 150 on Dhū Fa'īsh). The building of the dam at Ma'rib or at least its improvement was attributed to Queen Bilkīs (cf. above); legends also became associated with the inundation. In the division of the pre-Muḥammadan history of Yemen in the Arab historians into three periods (the first down to Tubba' Abū Karīb, the second to Dhū Nuwās and the third to Islām) still reflects the actual division into Sabaeen, Ḥimyarite and Abyssinian-Persian epochs (Müller, *Burgen*, i. 338). Even the lists of Ḥimyarite kings preserved by these historians have no scientific value and at most give us a few old names which were adopted by the genealogists, but can have no claim to historical accuracy. Besides, these lists of kings refer only to the later period of Ḥimyarite history (*ibid.* ii. 981, 997).

More important for us are the items of information found in Muslim literature regarding the social and economic life of ancient and more modern Saba', which link up with the inscriptions and Graeco-Roman sources. The finds made in the country itself are in harmony with the various classical literary sources, which agree in showing that the Sabaeans attained the greatest importance of all Arab peoples of the pre-Muḥammadan period, in particular of the four leading peoples of South Arabia who were known even to the Greeks; these still extant monuments of the once highly developed civilisation, to which Sabaea mainly owed its historical importance, consist of the inscriptions found since Arnaud's journey of exploration, sculptures and remains of colonnades, palaces, temples, city-walls, towers, public works, especially water-works etc., which confirm the brilliant picture of Sabaeen culture given by Agatharchides and the writers after him (see above) and at the same time show that even the legends of Islāmic tradition concerning the former glory of the Ḥimyar kingdom have a historical basis.

Striking evidence of this in Arabic literature is the above mentioned description of Ghumdān in al-Hamdānī and the poetic references to this much admired citadel (see Müller, *Burgen*, i. 345 sqq.) as well as to other citadels in Saba', e. g. Salḥīn and Bainūn. Agatharchides's remarks on the splendid buildings of the kings and private individuals in Saba' and the descriptions of Sabaeen castles by the Arabs are confirmed by the testimony of the inscriptions, which to a great extent commemorate the building of houses (palaces) and fortifications. Of public works built to assist agriculture like barriers and dams, the most celebrated was the dam of Ma'rib. The ancient South Arabians achieved great things in the way of irrigation works in view of the dependence of their agriculture on artificial irrigation. In the South Arabian inscriptions these are frequently mentioned (cf. the references collected by Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 398 sq. and the discussions in Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. (e. g. p. 78 sq. etc.). Cisterns of the Ḥimyar period may still be seen in South Arabia to-day.

This civilisation, on which since Arnaud's time the finds and observations of Halévy and especially of Glaser have thrown new light, owed its rise to the industry and commerce of the Sabaeans, in particular to the cultivation of frankincense. The land offered all the necessary conditions for its cultivation. According to al-Hamdānī (*Diasira*, p. 51, 8) Yemen was called *al-Khadra'* "the green", on account of its wealth in trees, fruits and crops (cf. Ibn al-Faḥīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, BG A, v. 34). Even Agatharchides's description of the richness of the flora of Saba' is quite satisfactorily explained by the natural formation of the country. The healthy, temperate interior of Yemen and Ḥaḍramūt produces a rich vegetation on the slopes of the hills and in the valleys. Accounts of modern journeys also bear testimony to the fertility of the soil of Yemen, and also to diminution in its woods. Al-Mas'ūdī's description, based on older authorities, of Saba' as "the most luxurious and most fertile part of Yemen, rich in gardens, plantations and meadows", with a "splendid climate" (cf. Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 10, note 1) is in close keeping with Agatharchides's praise of the wealth of Saba'.

The uniformity of the temperature in the region of Ṣan'ā' is emphasised by al-Hamdānī (Müller, *Burgen*, i. 343). Glaser and other travellers record that the temperature of the higher regions of Yemen is temperate and favourable to vegetation.

A parallel to the statement of Agatharchides that the Sabaeans provided the Ptolemies and Syrians with gold and the Phoenicians with costly wares of the most varied kinds, is found in the Biblical passages already mentioned, relating to the Sabaeen exports of frankincense, gold and jewels to Egypt and Syria. South Arabia from the earliest times had been the very land of frankincense and the Sabaeans in particular, as inhabitants of the most fertile parts of the southern half of Yemen and owners of the frankincense country, were naturally destined to trade especially in spices. The idea — expressed in Strabo (xvi. iv. § 19, 22) — that the trade in spices was the source of the wealth of the Sabaeans is already found in I Kings, x. 1 sq. Adana was the great centre for trade with India and Egypt (Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία,

Periplus, p. 26; Ptolemy, vi. 7, 9; Mela, iii. 8, 6; Pliny, vi. 159; Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 5), and 'Aden [q. v.] still is "the natural centre of the circle formed by Africa, Arabia, Mesopotamia and India" (W. Schmidt, *Das südwestl. Arabien*, Frankfurt a. M. 1913, p. 101, who, like Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*³, v. 611) wrongly speaks of a destruction of Adana by the Romans in the first century A. D.). The references in inscriptions to sacred vessels of gold and silver, mediaeval finds of gold (al-Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 79; cf. Müller, *Burgen*, ii. 1008, *Südarabische Studien*, p. 135 sq., Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 56 sq.), modern gold-washing, reported by Halévy and Glaser, and lastly the archaeological finds of Sabaean silver and gold coins and gems (on gems see al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*; Müller, *Burgen*, i. 366, 374, *Südarabische Altertümer*, Vienna 1899; Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 367; Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 128; on finds of coins see Schlumberger, *Le trésor de Sanā'*, Paris 1880; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Altertümer*, Vienna 1899, pp. 65—78, Pl. xiv; E. S. G. Robinson in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, pp. 365—368; G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins of Arabia*, 1922, *passim*; do., *Ancient Coins of South Arabia*, in the *Proceed. of Brit. Acad.*, London 1915), all corroborate the accounts preserved in Diodorus from Strabo (following Agatharchides) of gates, walls, ceilings, pillared walls of Sabaean houses embellished with gold, silver and jewels, and of the gold and silver drinking vessels and other valuable household utensils and (the above-mentioned) Greek, Roman and Arabic literary references to the occurrence of natural gold (and silver, according to al-Hamdānī [cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 58, 283 sq.] and other sources, also to modern authorities [*ibid.*, p. 158]).

Research has recently been devoted to the economic life of ancient South Arabia also. Rhodokanakis was the first to deal systematically with economic and the associated legal questions from the inscriptions (*Die Bodenwirtschaft in Studien*, vol. ii., and in his later [above mentioned] articles). From these studies it is clear that there existed in ancient South Arabia a strict system of regulation and administration of agriculture, dictated by national interests, especially a strict regulation of the distribution of water and of the actual tilling of the soil, and we gain an insight into a strictly regulated organisation of labour, into conditions of ownership and legal views, into the economic organisation of the state and of the temples. Historically important is the fact that the system of land administration and the constitution were (in the main at least) the same in all ancient South Arabian states.

Rhodokanakis's investigations into the economic conditions inspired A. Grohmann to his researches the results of which he has given in his work already mentioned (an earlier specimen was given in his *Die altorientalische Agrarwirtschaft* in the *Berichte des Forschungsinstitutes für Osten und Orient*, ii. Vienna 1918, p. 34 sq.). It deals with the land (geology, climate, water-supply), population, indigenous products (especially aromatic plants), mineral wealth, hunting, cattle-rearing and agriculture. Especially valuable are the many references from inscriptions and literary sources and from records by travellers (including works by Glaser still in manuscript). Grohmann gave himself a much wider subject than W. Schmidt, who

laid most stress on economic geography in his work (above quoted) and writes with special knowledge on modern trade and commerce; his historical observations suffer from the fact that he is not an Orientalist.

Bibliography: Of the literature to be

consulted, the sources have already been quoted in the article, especially the inscriptions (the main collection is the *Paris Corpus Inscript. Semit.*, iv) and the principal historical, geographical and linguistic works, Sprenger, *Geographie*; D. H. Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser*; Hommel, 1) *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* (3 parts, 1892—1901), 2) *Chrestomathie*, 3) *Explorations in Arabia*, 4) *Grundriss*; Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. (Part i. of the year 1889 was published privately); J. H. Mordtmann-D. H. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, Vienna 1883; J. H. Mordtmann, *Beiträge zur minäischen Epigraphik (Semitist. Studien*, ed. by C. Bezold, part 12, Weimar 1897); M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*; Otto Weber's monographies (on Arabia and journeys of exploration in *Der Alte Orient*) and *Studien zur südarabischen Altertumskunde*, i—iii., *Mitt. VAG*, 1907); Rhodokanakis, *Abhandlungen*, also Kremer's two works and Landberg's *Arabica*, Leiden 1897, 1898; and of Arabic literature al-Hamdānī's *Ikhlāl* and *Šifa Djazīrat al-ʿArab* (in D. H. Müller's edition). An almost complete bibliography of the antiquities of South Arabia (including Soḳoṭrā) from 1774 to 1892 was given by Hommel in his *Chrestomathie* (p. 63—88) and a continuation (down to 1907) by Weber (*Studien*, iii., 1908, where on p. 70 he promised supplements to Hommel; some are given below). Here we must confine ourselves to quoting books and articles which in their succession form milestones of progress in the investigation of the land and people of Saba', and to more recent literature (since 1908) and for the hundreds of special articles, mainly linguistic in their nature, and for the publication and interpretation of separate inscriptions we must refer the reader to these two collections and to the reviews in the *Z. D. M. G.* (from 1908 onwards). Of travellers' narratives we may here mention: *Auszug aus einem Briefe... Seetzen's an Herrn v. Hammer* (with 1 plate) in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, ii. Vienna 1811, p. 275 sqq.; J. R. Wellsted, 1) *Account*.... (1 plate), *JASB*, iii. (1834), 554 sq., 2) *Narrative of a Journey... to the ruins of Naḳab al-Ḥajjar* (1 plate) in the *J. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1837, vii. 20 sqq.; do., *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838; Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien*, Germ. edit. etc. by E. Rödiger, Halle 1842; Carter, *Transactions of the A. S. B.*, 1834; C. J. Cruttenden, 1) *Narrative of a Journey from Mokhā to Šanā'* (1 plate), *J. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1838, viii. 267 sqq., 2) *Journal of an Excursion to Šanā'*..., *Proceed. of Bomb. Geogr. Soc.*, 1838; P. Botta, *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Yémen*, Paris 1841; Th. S. Arnaud, *Relation d'un voyage à Mareb*, *J. A.*, 1845, series 4, vol. v. 211 sqq., 309 sqq. (publ. by Mohl; see below under Fresnel); *Mission dans l'Yémen, Rév. d'Egypte*, i., 1894, ii., 1895; F. Fresnel, *Notice sur le voyage de M. de Wrède dans la vallée de Doān*, *J. A.*, 1845, series 4, vol. vi. 386 sqq.; *Lettre de M. de Wrède sur son voyage en Arabie*, *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, 1845, series 3, vol.

iii. 41 sq. (from his papers: *A. v. Wrede's Reise in Hadhramaut*, by H. v. Maltzan, Braunschweig 1870, with plate); K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii., Berlin 1847 (comprehensive survey based on all then known accounts of Arabia); *Eben Safir* (see above); J. Halévy, 1) *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, *J. A.*, 1872, series 6, vol. xix. (*Itinéraire*, p. 8 sqq., *Classement des inscriptions*, p. 60 sqq., *Inscriptions Sabéennes*, p. 129 sqq., *Traduction*, p. 489 sqq.), 2) *Voyage du Nedjran*, *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, 1873, series 6, vol. vi., 1877, vol. xiii.; S. B. Miles and W. Munzinger, *Account of an Excursion into the Interior of Southern Arabia*, *J. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1874, xli.; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig 1873; Ch. Millingen, *Notes of a Journey in Yemen*, *J. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1874, xlv.; K. Manzoni, *El Yemen, Tre anni nell' Arabia Felice*, Rome 1884; H. Kiepert, *Schäpiras Reise in Yemen in Globus*, 1880, xxxviii. 183 sqq.; S. Langer, *Reiseberichte aus Syrien und Arabien*, Vienna 1883; E. Glaser, 1) *Meine Reise durch Arhab und Häschiid*, *Petermanns Geogr. Mitt.*, 1884, xxx. 170 sqq., 204 sqq., 2) *Von Hodeida nach San'a*, *ibid.*, 1886, xxxii. 1 sqq., 33 sqq., 3) *Über meine Reisen in Arabien*, *M. G. G. W.*, 1887, p. 18 sqq., 77 sqq., 4) *E. Glaser's Reise nach Murib*, by F. Hommel, *Beil. z. Münch. Allg. Ztg.*, 1888, No. 293, 294, 5) *Bericht über die vierte Reise*, *Mittteil. der Ges. z. Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft. ... in Böhmen*, Nov. 1, 1894, 6) *Bericht über einen Vortrag Glaser's über seine vierte Reise*, *Beil. z. Münch. Allg. Ztg.*, 1894, No. 97, 7) *E. Glaser's Reise nach Märib*, ed. by D. H. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913 (*Sammlung E. Glaser*, i.); A. Desfers, *Voyage au Yémen*, Paris 1887; F. T. Haig, *A Journey through Yemen in the Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1887, vol. ix.; (Harris see above); L. Hirsch, 1) *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-Land und Hadramaut*, Leiden 1896 (on it cf. Glaser, *Peterm. Mitt.*, xliii. 1297, *Litteraturber.*, p. 37 sq.), 2) *Neue Wanderungen in Yemen in Globus*, lxxiv. (1898), ii. 204 sqq., 221 sqq.; C. Landberg, *Die süd-arab. Expedition der Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien*, Munich 1899; D. H. Müller, 1) *Die süd-arab. Expedition der Akad. in Wien*, Vienna 1899, 2) *Zur Geschichte der süd-arab. Expedition*, Vienna 1907; P. Charnay, *Une excursion au Yémen*, *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Anvers*, 1899, xxiii. 79 sq.; A. Bardey, *Rapport sur El-Yemen*, *Bull. de Géogr. hist.*, 1899; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900; H. Burchard, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, *Z. G. E. B.*, 1902, p. 593 sqq.; W. Hein, 1) *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Reise nach Aden und Gischin*, *Anz. Akad. Wien*, 1902, xxxix. 107 sq., 2) *Südarabische Itinerarien*, *MGG Wien*, iv. 1914, p. 32 sqq.; A. Beneyton, *Mission d'études au Yémen in La Géographie*, xxvii., 1913. — From Glaser's still unpublished papers Grohmann very frequently quotes; his diaries and "in addition also G. W. Bury's description of his journey to Baihān in 1899" (*op. cit.*, p. ix.; p. 56, note 1: *Expedition to Bēhān*, *MS.*; also p. 4, note 1 etc.; Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915; also passim: *The Land of Us*, London 1911, and *Notes*); also Glaser's unpublished essay *Ost-jemen und Nordhadramaut*, p. 139 etc. — The following are exclusively concerned with present day conditions in the area once covered by the

ancient Sabaeo-Himyar kingdom which roughly corresponds to the modern Yemen (from about 19° N. Lat., Djebel Tathlith, to the south coast and in the east as far as Hawra): Zwemer, *Arabia*, Chicago 1901; Raif Fuad-Bey, *Land und Leute im heutigen Yemen in Peterm. Mitt.*, 1912, lviii., part 2; E. Behn, *Yemen, Grundzüge der Bodenplastik und ihr Einfluss auf Klima und Lebewelt*, Diss. Marburg 1910, apart from meteorological, astronomical and natural history researches and several monographs by Glaser, Bent and others. W. Schmidt's and A. Grohmann's books have been already mentioned. On commercial activity on the south coast at the present day information is given by the *Report of the Aden Chamber of Commerce* (Aden from 1898 onwards). To the works mentioned in the beginning of the bibliography we may here add the following: J. Halévy, *Études Sabéennes*, *J. A.*, 1873, series 7, vols. i.; ii.; A. Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit 100 Jahren*, Halle 1875; D. H. Müller, 1) *Südarabische Studien*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1877, lxxvi. 103 sqq., 2) *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien*, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xliii. (1894); E. Glaser, 1) *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Märib*, *M. V. A. G.*, 1897, 2) *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, Munich 1906, 3) *Die Abessinier in Arabien*, Munich 1895, 3) *Punt und die süd-arabischen Reiche*, *M. V. A. G.*, 1899, p. 51 sqq.; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Munich 1904; Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905; J. Tkač, *Saba (R. E.)*, s. v., cols. 1298—1511 where this material has been dealt with by me with special reference to Greek and Roman literature).

The earlier publications of inscriptions (Bird, Fresnel [to supplement the statement *R. E.*, col. 1400, reference should be made to col. 1402; the copies as well as the transcriptions of the inscriptions with the philological observations 194 sq. in letters to Mohl are from Fresnel], Prideaux, Rehatek, Langer [published by D. H. Müller, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1883, xxxvii. 319 sq.], Mordtmann, Derenbourg, etc.) are given in greater detail in the *Paris Corpus* (see above) and in the more recent publications. Of these we will mention the more comprehensive here: J. H. Mordtmann, 1) *Himjarische Inschriften und Altertümer in den Königl. Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1893, 2) *Musée Imperial Ottoman, Antiquités Himyarites ...*, Constantinople 1898; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Altertümer im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum*, Vienna 1899; H. Derenbourg, 1) *Les monuments sabéens et himyarites du Musée ... de Marseille*, *Rev. Archéol.*, 1899, series 3, vol. xxxv; 2) *Répert. d'Épigraphie sem.*, i. (1901 sq.), ii. (1907). Of the *Inschriften der süd-arabischen Expedition der Akademie in Wien* (collected in 1899) so far only a few have been published (in the publications of Rhodokanakis). — For Sabaeen studies, the researches made on the modern dialects of South Arabia are also important. Beginnings were made as early as H. v. Maltzan in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1873, xxvii. and others have followed him. Count C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i., *Hadramout*, ii., *Dathina* (Leiden 1901—1913) are valuable. Rich material is contained in the "*Schriften der süd-arabischen Expedition*" of the Academy in Vienna,

i.—x. (1900—1910, Somālī, Mehri, Hadramī, Sokotri, Zfar, ed. by L. Reinisch, D. H. Müller, A. Jahn, N. Rhodokanakis) finally M. Bittner's *Studien* on Mehri, Sokotri and Shāwri in *S B Ak. Wien*, clxii. 1909 sqq. (J. TKATCHI)

[All previous works on the extensive ancient coinages of South Arabia have been superseded by G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia in the British Museum*, London 1922, pp. xlv.—lxxxiv., 45—80, Plates VII—XI, L and LV. A full bibliography is given on p. xlv. It is now certain that the greater part of the coins hitherto vaguely classed as "Himyarite" are really Sabaeen and that small groups of coins may also be attributed to the Minaeans and Katabānians. — Editorial].

ŠABANDJA, chief place of the *nāhiya* of the same name, picturesquely situated on the South-eastern bank of lake Šabandja which is well known for its clear water and its many fishes. S. belongs to the *wilāyet* Stambul and to the *Şandjak* İsmid. It is the residence of a *Mudir* and has about 8000 inhabitants (of whom three-quarters are Muslims), 15 mosques, 2 *Madrasa's*, 15 schools and about 1200 houses (cf. V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* iv. 378). Of the history of the town little is known; there are remains from the Byzantine period, not however from antiquity. The origin of the name is obscure; Ewliyā Celebi reports that a certain Šabandjī Kudja founded the town (cf. *Travels*, transl. by J. v. Hammer, London 1850, ii. 91); but this report is probably not trustworthy and the personage mentioned is apparently a *hero eponymus*. More trustworthy seems the statement that the grand-wazir of Sulaimān the Great, Şāfī Rustem Paşa, founded a mosque, a public bath and an inn with 170 rooms in the town, a statement which concords with local tradition (cf. M. Kleonimos and Chr. Papadopoulos, *βιβλικά*, Constantinople 1861, p. 41). The place was only of some importance as a post-station; nowadays it is a railway halting-place. Of greater importance is the lake, especially because of the projected canalisation which was planned long ago, but never was carried out. Pliny (*Epist. ad Trajanum*, ed. Kukula, Leipsic 1912, N^o. 41, 42, 61 and 62) mentions ancient remains (*op. cit.*, p. 290 a8); he proposed to Trajan to bring about a communication with the Gulf of İsmid. The lake is 15 km long and reaches a breadth of 5 km; it occupies an area of 98 sq. km and has a circumference of 36 km (cf. Cuinet, o.c. iv. 334). It is already mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 8, 3 under the name of lacus sumonensis (= suphonensis?); cf. W. Tomaschek (*S B Ak. Wien*, vol. 124, 1891, N^o. 8, p. 7). In mediaeval authors the mountain at the lake is called Siphones (G. Pachymeres, ed. Bekker ii. 332. 8), Siphon (Anna Comnena who calls the lake Βαδών λίμνη; cf. ed. Reifferscheid ii. 72, 23; the reading Βαδών λίμνη in Euagrius ii. 14 is to be corrected into Κιανή λίμνη; cf. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier in *Revue de l'instruction publ. en Belgique* xl. [1897], p. 13-15 and *Bys. Zeitschrift* vi. 457), Sophon (Georg. Cedrenus, *Hist.*, ed. Bekker ii. 371, 628; Skylitzes, p. 710; Niceph. Bryenn. p. 77, 79, 82; Michael Att., p. 189; Theophanes, p. 610). Šabandja is perhaps a popular transformation of Sophon.

The project of the canal (see above) was discussed several times, but without success, in the Muslim era, e. g. during the reign of Murād III

in 999/1591 (the year 909 in Hādjđjī Khalifa, *Diḥānnumā*, p. 666, 12 is due to a printer's error and has given rise to mistakes, cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osmanischen Reiches*, iv. 200 note; further during the reign of Muṣṭafā III in 1578 and later also (cf. Baron de Tott [Tóth], *Mémoires*, i. 97). Cf. further the

Bibliography: On Šabandja: Ewliyā Celebi, *Siyāhat Nāme*, Constantinople 1314—18, ii. 171 sq., 459 sqq., v. 74; Hādjđjī Khalifa, *Diḥānnumā*, p. 666, 673, 11; transl. M. Norberg ii. 493 (cf. J. Otter, *Voyage* ii. 45); *Le voyage de M. d'Aramon par Jean Chesneau*, Paris 1887, p. 61 sq.; J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages* i. 6; P. Lucas, *Voyages* i. 204 sq.; Fr. La Boullaye-le-Gouz, *Voyages et observations*, Paris 1653; Sacabangi; R. Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii. 95; C. Ritter, *Kleinasien* i. 669 sq.; J. A. Cramers, *Asia Minor*, Oxford 1832, i. 188; James Morier, *Journey through Persia* etc., London 1812, p. 408 (on the projected canal under the wezīr Köprülü); Rémi Aucher Eloy, *Relations de voyages en Orient*, Paris 1843, ii. 376; W. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, London 1842, ii. 25; J. v. Hammer, *Umblick auf einer Reise*, Pesth 1818, p. 128—142 (with copious materials on the projected canal); Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, i. 51; X. Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie*, Paris 1859, i. 23 (cf. *Courier de Constantinople*, May 29th 1847 and *Das Ausland*, 1855, p. 415—418); an illustration in Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de Syrie* etc., Paris 1838, sqq., N^o. xvii. plate —. On the projected canal, cf. J. Solch in *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geographen der Universität Leipzig*, i. (1911), p. 36—56; C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 669 sqq.; *Revue historique ottomane (T O E M)*, iii. (1328), p. 948 sqq.; J. B. Tavernier, i. 6; Alberi, *Relazioni*, 3rd series i. 420; Wāṣif i. 162 (year 1177/1758) also in J. v. Hammer, *Umblick*, p. 177. — In Selänki's *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1281, p. 277, 282 sq. the lake is called Ajāz gölü instead of İyān gölü; cf. lacus Iwanis in Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, p. 57, 18 (from this form preceded by the usual *si*; the name could be derived as well); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte d. Osm. Reiches*, i. 72, 578; iv. 200 (after Selänki); F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipsic 1924, p. 93 sq., 245; W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 188. (FRANZ BARINGER)

SABBIḤ, title of Sūra lxxxvii. of the *Qur'ān*, which is also called al-ʿAlā, after the last word of the first verse.

AL-ŠABI', ABU IŞHĀK IBRĀHĪM B. HİLĀL B. IBRĀHĪM B. ZAHRŪN AL-ĤARRĀNĪ was an adherent of the sect of Šābi'āns [see the art. ŠABI'Ā] and was born on the 5th of Ramaḍān, 313 A.H., according to the most trustworthy authority, his grandson Hilāl, while the *Fihrist* gives the year 320, which is certainly too late a date. His father Hilāl was a skilful doctor and in the service of Tūzūn, who died in 324 A. H. Ibrāhīm was brought up to the same sciences as other members of his family, who were all skilled in medicine, astronomy and mathematics. He is stated to have made an astrolabe of the size of a large silver coin for al-Muṭahhar b. ʿAbd Allāh, the Wazīr of the Būyid Amīr ʿAḡud al-Dawla. At an early date, however, he gave up these pursuits and became

a secretary in the State-chancellery, and here he came into prominence when the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla (died 356 A.H.) sent a messenger to the Wazīr al-Muhallabī asking him to draw up without loss of time a letter to Muḥammad b. Ilyās, governor of Kirmān, to ask his daughter in marriage for prince Bakhtiyār, the later Amīr 'Izz al-Dawla. The Wazīr, his friends and secretaries had been having a heavy drinking-bout and only Ibrāhīm al-Šābī was capable of drawing up the desired document, which found general approval. He must have come prominently to the notice of Mu'izz al-Dawla, who in the year 349 A.H. on the death of Abū Ishāq Ibn Thawāba appointed him chief secretary of the department of State-documents (Dīwān al-Inshā'). The Amīr tried his utmost to convert him to Islām, offering him even the post of Wazīr as a reward, but he refused and remained true to his religious convictions till his death. However, he was a man of good manners and complied as such as much as possible with Muslim customs and fasted during the month of Ramaḍān; besides, his knowledge of the Qur'ān was perfect and he quoted from it frequently in his official letters. Upon the death of Mu'izz al-Dawla he retained his post in the Chancellery under his son 'Izz al-Dawla and in the year 364 A.H. when the latter's uncle 'Aḍud al-Dawla came to Baghdād it was part of Ibrāhīm's duty to draw up the contract for an amicable settlement about their respective positions. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had at first been very favorably disposed towards Ibrāhīm and invited him to come to Shirāz, which he refused to do as he feared his relations during his absence might be converted to Islām. The document, however, contained terms which offended 'Aḍud al-Dawla, especially as 'Izz al-Dawla was given the prerogatives of his father Mu'izz al-Dawla, which incurred the hatred of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. The quarrel between the uncle and his nephew was disastrous for Ibrāhīm, for when 'Izz al-Dawla was killed in 367 A.H. and 'Aḍud al-Dawla entered Baghdād, he was apprehended on Saturday, the 26th of Dhū'l-Ka'da. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had vowed that he would have him trampled to death by elephants, but several prominent persons, among them the Wazīr al-Muṭahhar b. 'Abd-Allāh interceded for him and he was cast into prison, where he lingered several years. To give him a chance to regain the favour of 'Aḍud al-Dawla he was ordered while in prison to write a history of the Būyid dynasty, which was to have the title *Kitāb al-Tādji*, after the new title of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Tādji al-Milla. The Amīr made it his business to read the sheets of the work himself as they were composed and to make such corrections as he desired. Ibrāhīm, annoyed at the mode in which the work was composed, had the indiscretion to tell a friend upon his enquiry how the work was proceeding, that what he was writing was lies and bagatelles which he was scribbling. This remark was conveyed to 'Aḍud al-Dawla and only the death of the latter saved Ibrāhīm from violent death. After the accession of Sharaf al-Dawla he was released from prison on the 20th of Djumādā I, 371 A.H. He was compelled to live the remainder of his days in retirement and died on Thursday the 12th of Shawwāl, 384 at the age of 71 years. Some authorities state that he attained the age of 91 years, but both the date of his death and his age are confirmed by the superscriptions of the elegy which the Sharif al-Raḍī composed upon his

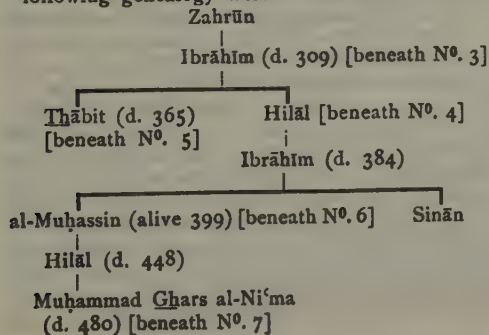
death (ed. Beirut, i. 294; British Museum, Add. 25750 and Add. 19410). He was buried in the Shūnizī cemetery at Baghdād. The elegy of al-Raḍī was a token of a long and sincere friendship and when reproached about mourning an unbeliever, he replied that he mourned him for his personal merits. The poem is also quoted in extenso by Tha'alibi in the *Yatima* (ed. Damascus, ii. 81—85). Of the works of Ibrāhīm the *Kitāb al-Tādji* is lost, but it is quoted occasionally by later historians e.g. Mirkhwānd, *Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Būjeh* (ed. Wilcken, Berlin 1832), p. 13 of the Persian text, and anonymously by Ibn Miskawaih, Arabic text ii. 21—22, 23, 53, 59, 86, 87, 404. The genealogy of the Būyids quoted by Mirkhwānd l.c., seems to confirm the statement of Ibrāhīm. Ibn Abi Usaibi'a (i. 224, 22) attributes the *Kitāb al-Tādji* erroneously to Sinān b. Thābit. Ibrāhīm's other works are: 2) a history of his own family, which is also lost. His reputation rests rather upon his 3) *Rasā'il* or official letters which were collected and have come down to us (MS. Leiden 345, Paris 3314) and of which many examples are quoted in the *Yatima*, the *Irshād* of Yāqūt, the *Ṣubḥ al-Ashā* of Kalkashandī and the *Ma'āhid al-Tanqīḥ*. They are historically of the highest importance as they supplement our knowledge of the period of the decay of the caliphate. Though the Persian influence is noticeable in the diffuseness of his style, it is free from Saḍī, and lucid when compared with later specimens of the same art. 4). His poems, of which ample specimens are quoted in the works mentioned above and in many anthologies, are not to be distinguished from the productions of other poets of his time. They contain verses in praise of notable persons of the age, among them the wazīr al-Muhallabī (died 358 A.H.), al-Muṭahhar b. 'Abd Allāh, wazīr of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (committed suicide in 369 A.H.), 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Sābūr b. Ardashir, wazīr of Bahā' al-Dawla (deposed 381 A.H.), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yūsuf, successor of Sābūr, Shams al-Dawla (reigned 372—388) and others; among his elegies is one upon his son Sinān.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 134; Tha'alibi, *Yatima* (ed. Damascus), i. 23—86, i. 14, 69, 187, 188, 190, 528; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 12 = Cairo 1310, i. 12; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, i. 324—358; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 397, ix. 11, 74, 226; Abū 'l-Fidā' (ed. Constantinople, ii. 136); Hilāl al-Šābī, *Wuzarā'*, Introduction, p. 3; Kiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*; Muḥammad Bakir, *Rawḍat al-djinnān* (ed. Teherān), p. 45 and 141; Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Šālihānī, p. 307; Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (ed. Cairo), i. 40; *Ma'āhid al-Tanqīḥ* (ed. 1316), i. 53, 154—161, 174, 227, 257; ii. 114—115. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 149; Chwolson, *SSabier* (St. Petersburg 1856); Brockelmann, *Gesch. arab. Lit.*, i. 96; Casiri, *MSS. in the Escorial*, i. 405; Nizam al-Din, *Introduction to the Diawānī al-Hikāyāt of Muḥammad 'Awfi* (Dissertation Cambridge, Univ. Libr.). (F. KRENKOW)

2. HILĀL B. AL-MUḤASSIN AL-ŠĀBĪ, the grandson of Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl was born in Shawwāl 359 A.H. and was a Šābi'ān like the other members of his family. His mother was the sister of the physician and historian Thābit b. Sinān b. Qurra. He was the first member of his family who forsook

his old faith and became a Muslim. This was in the year 399 in consequence of a dream he had. He was secretary of Fakhr al-Mulk Abū Ghālib Muḥammad b. Khalaf, who at his death had with him on deposit the sum of 30,000 dīnārs. He was afraid to make use of the money, fearing the interference of the wazīr Mu'ayyid al-Mulk al-Ḥasan al-Rukh-khadjī (died 430 A. H.); but when the latter found it out, he allowed him to keep the money. He did not use it, however, as he was in State-employ and left it to his son Ghars al-Ni'mat. He died on Thursday the 17th of Ramaḍān, 448 A. H. The nine works which he composed have all been lost except the fragments edited by H. F. Amedroz, Leiden 1904. They consisted of the following: 1) *Ta'rikh*, a history in continuation of that of his father-in-law Thābit b. Sinān, containing the events of the years 360—447. Of this the fragment published contains events of the years 389—393 only, and the portion preserved makes us regret the loss of the remainder. He relied for the earlier parts upon much valuable information supplied by his grandfather, who for so many years had access to all the most important documents. 2) *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, a continuation of the works of al-Šūlī and al-Djahshiyārī. Of this only the beginning is preserved in the printed edition and some of the most important lives of wazīrs are lost. This work is quoted under the title *Kitāb al-A'yān wa'l-Amthal* by Ibn Zāfir in the *Baḍ'ī' al-Baḍ'īh* (Cairo 1316, i. 63, 169; ii. 102), where fragments of a later portion are preserved. Ibn Khallikān calls this work by the longer title *Kitāb al-Amthal wa'l-A'yān wa Mutanadda 'l-Awāṭif wa'l-Iḥsān* and states that it is in one volume and contains pleasant stories and rare anecdotes. 3) *Ghurar al-Balāgha fi'l-Rasā'il*, a collection of his own epistles. 4) *Kitāb Risālat 'an il-Mulūk wa'l-Wuzarā'*, a collection of official letters, resembling that of his grandfather. 5) *Kitāb Rusūm Dār il-Khilāfa*, probably an exposition of the various public offices in Baghdād. 6) *Kitāb Akhbār Baghdād*, chronicle of the city of Baghdād. 7) *Kitāb Ma'āthir Ahliki*, chronicle of his own family. 8) *Kitāb al-Kutāb*, a manual for secretaries, probably after the model of the work with the same title by al-Šūlī. 9) *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, Introduction, p. 5—7, 13; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, Ms. B. M.; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 756 = Cairo 1310, ii. 202.; Ibn Hiddjja, *Thamarāt al-Awrāk* (Cairo 1304), i. 76; *J. R. A. S.* 1901, p. 501 and 749; v. Kremer, *Denksch. Ak. Wien*, xxxvi. 283—362; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschr.*, 198; Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Lit.*, i. 323. Other members of the family according to the following genealogy were



3. ABU ISHĀK IBRĀHĪM B. ZAHRŪN was a skillful doctor and came from al-Raḡḡa to Baghdād where he died on the 20th of Šafar, 309 A. H. Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, i. 227; Kiftī, *Hukamā'* (ed. Cairo 1326), p. 55.

4. HILĀL B. IBRĀHĪM B. ZAHRŪN ABU 'L-ḤUSAIN, the father of Ibrāhīm, was a clever physician and in the service of the amīr Tūzūn. Kiftī, *Hukamā'* (ed. Cairo), p. 229.

5. THĀBIT B. IBRĀHĪM B. ZAHRŪN, also a physician, was an old man when 'Aḍud al-Dawla came to Baghdād in 364 A. H. Though at first not well received he was later granted a pension and died the 11th of Dhū'l-Ḳa'da, 365 A. H. He was born at al-Raḡḡa on the 27th of Dhū'l-Ḳa'da, 283 A. H. Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, i. 227—230; Yāqūt, *Iṣṣād*, i. 341.

6. AL-MUḤASSIN B. IBRĀHĪM ABU 'ALĪ transmitted the books of Sinān b. Thābit b. Kurra. Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, i. 224—227; Yāqūt, *Iṣṣād*, i. 339 sqq.

7. MUḤAMMAD B. HILĀL ABU 'L-ḤASAN GHARS AL-NI'MA, son of the historian Hilāl. He was born in 416 A. H. and inherited at the death of his father valuable property which was valued at 12,000 dīnārs; he lived a very quiet life and by improving his wealth he was worth 70,000 dīnārs when he died in 480 A. H. His children soon squandered this wealth, and with him the glory of his family ended. He had founded a small library of 400 volumes of which Ibn al-Akṣāsī was made librarian, but the latter proved to be dishonest and sold many of the books. Ghars al-Ni'mat was also for a time in the chancellery of the caliph al-Kā'im. He tried to continue the history of his father, but it was only a small volume and became towards the end very succinct, probably because he dared not write all he wanted to say. According to al-Šafadī, Hibat-Allāh b. al-Mubārak accuses him of having included many falsehoods in his history. We cannot verify this as all his works have been lost. His other works were 2) *al-Hafawāt al-Nādira min al-Mughaffilīn al-Maḥṣūṣīn wa'l-Safaṭāt al-Bārīda min al-Mughaffalīn al-Maḥṣūṣīn* which contained historical tales, and 3) *Kitāb al-Rabī'* which was after the model of the *Niṣṣawār al-Muḥāḍarat* of al-Tanūkhī. Ibn Khallikān (ed. Cairo 1310), ii. 202; Ibn al-Kiftī, *Hukamā'* (ed. Cairo), p. 77; Šafadī, *Wāfi'l-Wafayāt*, British Museum, MS. Or. 5320, fol. 110r.

(F. KRENKOW)

AL-ŠĀBĪ'A, the Sabaeans. This name has been given to two quite distinct sects. 1. The Mandaeans or Subbas, a Judaeo-Christian sect practising the rite of baptism in Mesopotamia (Christians of John the Baptist); 2. the Sabaeans of Harrān, a pagan sect which survived for a considerable period under Islām, of interest for its doctrines and of importance for the scholars whom it has produced.

The Sabaeans mentioned in the *Qur'ān*, who are on three occasions placed along with the Jews and Christians among the "people of the book", i. e. possessors of a revealed book, are apparently the Mandaeans. The name must come from the Hebrew root *š-b'* "to plunge, to immerse", by loss of 'ain and must mean 'baptists', those who practise baptism by immersion. The pagan Sabaeans, who did not know this rite at all, may have adopted this name as a measure of precaution to secure the advantages of the toleration accorded by the *Qur'ān* to Jews and Christians.

Arab writers from the fourth century A. H. onwards very frequently mention the Sabaeans of Harrān and always with interest. Al-Shahrastānī devotes a very long section to them and the exposition of their doctrines. He classes them among those who admit spiritual substances (*al-rūḥāniyūn*), especially the great astral spirits. They recognise as their first teachers two philosopher-prophets 'Adhimūn (Agathodemon = the good spirit) and Hermes who have been identified with Seth and Idris respectively. Orpheus was also one of their prophets. They believe in a creator of the world, wise, holy, not produced, and of inaccessible majesty, who is reached through the intermediary of the spirits. The latter are pure and holy in substance, in act and state; as regards their nature, they have nothing corporeal, neither physical faculties nor movements in place nor changes in time. They are our masters, our gods, our intercessors with the sovereign Lord; by purifying the soul and chastising the passions, one enters into relations with them. As to their activities they produce, renew and change things from state to state; they cause the force of the divine majesty to flow down towards the lower beings and lead each of them from his beginning to his perfection. Among them are the administrators of the seven planets, which are like their temples. Each spirit has a temple; each temple has a sphere and the spirit is to his temple as the soul is to the body. Sometimes they call the planets fathers and the elements mothers. Their activity consists in moving these spheres and in acting upon the elements and the physical world through them; from this result the mixtures in the compositions, then the corporeal faculties. The general beings proceed from the general spirits and the particular from the particular spirits; thus rain in general has its spirit, its spiritual master, and every drop of rain has its own. They preside over the phenomena of the world, winds, storms, earthquakes and give to each being its faculties and lay down laws for it; their condition is very spiritual and analogous to that of the angels.

Al-Shahrastānī distinguishes between the Sabaeans who worshipped the stars, called temples, directly and those who worshipped idols made with hands (*ashkhās*, persons), representing the stars in temples made by man. There is a very curious note on the temples and idols of the Sabaeans, as well as on their ceremonies in al-Dimishkī, (*Cosmographie*, ed. A. F. Mehren, 1866); the shape of the temples, the number of the degrees, the colour of the ornaments, the material of the idols and the nature of the sacrifices varied with the planets, and this is interesting for the history of the liturgy. Here and elsewhere we find the accusation of human sacrifices made, which undoubtedly is not to be maintained. The Jewish philosopher Maimonides says he had seen idols which resembled those of which al-Dimishkī speaks. Al-Shahrastānī further tells us that all the Sabaeans had three prayers; they purified themselves by ablation after contact with a corpse, forbade the flesh of swine, dogs, birds with talons and pigeons. They did not have circumcision, allowed divorce only by decree of the judge and forbade bigamy.

The Sabaeans were at first scattered throughout the north of Mesopotamia and had their principal centre at Harrān, the ancient Carrhae; their liturgical language was Syriac. The Caliph Ma'mūn

thought of persecuting and destroying them; but their intellectual merits gained them toleration. Towards 259 (872) the celebrated Thābit b. Qorra, having had a quarrel with his co-religionists, was excommunicated at Harrān and came to Baghdād, where he founded another branch of Sabaeism. The Sabaeans in Baghdād lived for some time in peace; but the Caliph Kāhīr began to persecute them and forced Sinān, son of Thābit, to embrace Islām. In about 364 (975) the Sabaeans Abū Ishāk b. Hilāl, who was secretary to the Caliphs Muṭ'ī and Tā'ī, caused an edict of toleration to be issued in favour of his co-religionists of Harrān, Raḡḡa and Diyār Moḡar and protected those of Baghdād. In the 11th century A.D. there were still many Sabaeans at Baghdād and at Harrān. In 424 (1033) there was left only a temple of the moon, which formed a citadel at Harrān; this temple was at that date taken by the Alid Egyptians. After the middle of the 11th century A.D. all trace of the Sabaeans of Harrān is lost; we still find them at Baghdād till the end of this century.

The great men who have rendered this sect illustrious are: Thābit b. Qorra, the eminent geometrician, original astronomer, translator and philosopher; Sinān b. Thābit, physician and meteorologist; other physicians and astronomers of the same family; Thābit b. Sinān and Hilāl b. al-Muḥassan, historians; Abū Ishāk b. Hilāl, vizier, and other members of the family; al-Battānī (Albategnus), the celebrated astronomer; Abū Dja'far al-Khāzin, mathematician; Ibn al-Wahshiya, the author of *Nabataean Agriculture*, although professing to be a Muslim, in every way belonged to the Sabaeans school; Djābir (Geber), the famous alchemist, about whom, it is true, there is very little known for certain, was probably a Sabaeans. Finally it may be mentioned that these scholars are quoted on mineralogy by al-Dimishkī.

Bibliography: On the Mandaeans see W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion* (Leipzig 1889); do., *Mandäische Schriften* (Göttingen 1893); do., *Die Mandäer* (*Verh. Ak. Amst.*, new Series, xvi., No. 3); F. Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung der manichäischen Religion und des Erlösungsmysteriums* (Giessen 1922) and H. H. Schaefer in *Isl.*, xiii. (1923), p. 320—333; Pedersen in *Adjab-Name* (Cambridge 1922). On the Sabaeans of Harrān: D. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg 1856); de Goeje, *Mémoire posthume de Dozy contenant de nouveaux documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harraniens* (Travaux de la 6^e session du Congrès int. des Orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leyde), ii. 291—366; Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī, *Book of Religious and philosophical Sects*, ed. Cureton, 1846, ii. 202—251; al-Dimishkī, *Cosmographie*, ed. A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg 1866), p. 39—48; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī* (ed. Paris), iv. 61—71.

(B. CARA DE VAUX)

SABĪL, a way, road, or path, is used in the *Kur'ān* (1) literally, e. g. *man istafā'a ilaihi sabīlan* (Sūra iii. 91 etc.) "he who is able to journey thither"; (2) figuratively, as in the expression *sabīl-Allāh*, for which see *DIHĀD*; (3) figuratively, in the sense of the true way, the Apostle's way, as in the passage *yā laitani ittakhadhtu ma'a 'l-rasūl sabīlan* (Sūra xxv. 29) "Oh! would that I had taken with the Apostle a path!" i. e. his

path, or the true path; (4) figuratively, in the sense of a means of attaining or acquiring an object, or a way out of a difficulty or trouble, as in the passage *aw yaḏ'alu 'llāhu laḥunna sabilan* (Sūra iv. 19) "or God make some way for them"; (5) in the expression *ibn al-sabil* "a son of the road", that is a traveller, or wayfarer, mentioned as a fit object of compassion, or charity. The word is now applied also to a public drinking fountain. The great merit naturally attached in arid countries and tropical climates to the provision of wells, cisterns and fountains for thirsty travellers is recognized in Islām, as in most oriental religions, and it is possible that the use of *sabil* in this sense is suggested by the expression *Sabil-Allāh*, applied to any work undertaken for the sake of God.

Bibliography: The lexica s. v.

(T. W. HAIG)

SABİL ALLĀH. [See DJIHĀD].

SAB'İYA "Sevener", the name of various *Shi'a* groups who restrict the number of visible Imāms to seven. Confusion came upon the legitimist *Shi'a*, who believe that the character of Imām is transmitted by divine providence from father to son, when about 145 (762) Ismā'il, the (eldest?) son of the sixth Imām Dja'far al-Ṣādiq [q. v.] died before his father. While the majority replaced Ismā'il by another son of Dja'far, Mūsā al-Kāzim, the seventh in the series of the twelve visible Imāms of the *Ithnā-ashariya* [q. v.], "twelvers", and others attached themselves to the otherwise less prominent sons, Muḥammad, 'Abd Allāh and 'Alī, the strictest legitimists remained faithful to Ismā'il. They denied that he died before his father's death. The evidence brought forward in support of this view seems to have impressed even their opponents, for the latter found it necessary, in order to dispose of Ismā'il, to attack his character; they said that, on account of his evil life, his father had withdrawn from him the right of succession at first intended for him. These accusations, particularly that of wine-drinking, can be explained as an attack on the slackening of the law by the Seveners directed back against the Imām who gave them their name.

From the first the Sevener movement was not a united one. A Mubārakiya sect "stood fast" by Ismā'il, so that for them he is the last Imām and the Mahdī [q. v.]. But the majority continued the imāmate down to his son Muḥammad, who becomes *Kā'im al-Zamān* [q. v.] with the official title of al-Tāmm "finisher", a title which, in some of the minor systems, seems to be prejudiced by the fact that he is in turn followed by invisible Imāms, known only to the initiated. In spite of the position of Muḥammad al-Tāmm, however, the name of Ismā'il remains attached to the main groups. In their hierarchic view therefore the Seveners belong to the many "Wāḳifiya" "those who stand fast". This is, in part, naturally, explained by the political conditions of the period. In 145 the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr had put down the rising at Medina led by al-Nafs al-Zakiya Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī; in the following year, the latter's brother, Ibrāhīm of Baṣra, also fell. The 'Alid question was thus disposed of for the time and with such success that even in these activist circles, who chose their Imāms from the vigorous 'Alids, who actually took to the sword, a "Djārūdiya" sect "stood" by al-

Nafs al-Zakiya as the concealed Mahdī. The tendency to hope for a return increased still further among the legitimists, who were bound by their dogma to definite persons, as it would have been useless to carry on into active history an imāmate which had really become hopeless. There were "some who stood fast" by each of Ismā'il's brothers; the Mūsāwiya, nicknamed Mamṭūra, "rained upon", often called simply the Wāḳifiya, became of some importance. Strictly speaking, such groups also come under the head of Seveners. But, as a rule, Sab'īya is used identically with Ismā'iliya [q. v.]. For them steadfastness did not develop into the abandonment of political aims — although it was over a century before this became apparent — but rather into the very skilful plan of retaining the very effective idea of an Imām given by sacred birth and yet rejecting the individual that chance brought forward in the person of the often very incapable first-born of the seed of 'Alī and Ḥusain. The Sevener movement thus attained considerable importance in secular history also, through men who appeared as *dā'i* [q. v.] of the hidden seventh Imām, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, like Ḥamdān Ḳarṣat, or his successor, who came forth from concealment, like the Fātimid Sa'id b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn, or as his "return" himself, as Ṭabarī iii. 2218, the narrates of the Ḳarṣatīan missionary Yahyā b. Dhikrwaḥ. Karṣatians, Fātimids, Assassins and the Ismā'ilis of India, Persia and Central Asia are the groups through which the Sevener movement finds its place in secular history, but the Druses also and in a way the Mutāwila and Nuṣairis also may be traced back to the old Sab'īya.

The Sab'īya itself, however, is quite as much a religious — and an independent religious — movement as a political one. The remarkable feature that the number of Imāms was fixed at seven at the same time with the different sons of Dja'far is more simply understood if we assume that the political reasons already mentioned were further supported by a point of view which periodicated all cosmic and historical happenings by the sacred number of seven. The example of the *Khawābiya*, who worshipped Ismā'il's father, Dja'far, as a god, shows that in the early days of development of the Sab'īya the deification of Imāms was not entirely unprecedented. We cannot, of course, in the circumstances deal with the theology of the Seveners. We only know of a single one out of the different systems and even that is often obscure, through being known only from hostile representations. We may claim for the Seveners as their individual contribution to theology a gnostic cosmogony in which names and things are often, however, not used consistently. The steps of emanation are (1) God, (2) universal intelligence (*'aql*), (3) universal soul (*nafs*), (4) primeval matter, (5) space or the pleroma, (6) time or the kenoma, (7) the world of earths and man. This number seven recurs in the lower world in the 7 prophets or *nāfiq* "speakers" in the redemption story: Adam is the first *nāfiq*, but as a rule not the first man; then follow Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad and Muḥammad al-Tāmm. Between each two of these *nāfiq* there are inserted seven "silent ones", *ṣāmit*, of whom the first, as special helpers of the *nāfiq*, under titles like *fātiq*, "releaser", or *asās*, "foundation", are particularly

important because it is only through the esoteric exposition attributed to them that the teachings and laws of the *nāṭik* receive their true meaning or are completely explained. These *fāṭik* are Seth — which reminds one of the gnosis of the Sethians — Shem, Ishmael (son of Hagar), Aaron, Peter, 'Alī and the seventh is the inaugurator of the particular Sevens group in question, e.g. 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn. Alongside of the *ṣamīṭ*, there is a further lower hierarchy arranged in sevens or twelves, notably the *ḥudjāja* [q. v.] and the *dā'ir*. The system is, however, very much upset by a theory of incarnation which actually equates the seventh Imām to God; thus: Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, p. 288 reports, on the authority of a man who had been for a period engaged in Ismā'īlī propaganda, that the latter had been expected to see in Muḥammad al-Tāmm Him who had revealed himself to Moses. In several groups, e.g. the Indian Ismā'īlīs, the cosmogony and with it the periodication after the sacred number seven has fallen into the background and 'Alī has become God as the first Imām. The way thus leads from the Seveners on to the 'Alī Ilāhī [q. v.]. Starting with 'Alī, they count right down to the 47th Imām, Agha Khān Muḥammad Shāh. Next to the Imām and in history often surpassing him in importance here is the *ḥudjāja*. Muḥammad the Prophet appears as the *ḥudjāja* of 'Alī. But he is substituted for political reasons for Salmān al-Fārisī, who is really intended.

For salvation the recognition of the concealed Imām known only to the initiated is absolutely necessary; consequently the "instruction" of them attains increased importance and they are accordingly also called Ta'limiyya. Initiation into the esoteric religion takes place through 7 or 9 initiatory stages. Ibn Ṭāhir, *l. c.*, 282 sqq. mentions (1) the *tafarrus*, the "exact investigation", a psychological method not particularly skilful, or almost a means of working oneself entirely into him who is to be won and of placing oneself on common ground with him. Then (2) the adept is "shown" in the *ta'nis* the whole "beauty" of his previous belief with the suggestion that it is much more splendid than he has suspected hitherto, after which (3) in the *taḥkik* he becomes "shaken by doubt" that he is not yet fully conscious of his belief. After such anthroposophical spiritual guidance, the moment arrives at which the novice is "bound" and "attached" to the secret authority with the formula that real knowledge only exists in the Concealed One and his organs through (4) the *rabf*. and (5) the *ta'lik*. In (6) the *tadlis* the real esoteric meaning is by allegorical explanations brought out of the external covering of the letter, under which all historical prophecies and laws are "obscured". (7) The "grounding" *ta'nis* can now begin in a novitiate proper of some length, after the expiry of which the disciple (8) subscribes himself body and soul by "agreements sealed by oaths", *mawāṭhiq bilaimān*, to the bond, in return for which he is "released" in the (9) *khal'* and *sulḥ* from all earlier dogmatic restraints and all external legislation outside these obligations.

The whole system is deliberately supported for form's sake on Ḳor'ān passages, which is the more easily done in consequence of the frequently obscure allusions made in the sacred book. Thus the adept is surprised to learn from Ḳor'ān xv. 99, "serve thy Lord till certainty comes to thee",

that his previous worship of God has only been a preliminary step. The passages in which the word *bāṭin* "inner" occurs are made to supply *dicta probantia* for an extravagant, and of its kind not exactly original, system of allegory, including an extensive alphabetic kabbala, which is not limited to the mysterious letters of the Sūra's and to names of Imāms or dogmatic formulae. — It has not contributed to the elucidation of the relations of Muslim sects that one group is called after many features and that, for example, the Seveners are also included as Bāṭiniyya [q. v.] along with other bodies of quite different tendencies, like the Khurramis (see KHURRAMIYA) and Mazdakis, and often even described as the Bāṭiniyya and on this account called by their opponents by the corresponding nickname Mu'aṭṭila, "emptiers, nihilists".

The actual origin of the speculative ideas of the Seveners is, so far, hardly better known to us than to the Muslim authors, whose opinions must be taken with particular caution as their point of view was vitiated by hatred of the heretics. The Sunnī symbolists usually insist on Jewish or Christian, still more Sabaeen and especially Parsī, origin; but as a matter of fact they already suspect also a connection with Hellenistic philosophy and Hermetic writings. The point still requires investigation as to how Neo-Platonic speculations, Parsī mysteries and such myths as are found in the Christian "treasure-cave" came to be clothed in a Ḳor'ānic covering and developed into Islāmic gnosis. The part played as an intermediary by the "Pure Brethren", *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* [q. v.] remains also to be investigated.

All classes of Seveners are very unfavourably criticised by the Muslims, even by the Shī'īs. They are regarded as extreme "exaggerators", *ghulāt* [q. v.] and usually are considered to be beyond the pale of Islām, so that some symbolists do not quote them at all. The main reason is that they drop the divinity of Allāh and the finality of Muḥammad's prophecy. It is, however, due to the great elasticity of Muslim names of sects, and to a polemical rather than matter-of-fact frame of mind that they are also called Dahris [q. v.] and associated with the materialists, who are essentially different from them. A contributory cause of the unfavourable opinion held of them was, of course, the bitterness felt at their revolutionary aims and their underground political propaganda in the name of the seventh Imām, but still more at their casting off the external law of religion, which is usually dismissed as sheer libertinism; the accusations commonly made against secret sects of sodomy and nightly orgies with wine and community of women also play a great part in the charges made against them. The charges of religious, moral and political nihilism made against them have also found a way into the European literature of the subject. Further investigation, which does not refuse to consider the possibility of syncretism, recognising that every religious system that has become concrete is a syncretic formation with ramifications, will alone be able to show how far the theology, or if one prefers the term, the theosophy of the Sevens movement represents an intelligible reaction against the theology of the God of Islām, so aloof from man, and in how far the libertinism, said to be general and certainly existing in many, is an attempt to

meet the disjointed total of the prescriptions of the *Sharī'a* with a system of ethics, such as is taught by Nāṣir i-Khusraw, for example, in verses 373 sqq. of his *rūṣṣanā-i-nāma*, regarding the seven sins of character and the seven cardinal virtues; in this investigation it will not much matter whether the "book of illumination" was written when the poet had already attained a very important place in the hierarchy of the Seveners as *ḥudjja* of the Ismā'īlis, or whether it was written before he joined them, and reveals the attitude of mind which definitely decided him to join this body. Individual bodies of the Seveners, like the Assassins and Karmatians, were certainly extremely intolerant to other Muslims; but in contrast to this we have the tolerant and wise administration of many of the Fāṭimids in Egypt. Some groups are occasionally said to have been communist, but this is certainly not a general feature. While in the fourth and fifth centuries the Muslim writers report their spread and their propagandist activities in the whole Muḥammadan world, the old groups have long become consolidated. But their ideas continued to be effective and were carried from Persia far to the north and from India especially to East Africa. In spite, however, of the consciousness of connection with the old Seveners, the nature of their beliefs has been essentially transformed. The political aspect has disappeared and the religious side is not so aggressive. It is noteworthy that the modern Sab'īya are often just those who are the strongest supporters of the feeling of solidarity in Islām.

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(R. STROTHMANN)

ŠABR (A.). The significance of this conception could hardly be conveyed in a West-European language by a single word, as may be seen from the following. According to the Arabic lexicographers, the root *ṣ-b-r*, of which *ṣabr* is the *nomen actionis*, means to restrain or bind; thence *ḫatalahu ṣabrān* "to bind and then slay someone". The slayer and the slain in this case are called *ṣābir* and *maṣbūr* respectively. The expression is applied, for example, to martyrs and prisoners of war put to death; in the Ḥadīth often to animals which — contrary to the Muslim prohibition — are tortured to death (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḍḥabā'iḥ*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣaid*, trad. 58; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 171). The word has a special technical application in the expression *yamīnu ṣābirin*, by which is meant an oath imposed by

the public authorities and therefore taken unwillingly (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Manāḥib al-Anṣār*, bāb 27; *Aimān*, bāb 17; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 176).

In the *Qur'ān* derivations from the root *ṣ-b-r* frequently occur, in the first place with the general meaning of being patient. Muḥammad is warned to be patient like the Apostles of God before him (xxxviii. 16; xli. 34: "for Allāh's threats are fulfilled", is added in xxx. 60). A double reward is promised to the patient (xxiii. 113; xxviii. 54; cf. xxv. 75). In xxxix. 16, it is even said that the *ṣābirūn* shall receive their reward without *ḥisāb* (which in this case is explained as measure or limitation).

The conception is given a special application to the holy war (e. g. iii. 140; viii. 66); in such connections it can be translated by endurance, tenacity. The eighth stem is also used in almost the same sense, e. g. Sūra xix. 66: "Serve him and persevere in his service". The third stem is also found (iii. 200; cf. below).

The word is next found with the meaning resignation, e. g. in the Joseph (xii. 18) where Jacob, on hearing of the death of his son, says: "Now goodly resignation is fitting" (*faṣabrūn ḏjāmīlūn*).

Sometimes *ṣabr* is associated with *ṣalāt* (ii. 42, 148). According to the commentators, it is in these passages synonymous with fasting and they quote in support the name *ṣahr al-ṣabr* given to the month of Ramaḍān.

As an adjective we find *ṣabbār* in the *Qur'ān*, associated with *ṣhakūr* (Sūra 14, 5 etc.); cf. thereon al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*: "It is well with the man who is resigned when misfortune afflicts him, grateful when gifts of grace become his"; and Muslim, *Zuhd*, trad. 64: "Wonderful is the attitude of the believer; everything is for the best with him; if something pleasant happens to him, he is thankful and this proves for the best with him; and if misfortune meets him, he is resigned and this again is for the best with him." The ideas of *ṣabr* and *ṣhukr* are also associated in al-Ghazālī, cf. below.

The later development of the conception is, of course, also reflected in the commentaries on the *Qur'ān*; it is difficult to say in how far these interpretations are already inherent in the language of the *Qur'ān*. In any case, the conception *ṣabr*, in all its shades of meaning, is essentially Hellenistic in so far as it includes the *ἀνταρξία* of the Stoic, the patience of the Christian and the self-control and renunciation of the ascetic; cf. below. In place of many other explanations of the commentators, we will give here only that of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mafāṭiḥ al-Ghaib*, Cairo 1278, on Sūra iii. 200). He distinguishes four kinds of *ṣabr*: (1) endurance in the laborious intellectual task of dealing with matters of dogma, e. g. in the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, 'adl, *nubuwwa*, *ma'ād* and disputed points; (2) endurance in completing operations one is bound or recommended by law to do; (3) steadfastness in refraining from forbidden activities; (4) resignation in calamity, etc. *Muṣābara* is, according to him, the application of *ṣabr* to one's fellow-creature (like neighbours, people of the Book), refraining from revenge, the *Amr bil-ma'rūf wa'l-nahy 'ani'l-munkar*, etc.

The high value laid upon *ṣabr* is also seen in the fact that *Ṣabūr* is included among the beautiful names of Allāh. According to the *Lisān* (s. v.

ş-b-r), Şabūr is a synonym of *ḥalīm*; — with the difference that the sinner need not fear any retribution from the Ḥalīm, but he is not sure of such leniency from the Şabūr. Allāh's *şabr* is in the Ḥadīth increased to the highest degree in the saying that no one is more patient than He, towards that which wounds His hearing (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 3).

In the Ḥadīth, *şabr* is, in the first place, found in general connections like: to him who practises *şabr* Allāh will grant *şabr*, for *şabr* is the greatest charisma (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, bāb 50; *Rikāḥ*, bāb 20; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 93); in the Ḥadīth also, *şabr* is applied to endurance in the holy war. A man asked Muḥammad: "If I take part in the *Djihad* with my life and my property and I am killed *şābiran* and resigned, rushing forward without fleeing, shall I enter Paradise?" And Muḥammad answered: "Yes". (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 325); the word is found in other passages in the sense of enduring, e.g. towards the public authorities: "after my death ye shall suffer things, but exercise *şabr* until ye meet me at the heavenly pool" (*ḥawāḍ*) (al-Bukhārī, *Rikāḥ*, bāb 53; *Fitan*, bāb 2; cf. *Aḥkām*, bāb 4; Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 53, 56 etc.). The word here usually has the meaning of resignation as in the oft recurring saying: "The (true) *şabr* is revealed at the first blow (*innamā* 'l-*şabr* 'inda 'l-*şadmati* 'l-*ūlā*, or *awwali* *şadmatin* or *awwali* 'l-*şadmati*, al-Bukhārī, *Djānā'iz*, bāb 32, 43; Muslim, *Djānā'iz*, trad. 15; Abū Dā'ūd, *Djānā'iz*, bāb 22 etc.).

Significant, in other respects also, is the story of the epileptic woman who asked Muḥammad for his *du'ā'* for her healing; he replied to her that if she refrained from her request and exercised *şabr*, paradise would be her portion (al-Bukhārī, *Mardā*, bāb 6; Muslim, *al-Birr wa'l-şila*, trad. 54). The word is often found in this connection associated with the proper word for resignation, viz. *iḥtisāb* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Aimān*, bāb 9; Muslim, *Djānā'iz*, trad. 11); with this should be compared the following *ḥadīth kuḥṣi*: "If my servant is deprived of the light of both his eyes, I grant him paradise in compensation" (al-Bukhārī, *Mardā*, bāb 67; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 283).

In conclusion we may remark that in the canonical Ḥadīth the meaning renunciation is exceedingly rare, which receives so great an importance in ethico-ascetic mysticism (cf. what has already been said above on *Sūra* 2, 42, 148). Bāb 20 of al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Rikāḥ* (which, like the chapter *zuhd* in the other collections of traditions, represents the oldest stage of this tendency in Islām) has in the *tardjama*... 'Umar said: "We have found the best of our life in *şabr*." Here we already can trace the Hellenistic sphere of thought for which renunciation was the kind of life fitting the true man, the wise man, the martyr.

What the *Qur'an* and Ḥadīth say about *şabr* recurs in part again in ethico-mystical literature; but the word has here become, so to speak, a technical term and to a very high degree, as *şabr* is the cardinal virtue in this school of thought. As with other fundamental conceptions (see the series of definitions of *Sūfi* and *Sūfism* in Nicholson's essay in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1905), we find numerous definitions of *şabr*, definitions which often point rather to fertility of imagination

than give an exhaustive exposition of the idea, but are of great value for the light they throw upon the subject like lightning flashes. Al-Kūshairī in his *Risāla* (Bulāḥ 1287, p. 99 sq.) gives the following collection: — "The gulping down of bitterness without making a wry face" (al-Djunaid); — "the refraining from unpermitted things, silence in suffering blows of fate, showing oneself rich when poverty settles in the courts of subsistence"; — "steadfastness in fitting behaviour (*Ḥusn al-adab*) under blows of fate" (Ibn 'Atā); — "bowing before the blow without a sound or complaint"; — "the *şabbār* is he who has accustomed himself to suddenly meeting with forbidden things" (Abū 'Uḥmān); — "*şabr* consists in welcoming illness as if it were health"; — "steadfastness in God and meeting His blows with a good countenance and equanimity" (Amr b. 'Uḥmān); — "steadfastness in the ordinances of the Book and of the Sunna" (al-Khawwās); — the *şabr* of the mystics (literally: lovers) is more difficult than that of the ascetics" (Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh); — "refraining from complaint" (Ru'waim); — "seeking help with God" (Dhu 'l-Nūn); — *şabr* is like His name (Abū 'Alī al-Dakḥāk); — "there are three kinds of *şabr*, *şabr* of the *muta-şabbir*, of the *şābir* and of the *şabbār* (Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Kḥafīf); — "*şabr* is a steed that never stumbles" (Alī b. Abī Ṭālib); — *şabr* is: not to distinguish between the condition of grace and that of trial, in peace of spirit in both; *taşabbur* is calm under blows, while one feels the heavy trial" (Abū Muḥammad al-Djurairī; cf. *ārapāṭiā*).

This literature, besides play on words and definitions, is also fond of producing shades of meaning by prepositions. Al-Shiblī asked a man: "what kind of *şabr* is the most difficult for him who practises it?" He answered: "*al-şabr fī 'llāh*". Then al-Shiblī said: "No". The man: "*al-şabr lillāh*". Al-Shiblī: "No". The man: "*al-şabr ma'a 'llāh*". Al-Shiblī: "No". The man: "But what then?" Then al-Shiblī said: "*al-şabr 'ani 'llāh*", and he added an explanation which threatened to drive his interrogator crazy (al-Kūshairī, *Risāla*, p. 100, 9).

Al-Ghazālī treats of *şabr* in the fourth part of the *Iḥyā'*, which describes the virtues that make blessed, Book II. We have seen that already in the *Qur'an* *şabr* and *shukr* are found in association. Al-Ghazālī discusses the two conceptions in the second book separately, but in reality in close connection. He bases the combination, not on the *Qur'anic* phraseology, but on the maxim: "belief consists of two halves: the one *şabr* and the other *shukr*". This again goes back to the tradition: "*şabr* is the half of belief" (cf. the traditions given above which also associate *şabr* and *shukr*).

Al-Ghazālī comprises the treatment of *şabr* under the following heads: (1) the excellence of *şabr*; (2) its nature and conception; (3) *şabr*, the half of belief; (4) synonyms with reference to the object of *şabr*; (5) kinds of *şabr* as regards strength and weakness; (6) opinions regarding the necessity of *şabr* and how man can never dispense with *şabr*; (7) convalescence of *şabr* and means of attaining it. — This division is virtually adopted by Bar-Hebraeus in his *Ethikon* for the *Mesai-berānūṭā* (see A. J. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove*, Leiden 1919, p. cxvii—cxix).

Only the following out of these sections can

be given here. *Şabr*, like all religious *maḥmūdāt*, consists of three parts, *ma'rifā*, *ḥāl* and *'amal*. The *ma'arif* are like the tree, the *aḥwāl* the branches and the *'amal* the fruits. Out of the three classes of beings man alone may possess *şabr*. For the animals are entirely governed by their desires and impulses; the angels, on the other hand, are completely filled by their longing for the deity, so that no desire has power over them and as a result no *şabr* is necessary to overcome it. In man, on the contrary, two impulses (*bā'ith*) are fighting: the impulse of desires and the impulse of religion; the former is kindled by Satan and the latter by the angels. *Şabr* means adherence to the religious as opposed to the sensual impulse.

Şabr is of two kinds: (a) the physical, like the endurance of physical ills, whether active, as in performing difficult tasks, or passive, as in suffering blows, etc.; this kind is laudable; (b) the spiritual, like renunciation in face of natural impulses. According to its different objects, it is called by synonyms like *'iffa*, *ṣabṭ al-nafs*, *ihwāḍi'a*, *ḥilm*, *sa'at al-ṣabr*, *hiṣmān al-sirr*, *suḥd*, *ḥanā'a*. From this wide range of meaning we can understand that Muḥammad, when asked, could answer: "*imān is ṣabr*". This kind is absolutely laudable (*maḥmūd tāmm*).

As regards the greater or less strength of their *şabr*, three classes of individuals are distinguishable: (a) the very few in whom *şabr* has become a permanent condition; these are the *ṣiddīkūn*, the *muḥarrabūn*; (b) those in whom animal impulses predominate; (c) those in whom a continual struggle is going on between the two impulses; these are the *muḍjahidūn*; perhaps Allāh will heed them. One of the gnostics (says al-*Ghazālī*) distinguishes three kinds of *ṣābirūn*: those who renounce desires, these are the *ra'ibūn*; those who submit to the divine decree, these are the *ṣāhidūn*; those who delight in whatever Allāh allows to come upon them, these are the *ṣiddīkūn*.

In section VI, al-*Ghazālī* shows how the believer requires *şabr* under all circumstances; (a) in health and prosperity; here the close connection between *şabr* and gratitude is seen; (b) in all that does not belong to this category, as in the performance of legal obligations, in refraining from forbidden things, in whatever happens to a man against his will, either from his fellow-men or by God's decree.

As *şabr* is an indication of the struggle between the two impulses, its salutary effect consists in all that may strengthen the religious impulse and weaken the animal one. The weakening of the animal impulse is brought about by asceticism, by avoiding whatever increases this impulse, e.g. by withdrawal, (*'azla*) or by the practice of what is permitted, e.g. marriage. The strengthening of the religious impulse is brought about (a) by the awakening of the desire for the fruits of the *Muḍjahada*, e.g. by means of the reading of the lives of saints or prophets; (b) by gradually accustoming this impulse to the struggle with its antagonist, so that finally the consciousness of superiority becomes a delight.

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ŞABR or **ŞABIR**, the aloe, the dried juice from the leaves of a group of African aloes belonging to the Liliaceae; a bitter drug and strong purgative, described as early as by Dioscurides, which is highly esteemed in Arab medicine. At the present day the aloe of Sokotrā is considered the best quality. Al-Dimashqī (*Nukḥbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 81) gives a good description of the plant; and a description of how the sap is obtained is given by al-Nuwairī; see also the lexicons (Lane, *Lexicon*, ii. 1645)

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SABT, the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew *Shabbāt*, the name of the Jewish day of rest. According to the *Qur'ān*, *Sūra* iv. 153, the Sabbath was imposed upon the Jews on Sinai as a binding law; according to *Sūra* xvi. 125, upon those "who have differences of opinion regarding this", by which expression, according to the commentators, either the Jews or — which is more probable — the Jews and Christians are intended. *Sūra* vii. 163—166, ii. 61, iv. 50 contain allusions to a legend, according to which Jewish sabbath-breakers were punished by being turned into apes (or swine). This story is said to have happened at Aila (on the Red Sea) in the reign of David.

Muḥammad did not adopt the Sabbath commandment; on the contrary, he definitely rejected it. That the reason for it given in the Bible, namely that God rested from his labours on the seventh day, did not appeal to him, is indicated in the *Qur'ān* (l. 37) and in the *Ḥadīth* they are very fond of referring to this, as Goldziher shows in his essay quoted below. It is on this alleged "rest of God" that the reproach of anthropomorphism, continually made against the Jews, is very frequently based; as a result of the tendency of anti-Jewish polemics to culminate more and more on this point, the seventh day acquired an actually unfavourable character in many traditions and was characterized as a "day of deceit and treachery", or as a day intended for evil things.

That on the other hand the Jewish Sabbath formed the model for the institution of the Friday service may be regarded as certain. Tradition contains definite evidence of this (Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 111 sq.). In its later development the Friday observance borrowed many of the Jewish Sabbath laws or at least adopted features that recall them, but Friday never acquired the character of a day of rest. For further information on this see the article *DIJMA*.

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SABTA. [See CEUTA].

AL-SABTĪ, AHMAD B. DJĀ'FAR AL-KHAZRADJĪ ABŪ 'L-'ABBĀS AL-SABTĪ, a holy man famous for his virtues and his miracles, born at Ceuta in 540 (= June 24, 1145—June 12, 1146) and died on Monday Djumādā II 6, 601 (= Jan. 31, 1205) at Marrākish where he was buried near the Tāzrūt gate. He studied more particularly under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Fakḥkhār, the pupil of the celebrated Kādī 'Iyād of Ceuta. He was eloquent and had no difficulty in convincing his questioners; he was very pious and used to recite the Qur'ān by day and night; he recommended the giving of alms. He himself kept nothing out of the numerous gifts he received, except what sufficed for his needs and those of his family for one day only. He returned good for evil and showed compassion to widows and orphans. At the beginning of his career he lived in a *fundūq*, where he taught and with his fees provided for the wants of foreign students. He used to go through the streets of the town reprimanding and even beating those who did not say their prayers.

The memory of the saint remained very vivid among the people but became surrounded by numerous legends. Thus he is said to have prophesied the capture of Ceuta by the Christians to punish his compatriots for their ill-treatment of him; legend relates that after his departure from this town, he was very badly received by the holy men of Marrākish who feared that his cult would one day eclipse theirs; he has actually become the principal patron saint of this town. But his power extends much farther. The popular belief in Morocco sees in him the master of the winds who is invoked at sea to calm a storm and to raise the necessary wind during a calm. In many places in Algeria as well as in Morocco, the first measure of new grain is given to the poor in his honour.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-SABU', *Šurat al-Sabu'*, the constellation of the Wolf, and *Šura Kīṭus Sabu' al-Baḥr*, constellation of Cetus, *Kīroç* (cf. al-Birūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Ma'sūdi*, Berl. Ms. or. 8°. 275, p. 207 a and 220 ab). The *Šurat al-Sabu'* with the Arabs (just as with Ptolemy) consists of 19 single stars, none of which is of more than the third magnitude (according to modern star catalogues the brightest are of 2.8 and 2.9 magnitude). The Greeks called the constellation (undefined) *ṛd θυρίον* (= the beast); but even among the oldest Babylonians the suggestion of a *raging* beast seems to have been present. The name is in Babylonian (mul) UR.BE (= (mul) Ur-idim), but in

Sumerian: 𒌦 (kakkab) kalbu shegū, which means "raging dog" (*Wolf* probably = *Lupus* + *Centaurus* to the north-east); cf. F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, *Ergänzungen* (Münster 1913/14, p. 28, 32, 223); *al-Sabu'*, which is also used for *Lion* is in Arabic probably the direct reproduction of the Greek: *ṛd θυρίον*; J. J. Scaliger, as a matter of fact, is said to have found on his Turkish planisphere the name *al-Asada*, the lioness, applied to it.

The animal was formerly thought of in close connection with the centaur. The latter was thought to hold the animal by the forefoot. The Arabs then called the stars of the two configurations, on account of their accumulation *al-Shamārikh* (= branch of palm with bunch of dates, or a bunch of grapes).

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p. 278—280; Fr. W. V. Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntnis der Sternnamen* (Leipzig 1796), p. 138 (to be used with care). (C. SCHÖV)

SĀBŪN soap (cf. English soap), has penetrated through Latin *sapo* and Greek *σαπών* as a loan-word to the East also. According to Pauly-Wissowa, (*Realenz. d. klass. Altert.*, second series, iii. 1112, the ancients were not acquainted with our soap; in Pliny *sapo* means a hair-dye (*rutilandis capillis*) and also medical salves; for cleansing purposes certain poor earths were used, which were sometimes perfumed. There can, however, be no doubt that soap came into use in the middle ages along with other lathery lotions and in addition to its uses for cleansing the person and for washing was much used for external application in medicine. The statements made regarding its manufacture in Lane, *Lexicon*, iv. 1649 sound quite modern; the "Maghribi" soap, which is not cut into pieces but looks like boiled starch, is apparently our soft soap.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Baitār, French transl. by Leclerc, ii. 359; Abū Maṣṣūr Muwaffaq, *Kit. al-Abniya 'an Ḥaḳā'iq al-Adwiya*, ed. Seligmann, p. 166, transl. by Abdul-Chalig Achundow, p. 228. (J. RUSKA)

SĀBŪR. [See SHĀPŪR].

SĀBŪR B. ARDASHĪR, ABŪ NAṢR, vizier of the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.]. Sābūr was appointed vizier in 380 (990—991). He did not, however, remain long in office, for he was dismissed in the following year, but in 382 (992—993) was restored to his former rank. At the same time Bahā' al-Dawla also appointed Abū Maṣṣūr b. Šāliḥān vizier and the two then acted jointly as viziers of the Būyid Emir. After some time, however, the Dailami troops began to show their dissatisfaction with Sābūr; his house was sacked and he had to go into hiding (383 = 993—994). As his colleague Ibn Šāliḥān was not inclined to fill the office alone, Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Aḥmad was given the post of vizier; but as soon as the Dailamis had settled down again Sābūr came back. In 386 (996—997) Bahā' al-Dawla again appointed him vizier; this time he remained only two months in office and then went to al-Baṭīḥa. His public activities did not come to an end with this, however, for by the year 390 (999—1000) we again find him in Baghdād as vizier of Bahā' al-Dawla. In Muḥarram of the following year (December 1000) the Turkish mercenaries mutinied and demanded that

they should be paid before taking the field. Sābūr had to fly; hostilities developed between the Turks and the rest of the populace in which the Sunnis took the side of the former and it was only after much bloodshed that the riots were quelled. After Sābūr had fled, he wrote to Bahā' al-Dawla and laid the blame for what had happened on an 'Alid, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā, and his companions and then appeared before Bahā' al-Dawla in Shīrāz and secured permission from him to arrest them. But when he went to Wāsiṭ to carry out this plan, he was outwitted and had to abandon it. In the meanwhile Abu 'l-Ḥasan had made his peace with Bahā' al-Dawla and when in the beginning of Djumādā I, 392 (end of March, 1002) Sābūr appeared in Baghdād, the latter had played his last card, so that he left the city within the same month and retired again to al-Baṭīḥa. He died in 416 (1025—1026). In the first period of his vizierate — in 381 (991—992) or, according to another statement, not till 383 (993—994) — he had founded a great library, to which he is said to have presented over 10,000 volumes. This existed down till Tughrulbeg's entry into Baghdād when it was set on fire.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), ix. 54 sq., 64, 67 sq., 71, 90, 115, 119, 246; *The Historical Remains of Hilāl as-Sābi* (ed. Amedroz), see Index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ŠĀD, the fourteenth letter of the usual Arabic alphabet (numerical value: 90; cf. the article ABDJAD). How the now usual form of Šād developed out of the Nabataean (still closely resembling the primitive Semitic form) form of the letter may be seen from plate I of the article ARABIA, ARABIC WRITING). As to its pronunciation, Šād was even in ancient times and still is an unvoiced, velarised (and according to Meinhof "stopped") alveolar spirant, in which a groove is formed on the front part of the tongue. All these elements (except perhaps the last) were recognised and described as early as Sibawaihi. Of our European sounds the French *s* in *son* is nearest to it, if we add the so-called *itbāk* (velarisation: according to Meinhof, with "stopping" at the same time. — Sibawaihi only notes the transition from *s* into *z* (and further into *z*) before *d* (for example, *maḡdar* instead of *maḡdar*); at the present day it is also found before other voiced consonants (cf. Egyptian Arabic *zuḡḡaiyar* < *zuḡḡaiyri*). For further information see Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre* (see Index). Cf. also Mattson, *Études phonologiques sur le dialecte arabe vulgaire de Beyrouth*² (Upsala 1911), p. 24 sq. and especially C. Meinhof, *Was sind emphatische Laute, und wie sind sie entstanden?* in the *Zeitschr. f. Eingeborenen Sprachen*, xi. 81—106 (especially p. 83—86). — Šād is also the title of Sūra xxxviii of the *Qur'ān*.

(A. SCHAADE)

SA'D, constellation of good fortune, a common name in Arab astronomy for small groups of stars. They are all in the three adjoining constellations of Pegasus, Aquarius and Capricorn and usually consist of two, sometimes of three or four stars of low magnitude. Four groups form four successive stations of the moon, namely 22. *Sa'd al-dhābiḥ* = αβ in Capricorn, 23. *Sa'd bulā'* = μνς in Aquarius, 24. *Sa'd al-su'ūd* = βξ in Aquarius and 25. *Sa'd al-akhbiya* = γξπ in Aquarius. A further four belong to Pegasus: *sa'd*

al-bahā'im (σν), *sa'd al-humām* (ξξ), *sa'd al-nāṣī'* (λμ) and *sa'd al-maḡar* (ηο). Lastly *sa'd al-mulk* = αο in Aquarius.

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 114, 191 sqq., 289.

(J. RUSKA)

SA'D B. ABĪ WAḤKĀS, an Arab general. His father's full name was Mālik b. Wuhaib b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra. Sa'd, who had become a convert to Islām at the age of seventeen (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Manāḡib al-Anṣār*, bāb 31; Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, introductory chapter, bāb 11), was one of the oldest companions of the Prophet, being a special favourite of his and one of those who had been promised Paradise (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 193; ii. 222); he took part not only in the battles of Badr and Uhud but also in the campaigns that followed. When al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, who assumed command in al-Ḥira after the departure of Khālīd b. al-Walīd, in view of the danger threatening of an encounter with the Persians, asked the Caliph 'Umar for reinforcements, the latter at first appeared inclined to take command of the army himself, probably simply in order to stir up the enthusiasm of the Muslims; in the end, however, he did not do so but gave the post of commander-in-chief to Sa'd, according to one version because Djarir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baḡjalī, who had already been sent to the 'Irāk to support the hard pressed Muslims, would not consent to be subordinate to the Bakrī al-Muthannā. In spite of his proved bravery and ability, the Beduin al-Muthannā, who had not adopted Islām till after the death of Muḥammad, would, in view of the well known jealousy among the Arab tribes, probably have proved less suitable as commander-in-chief than Sa'd who belonged to an old Meccan family and was known to be one of the most faithful followers of the Prophet. Sa'd advanced against the Persians with a large army and encamped at al-Kādisiya [q. v., ii. 611 sqq.] on the frontiers of Persia and Arabia. Here — probably in the first half of the year 16 (summer of 637) — a great battle was fought, which is said to have lasted several days; the details of it have been much elaborated by the Arab historians. Illness prevented Sa'd from taking part in the battle personally and he had to confine himself to directing the whole operations, which, however, was not quite in accordance with the traditional Arab custom. After the Sāsānian leader Rustam had fallen, the slaughter ended in the complete defeat of the Persians and Sa'd was now master of the whole of 'Irāk al-'Arabī; nor were the Persians able to hold permanently al-Mada'in [q. v.], the capital of the provinces east of the Tigris. The young Sāsānian king Yazdejdird had to flee and abandon his capital to Sa'd. When the latter entered the city, he obtained countless booty and made al-Mada'in his headquarters for the time being. At the end of the same year his nephew Hāshim b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Waḥkās again inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Persians at Djalūlā [q. v.].

To this period also belongs the foundation of Kūfa. To Sa'd likewise is due the credit of having made a strong military camp here, which in course of time grew into an important city; Sa'd was appointed first governor of the rapidly growing settlement. He seems, however, not to have paid

due attention to the Caliph's insistence on the maintenance of old-fashioned simplicity. At any rate we are told that Sa'd built a splendid palace in Kūfa modelled on the Ṭāk-i Khusrāw at al-Madā'in; but when 'Omar, who feared the injurious influence of Persian luxury on the simple habits of the Arabs, heard of this, he is said to have administered a sharp rebuke to Sa'd and even to have had the palace burned by Muḥammad b. Maslama. Sa'd was dismissed from his post as early as the year 20 (640/641) because the fickle and turbulent inhabitants of Kūfa — of all possible elements, Arabs and Persians, Jews and Christians — accused him of being unjust and tyrannical. When, however, Muḥammad b. Maslama appeared in Kūfa by the Caliph's order to investigate Sa'd's conduct in his office, only one or two individuals dared to appear against him. Nevertheless Sa'd was dismissed and 'Ammār b. Yāsir appointed his successor; but the latter only remained a short time in office and was followed by al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba [q. v.]. The great military and administrative services of Sa'd were, however, later fittingly recognised by 'Omar. When on his deathbed the latter empowered six of Muḥammad's most trusted companions to choose a new ruler within three days, he chose Sa'd as one of his advisers and is even said to have added that if Sa'd was not given the office himself, he would recommend the future Caliph to compensate him with a governorship, because he had been removed from his post neither for incompetence nor for treacherous conduct. Following this suggestion, 'Othmān in 25 (645/6) restored to him the governorship of Kūfa; again, however, he was dismissed after a short period of office and his place given to al-Walīd b. 'Ukba b. Abi Mu'ait. After the assassination of 'Othmān, Sa'd was requested to come forward as a claimant to the throne but declined, because he wished to live in peace; nor was he inclined to take any steps to take vengeance on the murderers. When 'Alī was chosen Caliph, Sa'd declined to pay homage to him and retired to his estate in al-'Aḳīḳ, where he lived till his death remote from politics, which one of his sons made a reproach against him (Muslim, *Zuhd*, trad. 11; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 168, cf. 177). According to the usual statement he died in 50 (670/671) or 55 (674/675), aged about 70. He is said to have left vast wealth behind him and was buried in Medina.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Sachau), III/i. 97 sqq., vi. 6; Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), see Index; al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), see Index; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), passim; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), see Index; do., *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii. 290 sqq.; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii. No. 4086; al-Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 275 sq.; al-Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), see Index; al-Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, see Index; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍīra* (Cairo 1327), i. 17 sqq., ii. 292 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 70 sqq., 95 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, see Index. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SA'D B. MU'ADH B. AL-NU'MĀN B. IMRU' AL-KĀIS B. ZAID B. 'ABD AL-AḤḤAL AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-AWSĪ, a contemporary of Muḥammad's. He was head of the great clan of the Banū 'Abd al-Aḥḥal in Medina. Sa'd was won over to the new faith by Maṣ'ab b. 'Umair, who accom-

panied the twelve Medina participants in the first meeting at al-'Aḳaba [q. v.] when they returned home and made a successful propaganda for Islām. From the very first he showed great zeal for the faith and when Muḥammad undertook an expedition against Buwāṭ, he appointed Sa'd (or, according to a different report al-Sā'ib b. 'Uthmān b. Maz'un) to be his deputy in Medina. The latter carried the standard in the battle of Badr and with Sa'd b. 'Ubāda [q. v.] he went to the assistance of the Prophet when the latter was wounded in the battle of Uhud. Like Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and Usaid b. Ḥuḍair, he protested against the negotiations with the Ghatafan in the "war of the ditch", but was soon afterwards severely wounded in the hand by the arrow of a Kuraishi. After the retreat of the confederates Muḥammad decided to rid himself of the troublesome Banū Kuraiza and began to besiege them in Medina, although their only crime lay in the fact that they had remained neutral during the "war of the ditch". The negotiations, which they were soon forced to begin with the Prophet, ended in their surrendering unconditionally, probably in the hope that they could save themselves through the intervention of their former allies, the Awsis. When Muḥammad asked them whether they would leave the decision to a man of the tribe of Aws they declared their readiness to do so. Sa'd, who lay mortally wounded in the mosque where he was being tended by a woman, was then asked for his opinion and after he had secured a promise from the Prophet and all present that they would obey his decision implicitly, he declared that the men should be killed, the women and children sold as slaves and their property divided. The verdict was put into execution the next day. Over 600 Jews are said to have sacrificed their lives for their faith and soon afterwards Sa'd also died of his wound; he is represented in Tradition as a glorified hero of the faith.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd (ed. Sachau), ii. 11, 2—13; Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), 290, 322, 344, 433, 439, 445, 674, 697; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), passim; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), see Index; do., *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii. 296 sqq.; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii. No. 4096; Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld), s. v.; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 52, 53; al-Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, see Index; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, see Index; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina* (Leiden 1908), p. 171—173. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SA'D B. MUḤAMMAD. [See ḤAIṢA BAIṢA].

SA'D B. 'UBĀDA B. DULĀIM B. ḤARITHA B. ABĪ ḤAZĪMA B. ṬHĀLABA B. ṬARĪF AL-KHAZRADJĪ, a contemporary of Muḥammad's. The distinguished and prosperous Sa'd was one of the few people who were able to write in Arabia in his time; he was besides celebrated as a fine swimmer and archer. In the history of Islām we first meet with his name in the accounts of the second meeting at al-'Aḳaba [q. v.] where he is mentioned among the nine Khazradjis who were chosen to be guarantors (*naḳīb*) of the new converts. He then fell into the hands of the Meccans and was severely handled by them; it was only through the intervention of two Meccan friends, to whom he had once done valuable service, that he succeeded in escaping. During Muḥammad's expedition against al-Abwā' [q. v.] Sa'd remained

behind as his deputy in Medina. In the battle of Badr, according to the most reliable authority, he did not take part; on the other hand he was at the battle of Uhūd where with Sa'd b. Mu'adh [q. v.] he tended the wounded Prophet. In the other military enterprises of Muhammad also, he proved himself an exceedingly energetic champion of Islām, and several times acted as standard-bearer. In particular he distinguished himself by great liberality. During the siege of the Banū Naḍir he distributed dates among the Muslims at his own expense; the troops besieging the Banū Kuraiza were likewise supplied with provisions by him. He supported the expedition to Tabūk by a particularly handsome contribution. When the Prophet began secret negotiations with the two chiefs of the Ghatafan in the "war of the ditch", 'Uyaina b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf and promised them a third of the next date-harvest of Medina if they would retire and the Ghatafan declared their readiness to do so, his plan met with opposition from those Muslims who were inclined for fighting; the most ardent opponents of the attempt to bring about an agreement are said to have been Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Usaid b. Ḥudair. In the intended campaign against Mecca which led to the treaty of al-Ḥudaibiya Sa'd's energy and thirst for fighting were clearly seen. Although he insisted that Muhammad should take the necessary precautions and provide the Muslims with the necessary weapons, the Prophet declined to follow his advice. After the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubaiy [q. v.] Sa'd became undisputed head of the Khazrajis and it need cause no surprise that he was proposed as successor to the Prophet. As soon as the news of Muhammad's death had spread through Medina, the Aws and Khazraj assembled; Sa'd addressed them and recommended some one among the Anṣār. The majority of those present were already inclined to pay homage to him at once. Then other Muslims appeared, notably Abū Bakr and 'Omar, and after fairly heated negotiations which threatened to end in open fighting, Abū Bakr received homage as Caliph. Henceforth Sa'd retired from public life and later went to al-Hawrān where he died "two and a half years after the accession of 'Omar" i. e. about the year 15 (636/637).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau), iii. II, 142—145; vii. II, 115 sq.; Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld), see Index; Tabarī (ed. de Goeje), passim; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), see Index; do., *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii. 283—285; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii. No. 4066; Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 274 sq.; al-Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, see Index; Ya'qubī (ed. Houtsma), i. 267; ii. 136, 137; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, see Index. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

SA'D B. ZANGI ABU SHUJĀ' MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN, Salgharid Atābeg of Fārs. According to the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* he claimed the throne at the death of his elder brother, Takla b. Zangī, but his claim was contested by his cousin Ṭughril, the son of his father's elder brother Sunḳur, who had founded the dynasty. Ṭughril retained the royal title for nine years, but throughout that period warfare between him and his cousin continued without a decisive result for either, the country was wasted and depopulated, none would till the ground, and famine and pestilence smote the people. At length, in 599/600 (1203), Sa'd captured his cousin and as-

cended the throne of Fārs according to Mirkhwānd this happened in 693 A. H., after Ṭughril had been defeated by Takla) but at the beginning of his reign the famine was so sore in the land that the strong slew and ate the weak, and even when the famine had abated the pestilence remained, but Sa'd gradually restored prosperity to his people, and, having completed this task, conquered Kirmān from the Shabānkāras. In 612/13 (1216) he invaded 'Irāq, but was taken prisoner by the army of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh, and in order to regain his freedom was obliged to pay a ransom of two thirds of a year's revenue of his kingdom, to surrender Iṣṭakhr and Ashkūrān, and to agree to pay tribute annually. On his return to Shirāz his son Abū Bakr, who had occupied the throne during his captivity, opposed his restoration, and a battle was fought between father and son, in which Sa'd was wounded in the eye with an arrow, but the citizens admitted him into the city by night, and he seized and imprisoned his son. When Sulṭān Djalāl-al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh passed through Fārs on his return from India in 1224 he interceded for Abū Bakr, and succeeded in persuading Sa'd to release him.

Sa'd b. Zangī died in 629/630 (1231), or, according to Mirkhwānd on the 21st of Djumādā I 623 (May 20th 1226), and was succeeded by his son, Abū Bakr.

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SA'D AL-DAWLA. [See ḤAMDĀNIDS].

SA'D AL-DĪN. [See SA'DIYA].

SA'D AL-DĪN B. ḤASAN DJĀN. [See KHODJA EFENDI].

SA'D AL-DĪN AL-HAMAWĪ, MUHAMMAD B. AL-MU'AYYAD B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN B. MUHAMMAD B. HAMAWAIH, born in 587 (1191) or 595 (1198/9). The surname of al-Ḥamawī has nothing to do with the town of Ḥamā but comes from his great-grandfather Ḥamawaih or Ḥamōye; in some old texts the more correct form Ḥamūyī is found (*ḥ-m-w-y-y*). According to al-Yāfi'ī, he was a native of Djuwain. In his youth he joined in Khwārizm the Dervish body called *Dhahabiya-i Kubrawiya* which had gathered round the great Ṣūfī Naḍīm al-Dīn Kubrā and he became one of the twelve great *Khalifa* of the *Shaikh*. Like many of the latter's disciples he emigrated during the period of Mongol domination. After leading a retired and devout life in Syria in the Djabal Kāsiyūn, he returned to Khorāsān and settled at Bahrābād. He died on Friday 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja (on the day of the 'Id al-ḳurbān) in 658 A. H. (Nov. 10, 1260), according to the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, or in 650 (Feb. 11, 1252), according to the *Nafahāt al-Uns* (whose statements are based on al-Yāfi'ī). His tomb is also at Bahrābād.

Sa'd al-Dīn was one of the famous mystics of his time. Šadr al-Dīn al-Ḳonyawī took part while a young man in his mystic gatherings. Al-Yāfi'ī also speaks of his disciples, of his miracles and of sayings attributed to him. In the collections of legendary lives we read that his soul quitted his body for 13 days. Sa'd al-Dīn composed mystical poems in Arabic and Persian, especially *rubā'i*; he was also the author of several treatises on the

taṣawwuf, such as the *Maḥbūb al-Awliyā* and the *Saḡandjāl al-Arwāḥ wa-Nuḡūḥ al-Awāḥ*; according to Ḥādījī Khalīfa, this last work was written at Hims. In the opinion of several Muslim authors who deal with mysticism, however, these treatises are very obscure because of the great number of veiled allusions.

His son Sulṭān al-Muḥaddithīn Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm had been summoned from Baḥrābād by the Amīr Nawrūz, at the time of the conversion of Ghāzān Khān to Islām (*Dawlat-Shāh*, ed. Browne, p. 213, on the authority of al-Banākātī). Down to the eleventh century of the Hidjra (eighteenth A.D.). We find at Baḥrābād dervishes whose *silsila* dated back to Sa'd al-Dīn; among them was Mu'ini-i Djuwainī, author of an imitation of the *Gulistan* (*Dawlat-Shāh*, p. 241). The Ṣūfī Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn of Baḥrābād, mentioned by al-Nawā'ī continually recited the sayings of the Shaikh. The tradition of the Yasawīs wrongly regards him as one of the *khālifas* of Aḥmad al-Yasawī.

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(KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)

SA'D AL-DİN KÖPEK or GÖBEK (in early texts and inscriptions: *K-y-b-k ibn Muḥammad*), a very important personage in the history of the Saldjūks of Asia Minor. There is a tradition according to which he was himself a convert to Islām but this is contradicted by the fact that his father was called Muḥammad. His origin and date of birth are unknown. We first meet with him as *tardjumān* in the palace of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kaiḡubād and next, in connection with 'Alā' al-Dīn's building operations at Kūbadābād (on this place and its buildings see Khalīl Edhem, *Kaṣariye Shehri*, Constantinople 1334, p. 50), as *mī'mār* and as *amīr shikār*. As the office of *amīr shikār* was of considerable importance in the Saldjūk palaces, we may deduce that in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn, Sa'd al-Dīn was already one of the most important personages in the state. Indeed, there still stands in a plain three hours from Konya on the road from Konya to Aḡ-Sarai a large *khān* which Sa'd al-Dīn built, the interior of which was completed in the last year of 'Alā' al-Dīn (638 = 1237); at that date then he already occupied an important position. It is not, however, till the early years of the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaiḡhusraw that we find Sa'd al-Dīn playing an important part in history. He had attached himself to Ghiyāth al-Dīn and supported the latter's claim to the throne against 'Izz al-Dīn Kīlḡj Arslān; it is to his influence also that we must attribute the fact that Ḥusām al-Dīn Kīr Khān, one of the

Amīrs of Khwārizm, who had taken refuge with the Saldjūks and who was governor of Siwās, was accused of belonging to 'Izz al-Dīn's party and imprisoned. As a result of that event the Amīrs of Khwārizm, settled in Asia Minor, laid waste the Saldjūk empire with thousands of Khwārizmīs and went on into Syria and Mesopotamia where after numerous adventures they were in the end wiped out completely (cf. Kamāl al-Dīn, *Histoire d'Alep*, ed. Blochet, Paris 1900, p. 211; Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Anadoluda Islāmīyet*, p. 60). With the principal amīrs of the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn, Sa'd al-Dīn was an accomplice of this Sulṭān in the execution of his mother-in-law, Malika 'Ādiliya, and her two sons; in this way he attained considerable influence. Ibn Bibi and the historians who follow him are wrong in making Sa'd al-Dīn exclusively responsible for these crimes, which were repeated in 634/5 = 1238/9. As public opinion was greatly shocked by these happenings, Sa'd al-Dīn Köpek was appointed commander of a military expedition; in the month of Dhu 'l-Hidjja, 635 (July-Aug., 1238) he captured Shumaiḡhāt. Profiting by the influence, which this victory secured him, he succeeded in having great amīrs like Ḥusām al-Dīn Kaimarī and Kamāl al-Dīn Kāmyār put to death. But the Sulṭān, who, on the one hand, wished to clear himself of the general repugnance which he had inspired by putting all the responsibility on Sa'd al-Dīn and, on the other, was anxious to get rid of an accomplice who threatened to become dangerous, had him put to death treacherously. Ibn Bibi gives a detailed account of this.

The great *khān* of Sa'd al-Dīn already mentioned is known among the people as the *Zāzādīn Khāny*. This imposing structure measuring 200—240 feet long and 200 feet broad is now in ruins. At the outer gate is an inscription of 634 A. H. dedicated to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaiḡhusraw. Tradition says that Köpek Oḡlu, who played a certain part in the history of Amasia during the reign of Sulṭān Mehmed I, was a grandson of Sa'd al-Dīn and that at the place now called Köpek Köyi in the vicinity of the town there is a *ṣiflik*, which belonged to the family. This tradition, however, is devoid of definite proofs.

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SA'D AL-FIZR is the name by which a large section of the tribe of Tamīm is named. The curious name *Fizr* has received no satisfactory explanation and the philologist Abū Manṣūr al-Azhari asserts that he never met any person who could explain it. Some lexicographers explain it as meaning "more than one", others as "goats", but we may assume that Ibn Duraid is correct when he derives it from the verb "*fasara*" with the meaning "to split" and that "*fizr*" means "a chip" or "fragment". The Arab genealogists give the name of the common ancestor as Sa'd b. Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm and relate tales to account for the curious name which amount to the following: Sa'd had much cattle which he ordered his sons, by different mothers, to take to pasture; they refused and he invited the kindred tribesmen

of Mālik b. Zaid Manāt to come and rob the camels. Then when only goats remained he gave his sons the same order and they again refused to take them to pasturage. In his anger he called Arabs of every tribe together (or, according to another version, took his animals to the fair of 'Ukāz) and asked them to take each one goat as plunder (*intahaba*), but allowed no one to take more than one. Thus the goats were scattered all over the country and this is said to be the origin of the proverb: "I shall not do that till the goats of al-Fizr (are collected again into one herd)". The goats are probably imagined to have had the *wasm* or brand-mark of his clan. The underlying idea appears to be that the divisions of this tribe were found scattered over the whole of Eastern Arabia. The tribe of Tamīm is mentioned in the remotest antiquity, centuries earlier than the Arab genealogists can imagine, and the genealogies in their case are more fictitious than with other tribes, and all they can serve is to show which of the clans shortly before and after the introduction of Islām felt to possess a certain relationship. The poet al-Akhtal says: "In every wādī are Sa'd" pointing to their wide distribution. Of the many subdivisions mentioned by genealogists only those derived through his sons Ka'b and al-Ḥarith appear to have had a claim to pure descent, while the descendants of the other sons, 'Abd Shams, Djuṣham, 'Awf, 'Uwāfa and Mālik were called the "Abnā". There were doubts as to the purity of their descent; they were settled in Bahrain and had largely intermixed with the Persian settlers when this province was under Persian rule. They were as regards numbers perhaps the largest Arab tribe and for this reason played an important part in the wars shortly before Islām and during the conquests and many persons mentioned in the early times of Islām were members of the various clans of Sa'd al-Fizr. They sided with 'Alī during the struggle for the caliphate and were most prominent during the unruly times in Khurāsān under the later Omayyads and appear to have settled in Persia in large numbers. Others emigrated to North-Africa and the Aghlabī rulers of Ifrikiya claimed descent from them. The many subdivisions cannot be enumerated here, but it must be stated that the genealogists are far from unanimous in the affiliation of the various sections, and their names disappear early from history under the general name of Tamīm. — Importance may be attached to the tribe of Sa'd al-Fizr and their nearest kindred clans for having spoken that Arabic which forms the basis of the classic Arabic of literature, as the earliest philologists seem to have framed the rules of Arabic grammar upon the dialect of Tamīm. This was no doubt on account of their widespread diffusion through which their dialect was understood in most parts of Arabia.

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(F. KRENKOW)

ŞA'DA, a town in South Arabia, the capital of the district of the same name in Yemen. It lies on the pilgrim road from Mekka to Şan'ā, 60 parasangs (180 miles) or five days' journey from the latter town. In the days of paganism the town is said to have been called *Djumā'* and to have been built on the site later occupied by Ḥiṣn Talammuṣ built by the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'ala 'llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaimān b. al-Muṭahhir. According to al-Hamdānī, the name Şa'da owes its origin to the following circumstance: — a man from the Ḥidjāz, who was passing by the strong castle that stood in *Djumā'* and lay down exhausted beside it, marvelling at its height called out twice *laḥad ṣa'adahu* "he has raised it in fine fashion". Similar popular etymologies are found in other places. Six minutes south of the modern Şa'da lay the village of al-Khānik, where the ruins of a great reservoir for irrigating the land and of other buildings survived into Muslim times. Near Şa'da is also the town of al-Qhail, which name al-Bīrūnī would regard as the ancient name of Şa'da.

Şa'da was and — in spite of the catastrophes that have overwhelmed it — still is a flourishing, populous and wealthy town, in which merchants from all parts, especially from al-Baṣra, met. The principal industry of the city has always been the dressing of hides and sole-leather which was exported mainly to the Ḥidjāz and Yemen, and the manufacture of leather water-skins of particularly fine quality. For Şa'da lies in the very centre of very vast plantations of the *karāz* tree (*acacia Arabica W.*), the leaves of which are used in dressing leather. In Şa'da excellent lances (*ṣā'idr*) and spear-heads used also to be made. Iron, which was brought to Şa'da from the vicinity in the form of dust and was purified there, must have been used for the latter. Iron is still found near Şa'da. Gold used also to occur in the neighbourhood — at al-Kuḥā'a —. The flourishing trade of the town and the busy caravan traffic as well as its native industry yielded large sums in dues and taxes to the treasury of the Zaidī Imāms, whose capital it was. Yāqūt estimated the yield at 100,000 dīnārs. The Imāms al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain (d. 298 = 910/911) and Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā (d. 430 = 1012/13) are buried in Şa'da.

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ŞADĀK. [See MAHR].

ŞADAQA, alms, is so called, according to the Arab writers, from the verb *ṣadaqa*, because the Muslim's almsgiving shows the sincerity (*ṣidq*) of his religion; but it is, in point of fact, merely a

transliteration of the Hebrew word *ṣēdāqā*, which meant originally "honesty", but was used by the Pharisees for what they considered the chief duty of the pious Israelite, namely almsgiving, a meaning which it still retained at the time of the coming of Islām and afterwards. Its proper sense is, therefore, voluntary or spontaneous almsgiving or what we call "charity".

Arabic authors, however, use the word *Ṣadaqa* in two different senses. In the first place it is frequently employed as synonymous with *Zakāt* [q. v.], that is, the legal poor-rate, which is involuntary, and of which the amount is fixed. It is so used in the *Qurʾān*, ix. 58 sqq., x. 59 sq. (see Lane, s. v.). It is so used also in the *Muwattaʾ* of Mālik ibn Anas, in which, in the *Kitāb al-Zakāt*, *Ṣadaqa* is substituted for *Zakāt*. He does this apparently when it is a case of *Zakāt* upon quadrupeds (*mawāʾiḥ*, camels, flocks and herds), but also in other cases. In Bukhārī, on the other hand, *Ṣadaqa* seems to be put for *Zakāt* quite indiscriminately, and the two words are used simultaneously as synonyms. Instances will be found in the notes to Houdas and Marçais' translation. Thus in *bāb* 31 of the *Kitāb al-Zakāt* the two words are used indifferently. Bukhārī uses *Zakāt* where Mālik uses *Ṣadaqa* (e. g. *bāb* 43); he quotes the tradition "There is no *Ṣadaqa* on less than five *dhawd* of she-camels" in the same form as Mālik, yet speaks of the *Ṣadaqat al-Fiṭr* where Mālik uses the usual *Zakāt al-Fiṭr*. The same failure to distinguish between the two words is found also in later writers, both legal and historical (e. g. Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *al-Kāmil*, iii. 42, after Ṭabarī). If there were any doubt as to the identity of this *Ṣadaqa* and *Zakāt*, it would be removed by the fact that the six or seven classes of persons who are entitled to benefit by them are the same in each case, namely, the poor and needy, those engaged in the work of distributing the *Ṣadaqa* or *Zakāt*, Muslim captives in enemy hands, debtors, those engaged in the *Djihād*, travellers, and (originally) the *Muʾallafa Kutubuhum*.

The proper use of the word *Ṣadaqa* is, however, as has been said, in the sense of voluntary almsgiving. In this sense it is, for the sake of distinction, called *Ṣadaqat al-Taṭawwuf* ("alms of spontaneity"). Ibn al-ʿArabī thus defines this *Ṣadaqa*: "Voluntary *Ṣadaqa* is an act of worship arising from free choice mixed with authority; and if it be not so then is it no voluntary *Ṣadaqa*, for the man makes it obligatory upon himself, just as God makes mercy obligatory upon Himself towards those who repent, and corrects those who do ill in ignorance".

Ṣadaqa appears to be used in this sense in the remaining passages of the *Qurʾān* where it occurs, other than the two cited above. Alms may be given openly (ii. 273), so long as this is not done for ostentation (ii. 266); but alms given in secret are better. There is more profit in alms than in usury (ii. 277), but they must be given with goodwill (ii. 265). Those who are disposed to be charitable must not be discouraged (ix. 80), but the reverse (iv. 114). Voluntary alms, of which the amount was left to the giver, were prescribed to be given before interviewing the Prophet, but this impost was remitted provided the interviewers had paid their *Zakāt* (lviii. 13, 14). Alms might also be given in place of some other obligation, such as that of shaving the head after the pilgrimage (ii. 192). These passages naturally form a basis

for much that is found in the succeeding writers. In the *Kitāb al-Zakāt* of his *Muwattaʾ* Mālik ibn Anas frequently cites a certain "Letter" of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in regard to the *Ṣadaqa*. This unfortunately refers to the *Ṣadaqa* in the sense of *Zakāt* only. Mālik himself treats of the *Ṣadaqa* in its etymological sense along with a variety of other matters in the closing paragraphs of his work. He does not use any distinctive term such as *Ṣadaqat al-Taṭawwuf*. What he says is as follows. Under the heading "Inciting to almsgiving" he records a saying of Muḥammad: "Whoever gives an alms out of honest gain (and God accepts only the honest) is only placing it in the palm of the Merciful, and He will make it grow for him, just as one of you lets his weanling foal or camel grow until it becomes like a mountain". Anas ibn Mālik [q. v.] used to tell how Abū Ṭalḥa, who was the richest Anṣārī in Medina, prized above all his wealth a well beside the mosque, from which Muḥammad was in the habit of drinking. When the verse "You shall never win piety until you spend of what you love" (iii. 86) came down, he wished to give this well. Muḥammad, however, persuaded him to keep it in his own family. Zaid ibn Aslam is the authority for the prophetic saying: "Give to the beggar, an if he come upon a mare". The wives of the believers are exhorted not to look down upon the alms given by their neighbour, "even if it be the burnt leg of a sheep". ʿĀʾisha [q. v.], when fasting, gave to a beggar the only loaf she had with which to break her fast. She received the timely present of a sheep. To some who were ever begging Muḥammad gave, but with the reproof that "the best of gifts is endurance". It was when speaking from the pulpit about almsgiving and about refraining from begging that the Prophet used the oft-quoted saying: "The upper hand is better than the lower hand". Mālik interprets that the upper hand is the hand that spends and the under hand is the hand that asks. ʿUmar even refused his stipend on the ground that Muḥammad had advised them not to take anything from another. Muḥammad explained that he was speaking of asking for gifts. ʿUmar replied that he would never ask, nor would he refuse what came without asking. Muḥammad also said: "By Him in whose hand my life is, it were better for one of you to take a rope and gather fuel upon his back, than to beg from one to whom God has given of his bounty, whether he give or refuse". A certain Asadī who had encamped in the Baḳʿ al-Gharḳad [q. v.] was urged by his family to seek something of Muḥammad. He went and found another applicant being sent away with the words: "The beggar who possesses an ounce of gold or its equivalent is guilty of importunity (*ilḥāṣ*)", the Prophet adding that he had nothing to give. Mālik explains that an ounce is 40 dirhams. He adds that the Asadī returned to his family without begging, but when the Prophet received fresh supplies, he was not forgotten.

Under the heading "What is disliked in regard to alms" Mālik notes that the family of Muḥammad may not accept alms, which are only "the offscouring of mankind" (*awṣāḳ al-nās*). It was not lawful for Muḥammad to give alms out of the *Ṣadaqa* (that is, the *Zakāt*). He might give only of his own. So too Aslam wished a man to

request of 'Umar to let him ride one of the she camels of the "Şadaqa", but the other asked him if he would like to drink the water in which a person had washed himself. Aslam exclaimed: "God forgive you! Do you say the like of this to me?" The other replied: "Alms are but the offscouring of men, which they wash from off them". There is some slight confusion here between the two senses of *Şadaqa*. So far Mālik.

Al-Bukhārī in the following century deals with *Şadaqa* in both its senses in the xxivth book of the *Şahīḥ*, on *Zakāt*, without perhaps being aware that he is speaking of two different things. Of the voluntary almsgiving he says in various *bāb*, that alms is the duty of a Muslim. If he lack the means to give alms, he must work and gain them. If he cannot find work, he must at least refrain from ill, and this will be counted to him for alms. The alms given should be according to his means, out of the surplus of his possessions. They must be given with the right hand, and not given to the wrong person. A wife may give alms out of her husband's substance, and a slave out of his master's. Begging is not to be indulged in; but alms may be taken from the rich and given to the poor. Almsgiving atones for sin.

Al-Ġhazālī discusses almsgiving in the *kitāb arrār al-Zakāt* of the *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*, especially in the 8th *waḥīfa*, in which he defines the proper recipient of alms. He must be ascetic, learned, truthful, uncomplaining, necessitous and related to the giver. In the 4th *faṣl* he takes up *Şadaqat al-Taṭawwū'*. After recounting sayings ascribed to Muḥammad and others, he comes to the question raised in the *Qur'ān*, whether it is better to do alms in secret or openly. Those who prefer to give in secret, say that this preserves the self-respect of the recipient, and does not cause people to talk, nor excite the envy of others. Others hold that alms given openly prevent mistakes and misunderstanding, promote humility, and so on. Ġhazālī, like Sir Roger de Coverley, decides that much may be said on both sides, and that all depends on circumstances and motives. He then turns to the question whether it is better to accept *Zakāt* or *Şadaqa*. Some prefer the former because it is a legal due, and does not place those who accept it under an obligation. On the other hand the recipient of the *Zakāt* may not be worthy of help, and the element of friendliness is eliminated. Once more Ġhazālī declines to make a general rule. Cases differ.

Ibn al-'Arabī deals with this matter in the *Futūḥ al-Makkiya*, in *bāb* 70, on "the secrets of the *Zakāt*". He also discusses the question of secret or open alms. His definition of voluntary alms has been given above.

The Shī'ite views of *Şadaqa* and *Zakāt* are similar to those of the Sunnīs, but, while both debar the family of the Prophet from benefit of *Zakāt*, the Shī'ites permit them to share in the *Şadaqa*.

Care for the poor is a characteristic of the Semitic peoples, but the Arabs were not troubled by the feeling of pity. It is possible, therefore, that the provision made for those in need, whether by voluntary or involuntary aid, may have been borrowed from the Hebrews. Cf. Tobit, xii. 8 sq.; Matt. vi. 3, which certainly appear to be quoted. Alms are not a feature of Arabia before Islām, but Freytag gives (xxiv. 5) the proverb: "The best alms are words".

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ŞADAQA B. MAṢŪR B. DUBAIS B. 'ALĪ B. MAZYAD, SAIF AL-DAWLĀ ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-ASADĪ, ruler of al-Ḥilla. After the death of his father in 479 (1086/1087), Şadaqa was recognised by the Saldjūk Sultān as lord of the territory of Malik Şāḥ on the left bank of the Tigris. During the fighting between Sultān Barkiyārūk and his brother Muḥammad, Şadaqa was at first on the side of the former, but when Barkiyārūk's vizier, al-A'azz Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn al-Dihistānī, demanded a large sum of money from him in 494 (1100/1101) and finally threatened him with war, Şadaqa abandoned Barkiyārūk and had the *khutba* read in name of Muḥammad. The Sultān then tried to win him back by peaceful means; but Şadaqa demanded that the vizier should be handed over to him and as Barkiyārūk could not grant this, the negotiations fell through. Instead of agreeing with Barkiyārūk, Şadaqa drove the Sultān's governor out of Kūfa and himself occupied the town. In the following year al-Ḥilla [q. v.] was founded; previously the Banū Mazyad had lived in tents.

When Gümüştekin al-Kāişarī by Barkiyārūk's orders appeared in Baghdad in the middle of Rabī' I, 496 (end of December, 1102), İlghāzī b. Urtuġ, Muḥammad's governor there, made an alliance with Şadaqa. In the meanwhile the Caliph al-Mustazhir had Barkiyārūk again proclaimed Sultān; nevertheless Şadaqa still declined to acknowledge his suzerainty. Soon afterwards Barkiyārūk's name was again dropped from the *khutba* and the imāms confined themselves for the time being to praying for the Caliph only without mentioning by name either of the two contending Sultāns. But the war was continued; by Rabī' II, 496 (January, 1103) Gümüştekin had to evacuate Baghdad and as he was unable to hold out in Wāsiṭ either, Muḥammad was again recognised as Sultān in both cities. Şadaqa then extended his power over a great part of the 'Irāq; in the same year, he took the town of Hit on the Euphrates, which Barkiyārūk had granted as a fief to one of his followers, and appointed his cousin Thābit b. Kāmil governor of it. In Shawwāl, 497 (June—July, 1104), Wāsiṭ met the same fate and here Muḥaddhib al-Dawla al-Sa'id b. Abi 'l-Khair was appointed governor. Next came the turn of Basra, which had fallen into the hands of the Saldjūk Ismā'il b. Arslāndjīk during the war between

Barkiyārūk and his brothers. It was not till after the death of Barkiyārūk that Sulṭān Muḥammad was able to think of dislodging Ismā'il from it and in 499 (1105/1106) he asked Şadaqa to fight him. In Djumādā I of the same year (Jan.-Feb., 1106) Şadaqa took the field against Ismā'il, who was soon forced to surrender, whereupon Şadaqa appointed one of his grandfather Dubais's Mamlūks named Altūntāsh to govern Baṣra. But as the latter was very soon surprised and captured by Beduin bandits, the Sulṭān himself appointed another governor in his place. In Şafar, 500 (Oct., 1106) Kaiḫubādī b. Hazārasp al-Dailamī, lord of Takrit, had also to yield. After the death of Barkiyārūk, Muḥammad had sent the Emir Aḫsunḫur al-Bursuḫī [q. v.] to Takrit to occupy the town. As Kaiḫubādī would not obey, he was besieged. After several months had passed, he saw the impossibility of holding out any longer, and sent to Şadaqa and surrendered the city to him. Warrām b. Abī Firās was then appointed governor of Takrit. But Muḥammad could not always look on quietly while Şadaqa's power kept growing, especially as the latter never had any scruples about affording shelter to anyone who had fallen into disgrace with the Sulṭān. When Abū Dulaf Surḫāb b. Kaiḫusraw, lord of Sāwa, took refuge with him and Şadaqa refused to hand him over, long negotiations between Şadaqa and the Sulṭān only resulted in an open breach between suzerain and vassal. The Sulṭān set out in person from Baghdad with a large army and in the fierce battle which was fought (according to the most usual statement) in the latter half of Radjab, 501 (beginning of March, 1108) Şadaqa was killed at the age of fifty-nine. Like his ancestors he bore the title "Malik al-'Arab"; the highest praise is given him by Arab poets and historians for his virtues, notably his liberality and readiness to give assistance, and he is rightly described by A. Müller (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii. 122) as "a true Beduin, brave, stubborn and wily".

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), N^o. 301; de Slane's transl., i. 634; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), x. passim; Abū 'l-Fida', *Annales* (ed. Reiske), iii. 264, 308, 344, 354, 358, 362; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes rel. à l'hist. d. Seldjoucides*, ii. 76, 102, 259; *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, Hist. or., i. 9, 247—252; iii. 487, 517, 531; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 156—159.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-SA'DĀN, the two lucky stars, Jupiter and Venus in contrast to the two unlucky stars (*naḥṣān*), Saturn and Mars. Jupiter is called the great good fortune, *al-Sa'd al-akbar*; whoever is born under his rule will be among the happy ones in the future life and distinguished for devoutness, fear of God, uprightness and continence. Venus is called the little good fortune, *al-Sa'd al-aṣḡhar*; whoever is born under Venus may expect good fortune and success in this life, in all worldly pleasures, such as food and drink and especially in all love and matrimonial affairs.

Bibliography: for the Greek views see F. Boll, *Sphaera*; Rasā'il *Iḫwān al-Ṣafā'* (ed. Bombay), i. 72; Dieterici, *Propädeutik der Araber*, p. 70; al-Kazwīnī, *Adja'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 22, 26; transl. by H. Ethé, *Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, i. 48, 57.

(J. RUSKA)

SA'DI, Shaikh Muṣliḥ-al-Dīn, whose renown is second to that of no Persian poet, was born at Shīrāz in 580/1184. His father was in the service of the Salghurid Atābeg, Sa'd b. Zangi, from whom the poet took his *Taḡhalluṣ*, or poetical pseudonym, of Sa'di. It has been suggested that this name was taken from Sa'd II, son of Abū Bakr and grandson of Sa'd I, but this is improbable, for Sa'd II did not begin to reign until shortly after Sa'di, who was then sixty-seven years of age and had already written much, returned to Shīrāz from his travels, and he reigned for no more than twelve days. He had no opportunity of doing anything to earn Sa'di's gratitude, whereas his grandfather had been the patron of the poet's father. Sa'di began his studies in the famous Nizāmiya College at Baghdad, and continued his education by studying the mysticism of the Sūfis under Shaikh 'Abd-al-Kādir al-Djīlī (Djīlānī) [cf. the art.], with whom he made the pilgrimage to Mekka — a duty which he is said to have performed no less than fourteen times. Of his long life of 102 (lunar) years he spent the first thirty in study, the second thirty in travelling and the composition of poetry, the third thirty in religious seclusion and the completion and arrangement of his poems, and the last twelve in supplying wayfarers with food and water and in discourse on mysticism.

In the course of his travels he visited Asia Minor and India, and in both countries bore arms in dījhād against the misbelievers. He says of himself:

I have wandered afar in the ends of the earth,
I have consorted with all sorts and conditions
of men;

In every corner have I found both pleasure and profit,

From every harvest have I gleaned a sheaf.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Martyr Prince Muḥammad Khān, governor of Multān on behalf of his father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, invited Sa'di to visit India once more, and the poet was deterred only by his age from setting out on his travels again. Of his wit many stories are told. Khwādja Humām al-Dīn, a rich citizen of Tabriz and himself a poet, meeting him in the public baths, asked him whence he came, "From Shīrāz," said Sa'di. "It is strange that there should be more Shīrāzis than dogs in Tabriz," said the Khwādja. "It is not so at Shīrāz," replied Sa'di, "for there Tabrizis are less than dogs". The Khwādja left the bath but met Sa'di again in the street. "Do they recite the verses of Humām in Shīrāz?" he asked the traveller. "Yes", said Sa'di, looking at the handsome youth who was fanning the Khwādja, "especially this:

"Between me and my beloved Humām stands
as a veil;

It is time for me to draw this veil aside".

His wit betrayed him. "You are Sa'di", exclaimed the Khwādja. "Yes", was the reply; and the delighted Khwādja, having begged his pardon, took him home and feasted him royally.

Sa'di died at Shīrāz in September, 1292, at the great age of 102 lunar or nearly 99 solar years, and is buried in the environs of the city.

His best known works are the *Būstān* (Garden), written in 1257, and the *Gulistān* ("Rose-garden"), written in the following year, which are read wherever Persian literature is studied. The former is a collection of poems on ethical subjects and the latter is a collection of moral stories in prose,

plentifully interspersed with verse. He has also a *diwān* or volume of *ghazals* (short odes), a number of *Ḳaṣ'id* (long odes), and collections of poems known as *Tayyibāt* (Pleasantries), *Ḥazliyat* (jests) and *Khushiyāt* (obscenities). He is regarded as the master of the *ghazal*, or short ode. An unknown poet has written:

"There are three prophets in poetry,
Despite the saying: "There shall be no prophet
after me";

One in encomium, one in the *ḥajida*, and one
in the *ghazal*;

They are Firdaws, Anwarī and Sa'dī".

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkir at al-Shu'arā'*, ed. E. G. Browne (1901); Lutf' Allāh. *Āḡā Khān Aḡhar, Alashkade*. MSS.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, *Tarikh-i Guzida* (Gibb Memorial Series). For further details see beneath (T. W. HAIG)

Literary History. All MSS. of Sa'dī's works are based on the redaction of 'Alī ibn Aḥmad Abū Bakr of Bisutūn who flourished 50 years after Sa'dī's death. They are divided into a Persian-Indian and a Persian-Turkish family. On the first is based the Calcutta edition of the *Kulliyāt* in two volumes (1791 and 1795), containing also the preface of that redactor. Vol. i. of this edition begins with the seven so-called *Kisā's*, prose treatises of mystical and ethical contents. In the same volume follow *Gulistān*, *Būstān* and *Pand-nāma* (generally not considered as Sa'dī's own work; cf. Ethé, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 295; it is a *mathnawī* after the fashion of 'Aḡār's *Pand-nāma*). Vol. ii. contains the *Diwān*, comprising the Arabic and Persian *Ḳaṣida's* (lyrical, didactical and panegyric), the *Marāthi*, the *Mulamma'āt* and *Tarḡi'āt* and the four collections of odes. Finally the *Ṣāhibiyya* or *Ṣāhib-nāma*, *Mubāṭṭa'āt*, *Khawāṭirāt*, *Mudhikāt*, *Rubā'iyyāt*, *Mufradāt*. All *Kulliyāt*, published since in Persia and India have about the same division.

Besides the many biographical works on Persian poets, Sa'dī's own works are valuable material to complete our knowledge of his life and the development of his literary production. Thus he must have composed a good deal of the *Ḳaṣida's* in later age, as they are addressed to personalities whom he had known only after his return to Shīrāz. If the four groups of odes have been arranged after the different periods in Sa'dī's life, in which they have originated, the *Tayyibāt*, the *Badā'i'* and the *Khawāṭim* are all to be placed after the poet's return to his native town; they contain a few allusions to events and persons connected with his later life. On the other hand, the *Ḥazaliyat-i Qadīm* appear to be a work of his youth. All this, however, is rather uncertain. The alphabetical arrangement according to the final letters of each poem makes chronology impossible; but some MSS., constitute an exception, e. g. the oldest known MS. described by Ethé under No. 1117 on p. 655—659 of his *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Indian Office* (No. 876; cf. also p. ii. of White King's Introduction to his edition of the *Tayyibāt*, Calcutta 1919); so a careful examination of the older arrangement might give some results. The *Ṣāhib-nāma* (ed. and transl. by W. Bacher, *Sa'dī's Aphorismen und Sinngedichte*, Strassburg 1879) containing moralizing poems, was dedicated to the *Ṣāhib-Diwan* Shams al-Dīn Djuwainī and belongs equally to the last period of Sa'dī's life.

In the short stories of *Gulistān* and *Būstān* (also called *Sa'dī-nāma*) there occur many personal recollections of the author. In his monograph on Sa'dī, Massé has tried to restore a biography based on those informations. But he seems to have trusted Sa'dī's veracity too much. The truth of many of these stories has been doubted before (Barbier de Meynard, Rückert) and Sa'dī himself declares that whoever has been much about in the world, may lie a good deal. If we are not wholly to distrust the author, he must have lost his father in an early age, being old enough, however, to remember some of his wise lessons. The anecdote in the *Gulistān* about the poet's visit to *Kashgar*, when he was still very young, sounds rather improbable and has puzzled many orientalists; certainly the easiest way is to consider the whole story as fantastical (cf. Schaeder in *Der Islām*, xiv. 187). To the period of Sa'dī's youth must equally have belonged his sojourn in Syria as a prisoner of the Franks in Tripoli (Massé suggests of the siege of that town in 1221) and his ephemeral marriage with the daughter of a paternal friend who redeemed him from slavery. It is impossible to follow him closely during the period of his long journeys (± 1226—1255); it seems probable that he visited Central Asia, India, Syria, Egypt, Arabia (many of the short stories relate experiences in the desert on the way to or from Mecca), Abyssinia, Morocco. In India Sa'dī pretends to have passed through the well-known adventure in the temple at Somanāt, where he discovered the priest's trick in deceiving the people and afterwards killed him in order to escape his vengeance. This story too, however, has many intrinsic improbabilities (*Būstān*, ed. Graf, p. 388 sqq.). Sa'dī's second marriage in Yemen is also to be placed in this second period. In the last period of his life he was, as the *Ḳaṣida's* prove, in relation with the Atabak Abū Bakr ibn Sa'd ibn Zangī, on whose death he composed an elegy († 1260) and whom he has celebrated in the first pages of the *Būstān*. There is the Arabic *Marthiya* on the fall of Baghdad and in the same period his panegyrics on the Mongol conquerors and their satellites. The *Tayyibāt* are dedicated to the last Atabak of Fārs, Saldjūqshāh. There are also *Ḳaṣida's* dedicated to Anḳiyānū, the Mongol governor who succeeded that prince, and also to Sa'dī's exalted patrons 'Aṭā Malik and Shams al-Dīn Djuwainī (an anthology of these panegyrics is to be found on p. 67—70 of the Persian introduction to the Gibb Fund edition of the *Djahān-Gushā*). As in Sa'dī's works there is no allusion whatever to the tragical death of both the brothers Djuwainī (1282 and 1283) Massé thinks that the poet must have died before or very shortly after these events; in that case the informations of the biographers, varying between 1291 and 1292 give too late a date. Now if, as most authors do, the year 580/1184 is adopted as the year of Sa'dī's birth (Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 526), he may not yet have reached 100 (solar) years.

Sa'dī's tomb is outside Shīrāz, a little farther off than that of Ḥāfiz. The tombstone is not old, the original one having been destroyed by a fanatical *mudjtahid*, as Sa'dī is generally believed to have been a Sunnī. It is probable for this same reason that Sa'dī's tomb lies rather deserted, whereas many Shīrāzians have chosen for the place

of their last repose the neighbourhood of Hāfiz (Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p. 281). According to the colophons in the oldest MSS., the name of the author must have been Muḡharriḡ al-Dīn ibn Muḡliḡ al-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, ii. 595).

Ethé (*Grundriss der Ir. Phil.*, ii. 292) counts Sa'di among the poets that first have combined the originally separated mystical and didactical tendencies in Persian poetry. With Sa'di the didactical, moralizing element is predominant; to this it is that he owes his great popularity.

There is no doubt that he was well versed in the "science" of mystics. Besides 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilāni, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī was his teacher in Baghdād (*Būstān*, ed. Graf, p. 150). According to an anecdote told by Afākī (transl. by Huart, i. 238 sq.), he even might have met with Djālāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (cf. *Būstān*, p. 165 sqq.). For him as for other poets the often paradoxical mystical ideas must have been valuable literary material. The question whether Sa'di was himself susceptible of mystical feelings is probably to be answered in the negative, as his practical nature made him more inclined towards a moralizing attitude, in which he made mysticism only serve a higher moral conception of earthly life. In many instances he puts moderate common sense against exaggerated zeal for the life to come. In his *Būstān* the lofty mystical sentiments of the *Mathnawī* or the *Mantiq al-Tair* should not be sought for. Sa'di often speaks of the Šūfi's, but his attitude towards them is always more that of a moralist than of a fellow-mystic. His practical mystical ideal is realized in the *Šāhididān*, the truly wise people who do not care for the outer appearances of this world, without, however, despising it wholly. For it is precisely the world's perishableness that makes it valuable as a rare ruby, and in many places Sa'di shows himself a good Muslim, when he finds in the variety and beauty of earthly existence a reason for great thankfulness towards the Creator. He preaches a moderate fatalism and disapproves of exaggeration in the religious life: "Don't be more pious than Muḡammad!"

As a moralist Sa'di gained much profit from the vicissitudes of life through which he had passed. His knowledge of the world gives to his ideas and opinions a cosmopolitan character, reached by no other Persian poet. It is due, probably, to this fact, together with the elegance of his style, that he has earned his great popularity in his own country and abroad, so that he has been compared with Horace, Rabelais and Lafontaine. Sa'di looks upon the world with sympathetic humour and is seldom satirical; and he can never enough exhort his readers to follow his moral counsels. Now these moral precepts, chiefly to be found in *Gulistān*, *Būstān* and *Pand-Nāma*, are far from being uniform. For common mortals the author cites in the *Pand-nāma* a number of virtues and vices; as the chief virtue he seems to regard "goodness" (*niki*), great sympathy for our fellow-creatures without any egotistic view. He that obtains the qualification of good is really immortal. On the other hand Sa'di's social morals are sometimes quite different; here revengefulness is sometimes recommended instead of mercifulness, insincerity instead of veracity. Man is admonished

to guard by all means his independence from other people. Especially for princes several machiavellian precepts are given (the 2nd part of the 6th *risāla* is a short treatise on politics, dedicated to Anḡiānū), and for derwishes again other moral norms exist.

The different aspects of Sa'di's morality make it difficult to believe in his sincerity, the more so as his morality is considerably compromised by the obscenities uttered in some chapters of the *Gulistān* and in the *Khawāthir*, though, in an introduction to this collection, he tries to excuse himself in saying that he could not withdraw from an order given to him to compose these poems. However, with a Persian poet it is often difficult to separate what belongs to himself and what must be regarded as a concession to the taste of his patrons and of the public. The favour he has met with all through the eastern world should always be taken into serious consideration before judging too severely his character. In any case he has shown himself in all his humanity and he has amply satisfied the predilection for moralizing in literary form, which the Persians have had since pre-islamic times.

Moreover, his elegant style, his ease of expression, the way in which he knows how to make attractive the most tedious moral maxims, in short his art, would have been enough to gain him the admiration of his countrymen. The *Khawāthir* are considered to be his most perfect compositions; the Arabic *Qaṣida*'s are less appreciated by orientalists. Arabic and Persian lines follow alternately in his *Mulamma'āt*, and in one of his poems he uses 16 different languages and dialects (Bacher in the *ZDMG.*, xxx. 89).

In Persia Sa'di's *Diwān* is more read and appreciated than the *Būstān* and the *Gulistān* (Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 281). Still, nowadays, many Persians know one of both these works by heart and quite a number of Persian poets have followed Sa'di in writing similar works. They are enumerated by Ethé in the *Grundriss der Irānischen Philologie*, ii. 297. The most famous of the imitations of the *Gulistān* is Djāmi's [q. v.] *Bahāristān*. But none of them has been able to surpass the originals in popularity.

Outside Persia Sa'di's influence has been great in Indian and in Turkish literature. After the Calcutta edition the poet's works have often been printed in India, without and with commentaries by Indian scholars. The *Gulistān* has been translated several times into Hindustāni, the best known being the translation of Afśōs (1802). Garcin de Tassy's assertion that Sa'di must have been the first Hindustāni poet has been definitely refuted now (cf. Browne, *Literary History*, ii. 533). But a certain relation between Sa'di's way of composition, especially in the *Gulistān*, in which a prose story is everywhere followed by a short poem, and the old well known literary form of Indian tales, admits on the one hand of the supposition of Indian influences on Sa'di himself and may explain on the other hand his popularity in Hindustān.

Turkish translations of Sa'di's works were made at an early date. The *Būstān* was translated in 1354 by the learned Taftāzāni (Gibb, *History of Ott. Poetry*, i. 202) and there exists a translation of the *Gulistān*, made in 1391 by

Saif al-Sarayī in the Turkish dialect of Egypt (MS. Leiden, No. 476 in Dozy's *Catalogus*, i. 355; cf. also *Milli tettebb'lar medjmu'asi*, Sept.-Oct., 1331, p. 133). The Turkish poet Kemāl Pāshā Zāde († 1534) imitated the *Gulistān* in his Persian *Nigārīstān*. Sa'dī belonged to the poets whose works were much studied during the early period of Ottoman literature. In a way he has even been of some influence on the development of modern literature in Turkey, as Ziyā Pāshā, in his autobiography, tells that it was only when he read the *Gulistān* that he discovered what language was (Gibb, *Hist. of Ott. Poetry*, v. 53). In his *Kharabāt* (ed. Constantinople 1291, i. p. 22 of the introduction) Ziyā Pāshā puts Sa'dī above all other Persian poets: "When one reads the *Būstān*, then only does one understand what the world is like". He does not doubt of Sa'dī's sincerity and admires in him the fact, that even in his panegyrics he is still courageous enough to remind the mighty of the earth of moral precepts. During the sixteenth century several other Turkish translations have appeared. Turkish scholars have also undertaken to write commentaries on *Būstān* and *Gulistān*; such are Surtūrī († 1561), Sham'ī, Sūdī (both at the end of the xvth century), Hawā'ī, al-Bursawī and others. In the sixteenth century some of these commentaries were printed.

The existing translations of the *Gulistān* and the *Būstān* and sometimes of other of Sa'dī's works, in all modern languages, prove sufficiently the great renown he has obtained beyond the boundaries of Islām. First, the *Gulistān* became known through the French translation by André du Ryer (Paris 1634), followed by several editions in Latin (by Gentius, Amsterdam 1651), German (by Olearius, Hamburg 1654), Dutch (transl. from Olearius) and English (by Sullivan in 1774). The *Būstān* appeared later. In the xvth century Thomas Hyde is said to have made a translation of it. The oldest printed translation is in Dutch (Amsterdam 1688) by D. H(avart). So in West-European literature Sa'dī became familiar as early as the xvth century; mention need only be made here to the works of Lafontaine, Voltaire and Goethe.

The latest monograph on Sa'dī is Henri Massé's *Essai sur le poète Saadi* (Paris 1919), a dissertation for the doctorate of the Alger University. In his *Thèse Complémentaire*, called *Biographie de Saadi* (Paris 1919) Massé gives a very valuable bibliographical survey, to which reference may be made here. Since that date a new edition of Sa'dī's odes has begun to appear: Sir Lucas White King, *The Odes of Sheikh Muḥlisu -d-Dīn Sa'dī Shīrāzī* Part I (*Tayyibāt*), Fasc. i. (1919), ii. (1920), iii. (1921), published at Calcutta in the Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, No. 1424.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-SA'DI, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'IMRĀN b. 'AMIR, the historian of the Songhai kingdom in the Sūdān, belonged to an old family of scholars in Timbuktu where he was born on 1st Djumādā II, 1004 (1596); here he received his education from Aḥmad Bābā [q.v.]. On the conclusion of his studies he sought with his brothers a sphere of activity in Djenne [q.v.], the old commercial town which at that time rivalled Timbuktu as a commercial and intellectual centre. Here in 1036 (1626) he succeeded in obtaining the post of Imām of the Sankore Mosque,

i. e. of the mosque in the foreign quarter, having previously acted as deputy for his predecessor in the office. He extended his knowledge of the world at the end of 1039 (July 1630) by a journey to the Fulbe kingdom of Māsina north of Djenne on the left bank of the Niger, which at that time included the island of Djimbala in the Niger. It was the Kāḍī there who had invited him, but he received such an honourable reception from the Sultān himself and the notables of the kingdom, that he repeated his visit three years later. On this occasion he rendered diplomatic services to the Sultān by settling a feud between him and one of his vassals. He and his family, however, suffered a good deal from the tyranny of the Moroccan governors in Djenne. In 1044 (1634) one of his brothers was banished from his new home to Timbuktu and he had to go back there to intervene on his behalf. Two years later he himself was even dismissed from his office. On complaining to the Pasha in Timbuktu, the latter gave him this much satisfaction that he dismissed the Kāḍī who had been his enemy. But he gave up further claim to his office and preferred to live as a private individual and occasionally placed his knowledge at the disposal of the smaller vassals in the southern Songhai kingdom as secretary and teacher. In 1056 (1646), however, the Pasha of Timbuktu, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Oṭmān, summoned him to be his Secretary of State, and he seems to have held this office under Muḥammad's successors also till his death. On several expeditions on which he had to accompany the Pasha, he became acquainted with the north and east of the Songhai kingdom which he did not hitherto know. He then decided to write a history of his native land which he entitled *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*. He introduced his work with the early history of the tribes of the Songhai, Melli and Tuareg, and of the towns of Djenne and Timbuktu. In 1853/54 Barth was able to make extracts from the smaller half of this history in Timbuktu and G. Ralfs published these in a translation in the ZDMG., ix. 518 sqq. He interspersed these remarks with numerous ethnographical digressions — introduced as 'ādāt —, which Barth omitted. In chapter x. he gives a survey of the scholars of Timbuktu as a supplement to Aḥmad Bābā's *Dhail al-Dibāq*. The history proper begins with the establishment of Muslim rule by the Khārījī Sunnī 'Alī in the ninth (fifteenth) century. He then describes the rule of the orthodox Askīyā dynasty and the conquest of the kingdom by the Moroccans and their dominion down to the death of the author. The style is much interspersed with colloquialisms and is faulty in other respects also. The date of completion of the chronicle is given by him as Monday, Dhū 'l-Hijidja 5, 1063 (Oct. 28, 1653). On the following day he added a list of officials as an appendix. In a further appendix he detailed happenings down to Djumādā I 16, 1066 (March 14, 1656). He seems to have died soon afterwards. A continuation to his work, a history of the Moroccan governors in the Songhai kingdom entitled *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, was written in 1164 (1751) by an unnamed author, who was born in Timbuktu in 1112 (1700) and was a grandson of the Emīr Muḥammad b. Sūwū.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Imrān b. 'Amir al-Sa'dī, *Ta'rikh al-*

Sūdān, ed. O. Houdas and Edm. Benoist, *PELOV*, series 4, xii. (Paris 1898); *Documents Arabes relatifs à l'histoire du Soudan. Teds-kiret en Nisyān fi Akhbār Molouk es-Soudān*, ed. by O. Houdas and Edm. Benoist, *P. Ec. Lang. Or. Viv.*, series 4, xix. (Paris 1899).

(C. BROCKELMANN)

SA'DIANS (BANŪ SA'D), the name of the dynasty of Sharifs in Morocco which in 1544 (951) replaced the Waṭṭāsīd dynasty on the throne of Fās.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century the expeditions of the Portuguese and Spanish against the Muslim lands in Spain or North Africa had raised to a great pitch the fanaticism of the Berbers and of the Arabs who reacted violently under the leadership of holy men, sharifs [q. v.] and marabouts [q. v.].

In a country organised according to tribes or divided into numerous little states of a feudal character, among peoples whose only link of solidarity was the bond of religion and who were often at war with one another, the powerless rulers had had to submit to the Christian invaders. Then under the influence and the guidance of marabouts, knowing only Islām, acting in its name and not in that of the State which they ignored, centres of resistance were formed nearly along the whole length of the coast of North-west Africa. In this revolution those dynasties which had not tried, or had not been able, to direct the movement into regular channels were swept away; new powers, with the support of the religious party, in their place established themselves, notably the Turks in Algiers and the Sa'dian Sharifs or Banū Sa'd in al-Sūs (district in Southern Morocco). Chronicles and traditions are quite in agreement regarding the fortunes of the latter.

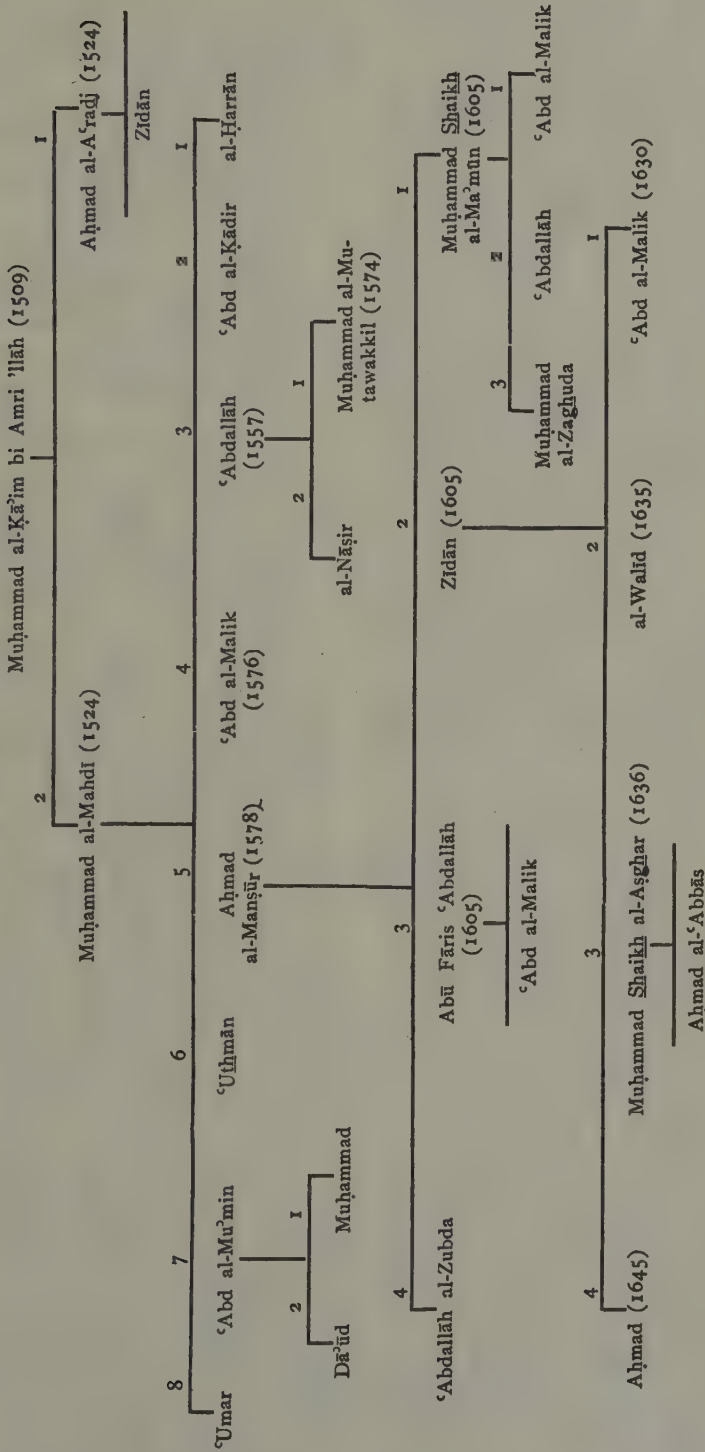
The first of the Banū Sa'd to come to power was a certain Muḥammad surnamed al-Mahdī and al-Kā'im bi Amri 'llāh. He practised magic, it appears. He had been put by Sidī 'Abdallāh U-mbarek, the most important holy man in al-Sūs, at the head of the tribes fighting against the Portuguese in this area. Some successes gained against the Christians and rather tactless pecuniary assistance given by the Waṭṭāsīd Sulṭān of Fās to the two sons of the sharif consolidated the latter's position. He took advantage of this to extend his power to the north of al-Sūs and had himself proclaimed sovereign in 1509 (915). He died at Afughāl in al-Haḥa about 1517/18 (924).

Aḥmad al-A'raḍī and Muḥammad (also surnamed al-Mahdī), his two sons, succeeded him. They fortified themselves first at Tarudant, capital of al-Sūs, on account of the inroads of the Christians who were masters of the coast to the south of Anfā (Casablanca); then they made an alliance against them with the governor of Marrākeṣh. The assassination of this governor enabled them to seize the town where Aḥmad al-A'raḍī was installed as ruler. The activities of the two sharifs had been facilitated by the conflict of duties and the rivalries between the Portuguese agents Nunho Mascarenhas and Yahyā ben Tahfūsa; their task was rendered still more easy when the latter, taken by surprise and killed, was disposed of. Henceforth masters of the capital of Southern Morocco and strongly supported by the majority of the marabouts, they gave offence to Muḥammad al-Bortgali, the Waṭṭāsīd Sulṭān of Fās, who laid

siege to them several times in Marrākeṣh but without success until he died in 1525 (971). Competition arose on the death of this ruler between three claimants to the throne from his family and the result was anarchy, civil war and progress by the Christians. The new Waṭṭāsīd Sulṭān Aḥmad in order to have freedom of action against the latter treated with the Sharifs, abandoning to them the government of Marrākeṣh and of its territory. But they feeling strong enough broke the agreement. The Sulṭān took the field against them and was defeated at the battle of Bū Akba (July, 1536/942). Fighting between the various tribes became more and more frequent; the country threatened to sink into anarchy while the menace of invasion by the Christians was always hanging over it. Then the marabouts intervened to impose peace by dividing the kingdom between the two rival factions. This is what was done.

Rivalry then broke out between the two brother Sharifs. Muḥammad al-Mahdī seized the lands of Aḥmad al-A'raḍī and exiled him, then continued the struggle with the Sulṭān of Fās, whose capital he took for the first time (1550/957). The Waṭṭāsīds were interned at Tarudant; but one of them, the former claimant Bū Ḥassūn, a refugee first in Spain, then at Algiers, succeeded in procuring the intervention of the Turks. With their support he captured Fās and was proclaimed there. But the massacre of the Waṭṭāsīds at Tarudant and the assassination of Bū Ḥassūn left the Sharif Muḥammad sole master of Morocco. He once more entered Fās where he was definitely proclaimed Sulṭān in 1554 (951). This prince, energetic, clever and adroit, and gifted with the qualities of an organiser, may be considered the real founder of the dynasty of the Banū Sa'd. He demanded from trade and from industrial monopolies the resources which war did not supply him in sufficient quantities. In exchange for his produce, England supplied him with arms. His successors followed his example in this respect. He also supported the policy of Spain against the Turks, which cost him his life, for they assassinated him in 1557 (965). His son 'Abd Allāh, called al-Ḥalīb, succeeded him, followed the same policy and tried to counteract the preponderating influence of the religious party. He died in 1574 (981). His son Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil had to fight for his throne against his two uncles, 'Abd al-Malik known as Mūlay Mulūk, and Aḥmad. It was a rare thing on the death of a Moroccan sovereign when the 'ulamā' of Fās proclaimed as his successor the same person as the 'ulamā' of Marrākeṣh. When one of the claimants was supported by the Turks, the other immediately sought the assistance of the Christians. This was a necessity imposed by the difficulty of obtaining military supplies. The Turks had another important reason for interfering in the affairs of Morocco; this was the claim of the Moroccan Sharifs to exclusive legitimacy in the government of Islām as sharifs descended from the Prophet and this meant a great deal to the Sulṭāns in Stambul.

The Christians, pursuing their policy of occupying the coast, took advantage of the confusion to get ports ceded to them. Their lack of a Muslim religious policy enabled the religious party to exasperate more and more the inhabitants of various districts and to bring about a divorce between them and the sovereigns of the Maghrib.

GENEALOGY OF THE SA'DIAN SULTANS¹⁾

1) The figures in brackets give the date of the first proclamation of the ruler.

The Arab tribes and the Berber tribes, never quite reconciled to one another, favoured sometimes one and sometimes the other pretender. Like the Christians, the Turks charged dearly for their services, and sometimes, to weaken their neighbours still more, lent their help to several competitors at the same time.

Mulāy Mulūk, supported by the Turks of Algiers, was proclaimed ruler of Morocco. But Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil attacked him with Portuguese assistance. A famous battle took place at Wād Maḥḥāzin (battle of the three kings) in which the king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, his ally Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil and Mulāy Mulūk were all three killed. The ex-pretender Aḥmad was then proclaimed sovereign of Morocco with the support of the Turks (1578 = 986).

The latter is known as Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, or Aḥmad al-Dḥahabī. He kept on good terms with the Turks and took advantage of the respite offered him by the Portuguese and Spaniards, who were exhausted or occupied in Europe, to conquer the Sūdān. This was the most remarkable episode in the history of the dynasty. This ruler died of the plague in 1603 (1012). His three sons at once disputed the succession; the one, Muḥammad Shaikh, known as al-Ma'mūn, was the candidate of Philip III; Zidān, proclaimed at Fās, was supported by the Turks while Abū Fāris was proclaimed at Marrākesh. The latter succeeded in defeating his rival of Fās, who took refuge with the Turks, then tried to reconquer Morocco from the south. But the people of Fās preferred to submit to al-Ma'mūn who was proclaimed in 1604 (1013). The assassination of Abū Fāris by 'Abd Allāh, son of al-Ma'mūn, disposed of one of the rivals but the struggle between the two surviving brothers continued. Zidān was proclaimed and dethroned three times in all.

The marabouts, to whom the Banū Sa'd had at first owed their elevation to the throne, took advantage of the situation to strengthen their personal power in their sphere of influence. Their attitude forced the Sultāns to take action against them. In 1610 (1018) the cession of Larache to the Spaniards by al-Ma'mūn became the signal for general risings. Piracy against the Christians developed at Tetwan and at Salā (Sla) [q. v.]. An adventurer, Abū Maḥallī, seized Tafilalt, Dra'a and Marrākesh. He was threatening to occupy the whole of Morocco when he was killed in 1613 = 1021. In the north-west the town of Sla and the surrounding country accepted the rule of a marabout, al-Ayāshī.

Sultān Zidān continued to reign, buffeted about by all these troubles, and died in 1627 = 1038. His three sons, 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walid and Muḥammad Shaikh al-Aṣghar, were equally the playthings of Christians, Turks and marabouts for over nine years. The latter reigned at this time quite without restraint: a certain 'Alī Bu Domaiya was master of al-Sūs; Tafilalt was ruled by a creature of the Turks, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il; the marabouts of the Zāwiya of Dila ruled Tedla and the region of Fās; al-Ayāshī, champion of the holy war against the Christians, had added al-Gharb and al-Habaṭ to his territory. Muḥammad Shaikh al-Aṣghar succeeded in getting himself proclaimed at al-Marrākesh in 1636 (1045) but he was confined to this one town of his. Even there Karṭum al-Ḥādīdī, a kind of mayor of the palace, seized the

power on the death of the Sultān. He imprisoned Aḥmad al-'Abbās, son and successor of the ruler Muḥammad Shaikh, and put him to death (1654 = 1064). With the latter the Sa'dian dynasty disappeared, after lasting about a century, just at the time when that of the 'Alawī Sharīfs, originally of Tafilalt, began to establish themselves in the north of Morocco.

Order of succession:

1. al-Kā'im, proclaimed in 1509 in al-Sūs;
 - { Muḥammad al-Mahdī, proclaimed with his brother in 1524;
2. { Aḥmad al-A'raḍī, proclaimed with his brother in 1524;
3. Muḥammad al-Mahdī alone; he was proclaimed at Fās in 1554;
4. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, proclaimed in 1554;
5. al-Mutawakkil, proclaimed in 1574;
6. 'Abd al-Malik, also called Mulāy Mulūk, proclaimed in 1576;
7. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, proclaimed in 1578;
 - { Abū Fāris 'Abdallāh, proclaimed in 1605;
8. { Zidān
 - { Muḥammad Shaikh al-Ma'mūn, proclaimed in 1605;
9. 'Abd al-Malik b. Zidān, proclaimed in 1630;
10. al-Walid, proclaimed in 1635;
11. Muḥammad Shaikh al-Aṣghar, proclaimed in 1603. He died in 1654. His son, Aḥmad al-'Abbās, never reigned but was assassinated in the same year; with him the line became extinct.

Bibliography: A. Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1904, and the sources quoted on p. iv. sqq.; do., *La Dynastie marocaine des Beni Waṭṭās*, Constantine 1920, pp. 113—234; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, especially pp. 87—140 on the historians of the dynasty of the Sa'dians; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, especially the extract from the chronicle of al-Djannābī, pp. 285—354, and the anonymous chronicle of the dynasty of the Banū Sa'd, pages 360—457; S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, London 1894, pp. 60—62. (A. COUR)

ṢADIḲĪ, the name given by Tipū Sultān of Mysore (1197—1213 = 1782—99) to a gold coin of the value of two pagodas, weighing 106 grains (6.86 grammes). The name is derived from the well-known epithet of Abū Bakr [cf. the art. **ṢIDDĪQ**], in accordance with Tipū's custom of naming his denominations after *khalīfas* or *imāms*.

(J. ALLAN)

SA'DIYA or **DJIBĀWIYA**, an order of dervishes named after the founder SA'D AL-DĪN AL-DJIBĀWĪ, i. e. of Djibā, "between the Hawrān and Damascus". His death-date is variously given as 700 and 736 A. H.; and the accounts which we have of him are clearly fabulous. According to the *Kaw-lāṣat al-Aṭhar*, i. 34, his father was the Shaikh Yūnus al-Shaibānī, a pious man, whom in his youth he disobeyed, becoming a leader of banditti in the Hawrān; owing, however, to his father's prayers he was favoured with a vision which resulted in his conversion. The authority followed by Depont and Coppolani makes him practise severe asceticism, and visit various sanctuaries, including Mekka; after this he returned to Syria, and founded in Damascus the order which bears his name, but which is traced by a *silsila* through

Djunaid, Sarī Saḳaṭī and Ma'rūf al-Karkhī to the Imāms of the Prophet's house.

In the *Khulāṣat al-Aṭhar*, the author of which died in 1092 A. H., the Banū Sa'd al-Dīn appear as a society (*ṭā'ifa*) in Damascus, noted for their piety; there they held a service in the Umayyad Mosque after the Friday prayer, and they possessed a *sāwiya* in the district Kubaibāt, whence the descendants of the founder took the name Kubaibātī (i. 33 and ii. 208). The biography of Muḥammad known as Ibn Sa'd al-Dīn, who became *shaiḫh* of the society in 986 A. H. (ibid., iv. 160), seems to suggest that the institution began with him; for it records how having begun life as a trader he was miraculously converted at Mekka. With him one of his brothers was associated, and the two divided the duties of the headship between them; presently domestic disputes arose, and this Muḥammad became sole head of the society, in which capacity he acquired vast wealth, and became the most influential personage in Damascus. He died in 1020, and was succeeded by his son Sa'd al-Dīn, who died on pilgrimage in 1036.

In this account the Banū Sa'd al-Dīn specialized in the cure of insanity. "On a scrap of paper they draw some lines anyhow, and the patient is cured thereby (i. e. by drinking the water in which the scrap has been immersed). In order to drink it he must abstain from everything spirituous; they then write an amulet which the patient is to use (wear on his person) after he has drunk the potion. The words which they signify by the lines and which they write on the amulet are the *basmala*".

At some time — possibly later than this period — the society spread to Egypt and Turkey; Depont and Coppolani give a long list of its meeting-places in Constantinople and the neighbourhood. They regard the Sa'diya as a branch of the Rifā'iya; but the authorities of J. P. Brown make of it an original order, and, indeed, second in the list. He states (p. 56) that the Sa'dīs have twelve *terks* in their cap, wear turbans of a yellowish colour and perform on foot. The cloth of the cap which covers the head is in six gores (p. 214); and they wear long hair. They are supposed to possess special powers over snakes.

In Lane's time the order was well represented in Egypt, and on the day preceding the night of the Mawlid practised the ceremony called *dōsa*, wherein the *shaiḫh* of the order rode on horseback over the backs of the dervishes, who lay flat on the ground with their faces downwards for the purpose. It was supposed that none of them suffered any harm in consequence. This ceremony was forbidden by the khedive Tawfīk. After the *dōsa* there used to be an assembly wherein some of the dervishes ate live serpents; according to Lane, the serpents had first been deprived of their poisonous teeth or rendered incapable of biting; all that was eaten of the serpent was the head to the point about two inches further back where the thumb of the dervish pressed. By the time of Lane's second visit this practice had been forbidden by the *shaiḫh* of the order on the ground that such food was unlawful. The *dōsa* was then followed by a *dhikr*, where in the formulae employed were *Allāhu ḥaiy* and *Yā Dā'im*.

The *dōsa* resembles performances by Sūfīs of a much earlier period, who were supposed to override natural laws in a variety of ways. Egyptian historians do not appear to allude to it, unless al-Djābartī have it in mind when he commends the *Khālwatīya* system for not enforcing on its members more than they can bear (i. 294 ult.). It does not therefore seem possible at present to say when or whence it was introduced. The practice of snake-charming, whereby followers of the order are said to make their living still in Egypt, is attributed to the founder and explained by fables connected with his conversion.

Writers on Sūfism pay little attention to this order, though it is just mentioned in the *Djāmi' al-Uṣūl*, without any specification of its doctrines or practices. The founder is mentioned neither in the *Ṭabaqāt* of al-Sha'rānī, nor in the *Nafaḥāt al-Ums* of al-Djāmi, who suggests that one Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, d. 650 A. H., was the founder of a society. It would seem then that the society began with a medico-magical aim, and by process of development became a mystical order.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Aṭhar*, Cairo 1284; Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1871; J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, London 1886.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

SĀDJ, the teak tree, *tectona grandis*, a large tree belonging to the verbenaceae with broad lancet-like leaves, "like the shields of the Dailam". It is found principally in the drier parts of Further India, in Burma, Siam and Java and, according to Arabic sources, also in East Africa (Zandj). The dark coloured hard wood resists, as no other does, the effects of sea-water and has therefore from ancient times been the best wood for ship-building. Nor is it attacked by insects. The main markets for it were Basra and Egypt. Ibn al-Baitār (transl. Leclerc, ii.), p. 233, mentions the use in medicine of the powdered wood and of an oil obtained from the fruit.

Bibliography: O. Warburg, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, iii. 166, 167 (with illustrations); al-Mas'ūdī (ed. Paris), iii. 12, 56. (J. RUSKA)

SADJ is the name given to a peculiar mode of rhetoric in which at short intervals words occur which rhyme, though it is distinguished from poetry (*Shi'r*) by not being bound by a regular rhythm or metre. Probably this was the earliest mode of elevated expression practised by the Arabs before the development of the regular metres. There is ample evidence that it was this mode of expression practised by the *Kahins* [q. v.] of the times of Paganism for their oracles, though the examples cited in the *Sira* of Ibn Hishām and in the traditions can hardly have been handed down correctly. We can safely believe Ibn al-Kalbī that the Arabs remembered nothing of their ancient poetry except that which was composed very shortly before Islām (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, ed. Cairo 1332, p. 12, 5) and we must assume from this, that no very ancient *Sadj* has been preserved. I believe, however, that we are safe in allowing that the various *Talbiyāt*, or shouts uttered by pilgrims to the many shrines, as recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī (*Aṣnām*, p. 8) and elsewhere, are handed down correctly as they must have been in vivid memory at the beginning of Islām. Such *Talbiyāt* were, no

doubt, ancient ritual property of the tribes and go back to remoter antiquity than the Sadj'-speeches of Kuss b. Sa'ida and other rhetoricians of pre-Islamic times. We are told that Dāmra b. Dāmra, al-Akrā' b. Hābis and others used to give their judgments in Sadj' when they acted as judges (Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 113, 9). Muḥammad reproved a man who used Sadj' by saying: "Do you speak Sadj' like the Kāhins of Paganism?" (Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 112, 20); he also prohibited it to be used in prayers (Bukhārī, ed. Juynboll, iv. 194, 2). Yet the most striking of Sadj' is the *Qur'ān* itself; especially the older Sura's are kept in the same tone as the specimens of the oracles of the Kāhins quoted by Ibn Hishām, as e.g. the oracles of Shikk and Saṭh (*Sira*, p. 11 etc.). Later authors, Djāhiz, al-Kālī and others delight in citing descriptions of weather, persons etc. in Sadj' attributed as a rule to anonymous Beduins. These quotations are probably in all cases inventions by philologists to enable them to explain the many difficult words, which could not have been accumulated as easily in a forged poem of regular metre. There was, however, from early time a predilection for this style of prose, which found its fullest development in the literature of the Maḥmāt of Badī' al-Zamān, Harīrī and their imitators. The style unfortunately found its way into letter-writing, and while the earliest specimens of letters, both private and official, are remarkably free from Sadj', with progress of time its use increased to such an extent, that both private and official correspondence became conspicuous for the volume of rhymed sentences with very little meaning. It was considered the height of accomplishment in a secretary to write in Sadj'. The style was called Mamzūdī but the matter was the same. Sadj' invaded other branches of literature, even the chronicles, of which conspicuous specimens are in Arabic the *Ta'rikh al-Yamīni* and 'Imād al-Dīn's writings and in Persian the history of Waṣṣāf. In both these works everything is sacrificed for the jingling rhymes. This exuberance of Sadj' may be due to the bad taste of the Persians who from 'Abbāsīd times increasingly took a larger share in Arabic letters; the disease seems to spread gradually towards the West and has become one of the main causes why so much of Muhammadan literature, whether Arabic, Persian, Turkish or any other language under their influence, does not appeal to European tastes.

Bibliography: Djāhiz, *Bayān* (ed. Cairo, 1310), i. 111—118; Abū Hilāl al-Askari, *Kitāb al-Sinā'atāin* (ed. Const. 1320), p. 199—203; Marzūqī, *Azmīna* (ed. Haidarābād 1332), p. 179 sqq., and the Arabic dictionaries s. v. *Sadj'*.

(F. KRENKOW)

SADJĀH, Umm Sādir bint Aws b. Hikm b. Usāma, or bint al-Hārith b. Suwaid b. 'Ukfān, prophetess and soothsayer, one of several prophets and tribal leaders who sprang up in Arabia shortly before and during the *rida*. The genealogy, which her history proves to be the true one, shows that she belonged to the Banū Tamīm. On her mother's side she was related to the Taghlib, a tribe which comprised many Christians. She was a Christian herself, or at least had learnt much concerning Christianity from her relatives. Next to nothing is known concerning the import of her revelations and doctrines; she delivered her messages from a *minbar*, in rhymed

prose, and was attended by a *mu'adhdhin* and a *ḥadjīb*. Her name, or one of her names, for God was "the Lord of the clouds" (*rabb al-saḥāb*).

Sadjāh came to the fore in 11 A. H., after Muḥammad's death. One account of her exploits describes her as a Taghlib upstart, who had arrived from Mesopotamia at the head of a band of followers belonging to Rabī'a, Taghlib, the Banū al-Namr, the Banū Iyād, the Banū Shāibān; she found the Tamīm divided, in consequence of the Prophet's death, by deep internal strife between apostates, Muslims and those who wavered between revolt and allegiance to Medina, and succeeded in converting by her revelations and uniting under her command both branches of Ḥanzalah (the Banū Mālik and the Banū Yarbū'), which she intended to lead against Medina. The extent of her influence on the Tamīm seems, however, to have been much greater than this version, intended to minimize their share in the *rida*, would have us believe. The prophetess was no outsider, she really belonged to the Tamīm, as the end of her career implies, and had gained, probably for some time before Muḥammad's death, the support of her whole tribe, whose conversion to Islām had been mainly a matter of expediency, easily shaken off.

Sadjāh's forces began by attacking the Banū Ribāb, in obedience to one of her revelations, and were severely beaten. Repairing to al-Nibādī (in Yamāma) they suffered a second defeat at the hands of the Banū 'Amr, and Sadjāh had to promise that she would leave the territory of the Tamīm. Followed by the Yarbū', she decided to join the prophet Musailima, who still controlled most of Yamāma, in order to unite their fortunes or to restore her own. Their encounter happened at al-Amwāh or at Hadjr. Musailima was menaced by the Muslim army, and the neighbouring tribes threatened to shake off his authority, so that the arrival of a vanquished, ambitious and desperate colleague, accompanied by many armed followers, proved a trying, indeed a dangerous visitation. There is no reliable account of the meeting: according to one version, the strange couple came to an understanding, recognized each other's mission and decided to unify their two religions and their worldly interests; they were actually married, and the prophetess stayed by Musailima to the hour of his tragic death. Al-Ṭabarī preserves obscene and very probably fictitious details concerning this union, which must have been rather a political alliance than a lustful orgy; the wedding, according to these legends, was celebrated in the same walled garden where Musailima was to meet his death.

Other accounts of the meeting are that Musailima, after having married Sadjāh, cast her off, and that she returned to her people; a third version does not mention the marriage, and says that the prophet tried to persuade his rival and would-be ally to attack the Muslims, hoping thus to get rid of her; on her refusal he offered, if she consented to depart, half the year's crops of Yamāma; she declined to go unless he promised half of the next year's harvest as well, set off with the first part of the booty, and left her representatives with Musailima to wait for the rest, repairing to her kinsfolk. The second part of the ransom was never collected, as Musailima was vanquished and massacred by Khālid before the next harvest.

Whatever the outcome of Sadjāh's relations with

The canonical HADITH gives us the following picture. Muḥammad performs the ṣalāt on his own garment, protecting his arms against the heat of the soil during prostration with one of its sleeves, his knees with one end and his fore-head with the *ʿimāma* or *ḥalansuwa* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 22, 23; Muslim, *Masāʿid*, trad. 191; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 320). On the passage quoted from Muslim, al-Nawawī observes that, according to al-Shāfiʿī, it is forbidden to prostrate oneself on the garment one is wearing. Al-Bukhārī (*Ṣalāt*, bāb 22) tells us that Muḥammad performed the *Ṣalāt* on his quilt (*firāsh*).

The Ḥadīth also informs us that the *ṣalāt* was performed on mats; e. g. al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 131, where a *ḥisā* is mentioned (so also Ibn Mājjā, *Iḥkām al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 63; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 232, 273; iii. 160, 171, 184, 212); in

the latter passage it is observed that this *ḥisā* was made out of palm-leaves, *ḥisā al-madī*. Al-Tirmidhī adds that most scholars permit the *ṣalāt* on *ṣayḥ* or *ḥisā*. A similar mat of palm-leaves on which the *ṣalāt* was performed is called

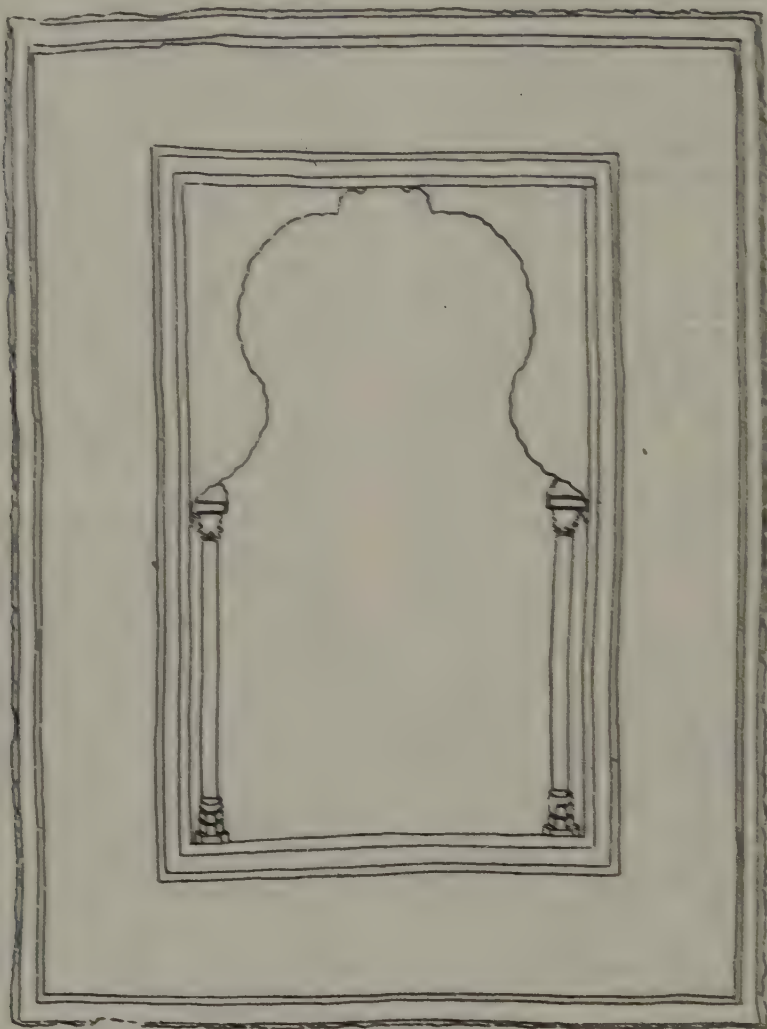


Fig. 1
Turkish Sadjdjāda
1.72 × 1.27 M.
Turkey, 16th century¹⁾

1) Reproduced from F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910* (Munich, F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1912). Here the characteristic outlines are given only.

ḥaṣīr (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 20; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 52, 59, 130 *sq.*, 145, 149, 164, 179, 184 *sq.*, 190, 226, 291). This tradition is also found in Muslim, *Masāʾid*, trad. 266; al-Nawawī observes on this passage that the *ḥaṣīr* generally declared the performance of the *ṣalāt* permitted on whatever grows out of the earth. It is, however, evident from Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91,

that at the end of the third (ninth) century dressed skins of animals were already being used (*ḥaṣīr maṣṭūḡa*).

At the same time we frequently find it mentioned that Muḥammad performed the *ṣalāt* on a *ḥaṣīr* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 21; Muslim, *Masāʾid*, trad. 270; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 129; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 269, 308 *sq.*, 320, 358;

ii. 91 sq., 98; al-Nasā'ī, *Masādjīd*, bāb 43; Ibn Sa'd, I/ii. 160). The distinction between *khumra* and *ḥaṣīr* appears to have lain not in the material of which they were made but in the size. According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī's marginal glosses to Ibn Mādjā, *Iḥāma*, bāb 63, 64, the *khumra* afforded just sufficient room for the

prostration, while the *ḥaṣīr* was of the length of a man.

The word *sadjdjāda* is found a century after the conclusion of the canonical Ḥadīth literature. Al-Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s. v., explains *sadjdjāda* to be synonymous with *khumra*. In his *Supplément*, Dozy quotes passages from the 1001 Nights

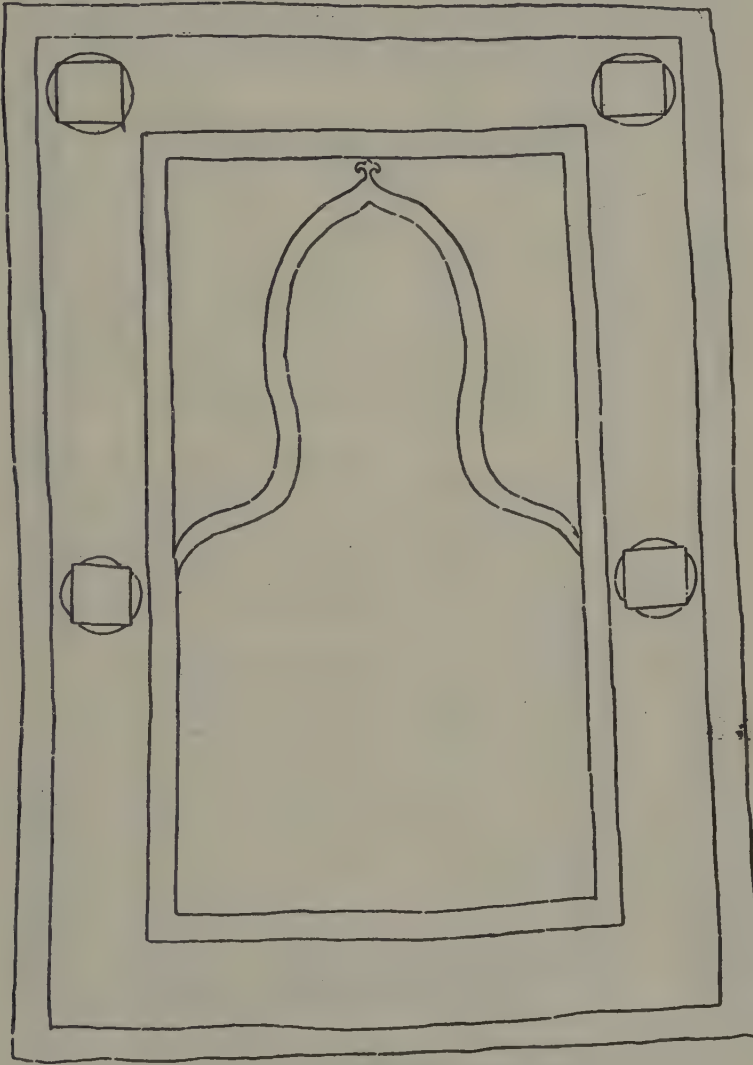


Fig. 2
Persian Sadjdjāda
1.58 × 1.10 M.
Persia, 16th century

and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The latter mentions among the customs of the inmates of a certain *zāwiya* in Cairo that the whole body went to the mosque on Friday, where a servant had laid his *sadjdjāda* ready for each one (ed. Paris, i. 73; cf. 72). The same traveller tells us something similar regarding Mālli, where every-one sends his servant with his *sadjdjāda* to the mosque to lay it ready on his place. He adds that they were made out of the leaves of a palm-like tree (iv. 422).

In modern Mekka every one in the great mosque performs the *ṣalāt* on a *sadjdjāda*, usually a small carpet, just large enough for the *sudjūd*. After use it is rolled up and carried off on the shoulder. The lower orders believe that it is not advisable to leave the *sadjdjāda* unrolled after use as Iblis would seize the opportunity to perform the *ṣalāt* on it. Well-to-do people have sometimes their *sadjdjāda* kept by a servant of the mosque but even among them this is not at

all general. In place of a carpet a towel is sometimes used, for example the one which has been used for drying oneself after the *wuḍūʿ*. The lines woven in the carpet are not symmetrical but run to a point on one of the short sides which is

placed in the direction of the *ḵibla* [q. v.]; cf. below Lane's "niche" (this information has been given me orally by Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje). In Morocco the common people do not make any use of the *S.*; the middle classes favour small

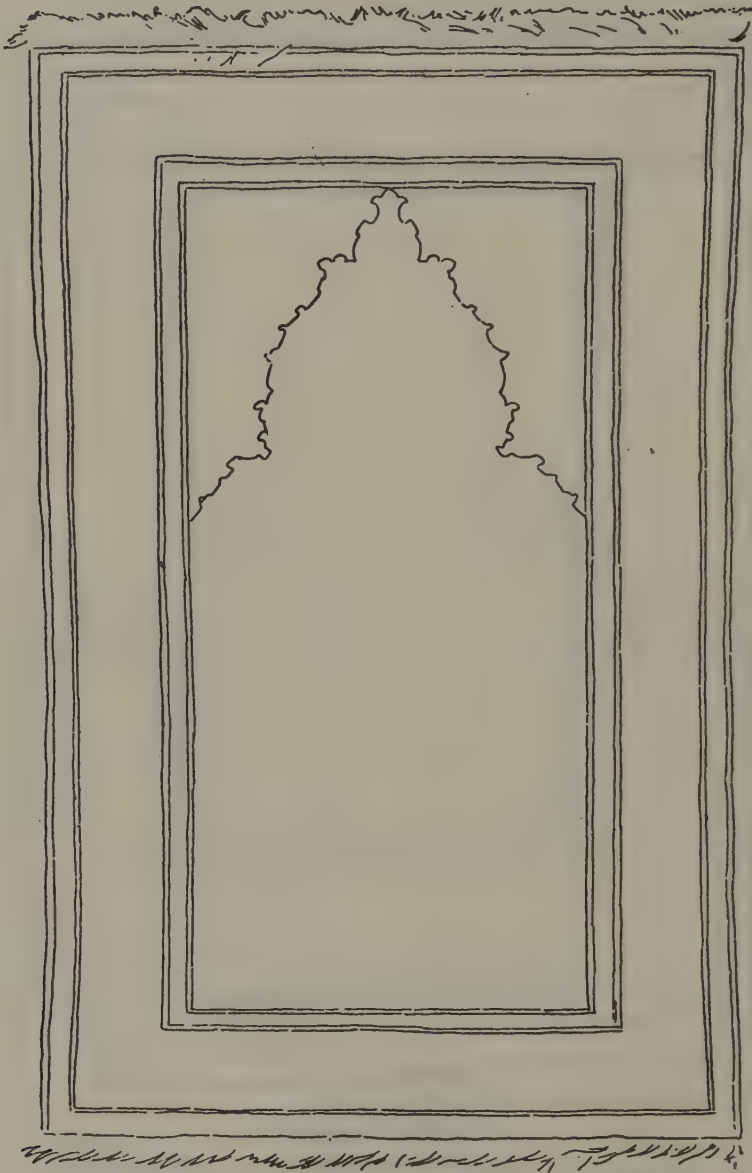


Fig. 3
Indian Sadjdjāda
1.56 × 1.06 M.
India, 17th century

felt carpets (*lābda*) like saddle cushions, just large enough for performing the *sudjūd*. They are especially used by the *fakīhs*, so that they have almost become one of their distinctive marks. They fold them and bear them under their arm in an ostentative way, wherever they go, and

sit down on them especially when visiting Christians. Certain *fakīhs* from Morocco, when travelling in Algeria, even refuse to sit down on anything besides their *lābda*, a pretentiousness which hurts the feelings of people in Algeria. In the latter country the *S.* is very rarely used, except among

the heads of the *ṭarīḳa*'s and various *marabout*'s. Here the *Sadjdjāda*'s usually consist of simple skins of goats or gazelles. The common people ascribe miraculous powers to these skins; in legends the *marabout*'s are often represented as using them in order to have themselves transferred thereon to Mekka or to walk on the waves. Occasionally the pilgrims bring home from Mekka *sadjdjāda*'s analogous to those described above by Prof. Snouck Hurgronje; these rugs are nowadays often imported from Europe. The pilgrims do not seem to attach to them any particular value (this information has been given me by Prof. H. Basset).

According to Lane, *sadjdjāda*'s (carpets) are imported from Asia Minor into Egypt and used there only by the rich to perform the *ṣalāt* upon and also as saddle-covers. They are about the size of a wide hearth-rug. A "niche" is represented upon it, the point of which is turned towards the *ḫiḍla*. Persons of the lower orders often perform the *ṣalāt* upon the bare ground simply; and they seldom immediately wipe off the dust which adheres to the nose and forehead as a result of prostration (cf. the well-known traditions regarding the traces of the *ruḡḡūd*); but when a person has a cloak or any other garment, which he can decently take off, he spreads it upon the ground.

The usual practice in the Dutch Indies is described by Snouck Hurgronje. A number of long narrow mats and carpets are placed broadwise on the floor of the mosque before the beginning of the services. After the service these are rolled up and laid aside (*De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indië*, Baarn 1913, p. 10; *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/jii. 366). But it is usual here also to bring one's own mat to the mosque.

As Dr. J. H. Kramers tells me, the carpet which covers the floor of the Aya Ṣofya is divided up by patterns into separate *sadjdjāda*'s, but in performing the *ṣalāt* this separation is not observed.

In the chapel in the Seraglio in Constantinople, in which are preserved the relics of the Prophet, the alleged *sadjdjāda* of Abū Bakr is preserved (d'Ohrson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1787—1820, i. 267). In Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Turc-français*, we find, s. v., a number of Turkish phrases in which the *sadjdjāda* plays a part.

The *sadjdjāda* has assumed special significance in the religious societies and in the Dervish orders. Among the latter — at least in Egypt — the word has become synonymous with order in the expression *Shaiḫ al-Sadjdjāda*, which is applied to the head of an order in Egypt.

In the terminology of these societies, *sadjdjāda* alternates with *bisāṭ* (cf. above) and expressions borrowed from other languages. According to the hierarchic legend, Gabriel brought Adam a *sadjdjāda* made out of the skins of the sheep of Paradise, on which he had to kneel during the *ṣhadd* ceremony. This *sadjdjādat al-ḫilāfa* was the one used by all succeeding generations in the same ceremony; Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī are especially mentioned. From 'Alī it has been passed on to the *shaiḫs* of the order down to the present day. The *Shaiḫ* therefore sits on this *sadjdjāda* during the *ṣhadd* ceremony and the expression *bisāṭ al-ṭarīḳ(a)* makes the *sadjdjāda* in a certain sense the throne of the whole order. Before the beginning of the *ṣhadd* ceremony it is spread by the *naḫīb* whose duty

this is. The *Shaiḫ* sits down ceremonially after its seal, as it were, has been broken by its being spread out. The candidate on whose account the ceremony is being performed stands, on the other hand, on the *bisāṭ al-djām'*. From the descriptions it is not always clear, whether by candidate is meant an ordinary novice or rather a *naḫīb*.

A whole series of mystical interpretations is associated with the *sadjdjāda* or *bisāṭ*. Head, feet, etc. are ascribed to it as to a living animal; it has four letters, which are connected with the elements; references are found to the *sadjdjāda* of the paths of salvation and the *tawḥīd* profession is called the *sadjdjāda* of the faith. Accounts are given of the material of which the *sadjdjāda*'s of various people were made or are made, as well as of their colour (cf. the picture in *Der Islam*, 1916, vi. 170).

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the text cf. also: Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Index (s. v. *seggādeh*); J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, London 1868, p. 196; H. Thorning, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis des islam. Vereinswesens*, Türk. Bibl., xvi., Berlin 1913, Index; P. Kahle, *Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Egypten* in *Der Islam*, 1916, vi. 149 sqq.; F. Taeschner, *Aufnahme in eine Zunft*, op. cit., p. 169.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SĀDJIDS, a family which takes its name from the founder of the dynasty, Abu 'l-Sadj, and which ruled in Ādharbaidjān under the nominal suzerainty of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs at the end of the third (ninth) century and the beginning of the fourth (tenth). It comprised five rulers:

1. Abu 'l-Sadj Diwād b. Yūsuf Diwdest, a native of Oghrusana, a Turkish general in the service of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who was appointed to take charge of the road to Mecca in 242 (856), returned to Baghdad in 252 (866) and was then sent to recover the taxes in al-Sawād on behalf of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir; he was then appointed governor of Aleppo and Ḳinnasrīn under al-Mu'tazz in 254 (868) and of al-Ahwāz in 261 (874—875); in this capacity he wished to fight the Zandj, who, having defeated his son-in-law, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had seized al-Ahwāz. Having taken the side of Yaḳub b. Laith, the Ṣaffārid, he lost his estates after the defeat of the latter by the vizier al-Muwaffaq in 262 (875—876). He was then recalled to Baghdad, but died on the way at Djundai-Sābūr in 266 (879—880).

Diwād in Persian means "given by the demon" and *Diwdest* "he who has the hands of a demon". The alternation of *i/ā* which is sometimes found in the manuscripts indicates an old pronunciation *dēwād*, *dēwdest*.

2. His son Muḥammad Afṣḥ In Abū 'l-Uḥaid took Mecca from the lieutenant of the chief of the Zandj, Abu 'l-Mughira 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Maḫzūmī in 266 (880). Three years later he attacked Djidda and captured two ships filled with money and munitions from al-Maḫzūmī. He was given the governorship of Anbār, Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt and Raḥba. On the death of Aḥmad b. Tulūn [q. v.] in 270 (883—884) he tried to conquer Syria in alliance with Ishāk b. Kendādjik. They were assisted in this enterprise by the army of the Caliph, which defeated the Egyptian forces at Shaizar, but was itself defeated as the result of an

ambuscade at the battle of the mills (*ṭawāḥin*). After a quarrel with Ishāk b. Kendādīk, Muḥammad turned towards Khumārawaih, defeated his former ally on the Euphrates and conquered Mawṣil. In 274 (888) he quarrelled with the Egyptians, lost a battle near Damascus in Muḥarram, 275 (May–June, 888), lost Ḥims, Aleppo and al-Raḡḡa and retired to Takrit. He took the field again and defeated, before Mawṣil, Ishāk b. Kendādīk, who was pursuing him.

In 276 (889–890) al-Muwaffāq appointed him governor of Ādharbaidjān. He then took Marāḡha from ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan al-Hamaḡhānī (280=893) and was sent by the Caliph to carry gifts — a royal crown and other presents — to the Bagratid Sempad, king of Armenia. His brief rebellion against al-Muʿtaḍid in 284 (897) ended in his prompt submission and cost him nothing. He took Ḳars, which belonged to Sempad, as well as his capital Tovin. They then made peace. Muḥammad died of the plague at Berdaʿa in Rabīʿ I, 288 (March, 901).

3. Yūsuf, brother of Muḥammad Afshīn, after having forced his nephew Diwād, son of N^o. 2, to betake himself to the Caliph's court, entered into friendly relations with Sempad, and made an alliance with him; he then took the side of Kakig Ardzrūnī, captured several fortresses, put Sempad to death who had surrendered to him, captured Rai, Ḳazwīn, Zandjān, Abhar from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Sulūk, governor for the Sāmānīd Naṣr b. Aḡmad. He defeated the troops sent against him by the Caliph in 305 (917–918). He was, however, forced to give up Rai. He defeated Muʿnis, who took refuge in Zandjān in 307 (919), but the latter defeated him before Ardabil, took him prisoner, treated him with consideration and brought him to Baghdād. He was set free in 310 (922) and was granted the governorship of Rai and Ādharbaidjān. The Caliph appointed him to fight the Ḳarmāṭians, but he was defeated and taken prisoner in the first battle, in spite of his valour. He was put to death with all the prisoners.

4. In Dhu ʿl-Hidjdja, 315 (Feb., 928) Abu ʿl-Musāfir Faṭḥ, son of Muḥammad Afshīn, was given his uncle's governorship and remained governor till his death; he was poisoned at Ardabil by one of his slaves in Shaʿbān, 317 (Sept., 929).

5. His son Abu ʿl-Faraḡj was a general of the Caliphs and a friend of the first Amīr al-Umarāʾ, Ibn Rāʾik.

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ŞADR AẒAM (for *şadr-i-aẓam*), strictly "the greatest of the high dignitaries", a title which from the time of Sulaimān the Magnificent has been borne by the first minister or "grand

vizier" of the Ottoman empire, also called *şadr-i-ʿālī*, *şāhib-i-devlet*, *desfür-i-ekrem*, *şadaret-penāh*, *āṣaf-i-aẓam* (from the name of the legendary minister of Solomon), etc. (cf. below). Earlier he was called *wezīr* (see WAZIR), then *wezīr-i-ʿumwē* (*aẓam*, *ekber*). After the suppression of the "viziers of the dome" (*ḡubbe wezīrleri*) under Aḡmad III, the *Şadr aẓam* were appointed by no fixed rule, at the Sultān's pleasure. The official chosen received and kept always by him a gold ring with the Sultān's seal. In his capacity of *şāhib-i-mühr*, he was the plenipotentiary (*wekil-i-muṭlaḡ*) of the sovereign in civil and military matters and made appointments to all the military (*ehl-i-seyf*) and civil (*ehl-i-kālem*) offices. The legal officers (*ʿulemā*) were under the *Shaikh al-Islām* [q. v.], appointed, like the *Şadr aẓam*, by the Sultān himself.

The *Şadr aẓam* presided over the *Divān*, held monthly audiences, received the principal officials twice a week, made rounds (*ḡol*) periodically and rendered assistance in case of fire. He had the right to eight guards of honour (*şakāfir*), twelve led horses (*yedek*), a barge with thirteen pairs of rowers, with a green canopy. When he appeared in public the *ḡawwāḡ* shouted acclamations (*al-ḡiḡā*), the formula of which was Byzantine in origin. He had the privilege of being able to go to the Sultān personally at any hour of the day or night.

In case of war, the *Şadr aẓam* could become commander-in-chief — *Serdār-i-ekrem* (*efkhem*) — and carried with him the standard of the Prophet (*Sandjak-i-sherīf*) [q. v.]. A deputy (*ḡāʾim maḡām*) [q. v.] replaced him in the capital.

Like the Khedive of Egypt, the *Şadr aẓam* had the right to the honorary epithet of *devletli fekkhametli*, or "Highness", besides the other epithets to which he was entitled: *sāmī*, *ʿālī* "sublime" and *āṣafī*. Like the *kapudan paṣṣa*, before the reforms of Maḡmūd II, he wore a white hat (*ḡalawī* for *ḡullawī*), shaped like a truncated pyramid with rounded corners, adorned with an oblique band of gold.

The office — *şadaret-i-ʿusma* (*kübrā*) — was insecure and ephemeral. The dismissed *Şadr aẓam* handed over his seal at an audience and went into exile, when he was allowed to live. Not being hereditary, the office was only exceptionally continued in the same family (the *Köprülü*).

After the constitution of 1908 the Grand Vizier became responsible to parliament; the Sultān continued to nominate the *Shaikh al-Islām* as well as the *Şadr aẓam* and it was the latter who chose his other colleagues. These two dignitaries, however, disappeared with the Sultān himself in 1922 (law of Angora of Nov. 1). The last *Şadr aẓam*, Dāmād Ferid Paṣṣa, died at Nice on Oct. 6, 1923. The President of the Council is now called *Baṣṣ Wekil*, a title which Maḡmūd II had tried to establish in 1838.

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ŞADR AL-DÎN, MUHAMMAD B. İBRÂHÎM, known as MULLÂ ŞADRÂ, a Persian theologian and philosopher of the Şafawîd period. He was the son of a governor of Fârs and owed his epithet to his superior merit; he is still called *Akhûnd*, "master". Born at Shîrâz, he spent a long time in retirement among the mountains of Kumm, travelled in Persia and was a pupil, at Ispahân, of Shaikh Bahâ'î and of Amîr Muhammad Bakîr Dâmâd, after the instructions of Saiyid Abu 'l-Kâsim Findirîskî.

When Allâh-Wardikhân, governor of Fârs, had finished building the madrasa erected by him in Shîrâz, he asked Şadrâ, then at Kumm, to return to his native land and made him professor in his new foundation.

Mullâ Şadrâ restored the teaching of Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna); to escape persecution from the *muđtahid*, he concealed his doctrines by the use of the *kitmân* under deliberately obscure expressions. Among his pupils were Muhsin Fâ'id, 'Abd al-Razzâk and Kađî Saiyid al-Kummî. He seven times made the pilgrimage to Mecca and died at Başra in 1050 (1642) on his way back from the seventh.

A prolific writer, he wrote some twenty volumes, of which some are commentaries on different chapters of the *Qur'ân*, a dissertation on authentic traditions, fifty treatises on theodicy, forty-four works on obscure points of doctrine, written in the mountains of Kumm, and four books of travels quoted by Riđâ-Kulî-Khân. The British Museum possesses the *Ta'n ber muđjahidin*, a polemic against the teachers of canon law and a defence of the dervishes, and *al-Waridât al-Kalbiya* "the intuitions of the heart".

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AL-ŞAFÂ, a mound at Mecca which now barely rises above level of the ground. The meaning of the name is like that of the name of the eminence al-Marwa, which lies opposite to it: "the stone" or "the stones" (cf. al-Tabarî, *Tafsîr* to Sûra ii. 153).

As is well known, Muslims perform the *sa'y* between al-Şafâ and al-Marwa in memory, as the legend relates (e.g. al-Bukhârî, *al-Anbiyâ*, bâb 9), of the fact that Hâdjâr ran backwards and forwards seven times between these two eminences to look for a spring for her thirsty son. — It is certain that cults were located at al-Şafâ and al-Marwa even in the pagan period. According to most traditions there were two stone idols there, Isâf on al-Şafâ and Nâ'ila on al-Marwa, which the pagan Arabs on their *sa'y* used to touch. On the origin of these images the following story is given in the commentary of Nisâbüri on Sûra ii. 153, and al-Shâfi'î gives his approval to it: Isâf and Nâ'ila were guilty of indecent conduct in the Ka'ba and were therefore turned into stones, which were placed on the two pieces of raised ground al-Şafâ and al-Marwa to be a warning to all. In course of time the origin of the stone

figures was forgotten and people began to pay them divine worship. — According to another tradition there were copper images there (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 26); according to a third story demons lived on the two hills who shrieked at night (given in al-Tabarî, *Tafsîr*).

Bibliography: Yâkût, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wustenfeld, iii. 397); Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes* (Leiden-Leipzig 1910), p. 136—37; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (Leiden 1880), p. 114 = *Verspr. Geschriften*, i. 76 sq.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin 1897, p. 77. (B. JOEL)

ŞAFAD, a town in Upper Galilee, 30 miles East of 'Akkâ and N.E. of the Lake of Tiberias, about 1600 feet above sea level on a hill which al-Dimashkî calls Kan'ân (so also Cuinet) and which is called Djibâl 'Amila in Yâkût, iii. 399 (whose statements are otherwise wrong; on this see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 23). It was only through the Crusades that it first attained importance, for before the xiiith century it is not mentioned by any Arab geographer. But it must have already existed in the second century as Şephath is found in the Jerusalem Talmud (Tract. Rosh Hashana, ii. 2; in Schwab's translation, vi. 75); it is probably also identical with Σαφ in Josephus, *Bellum Judaeorum*, vol. ii., ch. xx. § 6. The older Arabic orthography *Şafat* or *Şifat* agrees with this. Al-Kalkashandî gives etymological notes on both forms of the Arabic name.

Şafad is one of the places where the Crusaders built fortresses to defend the strip of coast conquered by them against the amîrs of Damascus and later against the Aiyûbids; with the fortress of Belvoir (= Şafîk Arnûn) it formed a point of support for the hinterland of 'Akkâ. Its history is therefore closely associated with that of Acre. The citadel probably built about 1140 by the Crusaders was the special property of the Templars (al-Dâwiya); in 1157 King Baldwin of Jerusalem was forced to take refuge there when he was defeated by Nûr al-Dîn's troops as he returned from the town of Bânyâs. After Saladin's great victory over the Crusaders at Haţţîn (1187) he laid siege to Şafad and took personal direction of the operations next year, when he succeeded in capturing the town after five weeks' resistance on the 14th of Shawwâl, 584 (Dec. 6, 1188). Saladin's biographer, Ibn Shaddâd, describes in great detail how Saladin unceasingly took part in the siege operations. The garrison went off to Tyre. This capture was considered very important by the Muslims as the town lay "in the midst of their lands" (Ibn al-Athîr). In 1219 or 1220 the fortress was razed to the ground by the Muslims as they feared that the Franks might capture it again and, indeed, in 1240 Şafad was actually ceded by al-Şâlih Ismâ'îl, Sultân of Damascus, by treaty to the Templars (as was Şafîk Arnûn also) because Ismâ'îl thereby hoped to gain the Franks as allies against his cousin, the Egyptian Sultân. After the Khwarizmî storm had swept over Galilee in 1244, the Mamlûk Sultân Baibars [q. v.] advanced against the fortress and took it after eleven days' siege in 1266 (Sha'bân 19, 664 = May 26, 1266, according to Ibn al-Athîr; the European sources put it some years later). The whole garrison was put to death in spite of the pledge given. Baibars also strengthened the defences and built a mosque there. 'Akkâ next fell in 1291.

Under the Mamlūks Şafad remained an important centre. It was the capital of one of the large *mamlaka*'s or *niyāba*'s into which Syria was divided. The *niyāba* of Şafad comprised the whole of Galilee with 'Akkā. The town itself was the seat of a *nā'ib* and was a centre of literary life, as the nisba *al-Şafadī* of several Arab authors shows, notably that of the biographer Khalīl b. Aibak, who was born there in 696 (1296); the geographer al-Dimashkī is said to have died there in 1327 (Mehren, p. vi., infra). In this period there also flourished al-'Uthmānī, chief Kādī of the *mamlaka* of Şafad (d. 780 = 1378; cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.*, ii. 91), who wrote a *Ta'rikh Şafad* now lost. Şafad was at the same time an important centre of Rabbinical learning.

The town gradually began to lose in importance. After surrendering to the Ottoman Sultān Selīm I in 1516 without striking a blow along with other towns in Palestine, the old *niyāba*'s at first remained intact but later, in the xviiith century, the whole of Palestine belonged to the great pashallīk of Damascus. Şafad was the capital of a sandjak to which also belonged 'Akkā and Tyre (Hādjdī Khalifa). During this period Şafad several times belonged to the sphere of influence of the Druse Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn of the Lebanon, who used it as a fortress to protect his possessions in Galilee. At Şafad in 1633 is also said to have taken place the battle in which 'Alī, the son of the Amīr, was killed.

When about 1750 'Akkā again became important under Shaikh Zāhir, the strategic importance of Şafad also increased once more. Zāhir himself came from Şafad where his father, Shaikh 'Umar al-Zaidānī, had been representative of the Amīr Bashīr; under his rule the town was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake (1759). Ahmad Djazzār, who succeeded Zāhir in 'Akkā in 1775, at the same time conquered Şafad, and Bonaparte before his unsuccessful siege of 'Akkā had first to take Şafad (1799), where he entrusted the authority to a son of Zāhir. Djazzār later revenged himself on the town by completely destroying the Jewish quarter.

The most important events of the sixth century were the earthquakes of 1819 and 1837 which wrought great damage. After the Turkish administrative reforms of 1880 Şafad became the capital of a *kaḍā'* in the sandjak of 'Akkā in the wilāyet of Bairūt. It is now within the mandated area of Palestine.

The population has varied greatly in course of time. In the xivth century it was a town of average size (Abu'l-Fidā'). After the earthquake of 1759 it was an almost deserted village (Volney). The later figures vary very much, which is probably due to the fact that the figures for the town and the *kaḍā'* were not kept separate. The population of the town in 1900 may be put at 15,000, of whom about a third are Jews. In 1492 there were still about 10,000 Jews there. After this their numbers declined very much down to the middle of last century, when a great influx of Moroccan, Algerian and Persian Jews took place, which has been increased since 1880 by Zionist immigration. Şafad is also a place of pilgrimage for Jews. According to Hādjdī Khalifa (p. 568), when the Jewish tribes immigrated the tribe of Zabulon is said to have settled near Şafad. In the vicinity of the town there are now many Druses (according to v. Oppenheim, 15,000 in the district of 'Akkā

and Şafad); their immigration from the Lebanon had already begun in al-Dimashkī's time.

The town itself is built on three hills, of which the Jews inhabit the north. The Muḥammadan part has four fair-sized mosques. In the valleys between the hills and on the slopes down to the lake of Tiberias lie fields and gardens belonging to the town, which yield rich crops of wheat, maize, olives, tobacco, cotton and many kinds of vegetables. The splendid view over the lake is generally admired. The ruins of the fortress lie high up the hill and are called *al-Kar'a* or *al-Kul'a*. Practically nothing is left of the castle of the Crusaders; of the more recent defences there are still to be seen only the foundations of a strong round tower, probably that which was built by Baibars (according to al-Dimashkī, while Conder and Kitchener consider it one of Zāhir's buildings). Below, close to the fort, is a well, of which al-Dimashkī gives a detailed description.

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ŞAFADİ, ŞALĀḤ AL-DIN KHALİL B. AIBAK B. 'ABD ALLĀH ABU 'L-ŞAFĀ' was born in 696 or 697 = 1296/97 (*Durar al-Kāmina*, MS. (B. M., Or. 3034) has about the year 694 A. H.). He was of Turkish descent and, according to his own statement, his father did not give him a good education and it was only when he was 20 years of age, that he began the pursuit of studies. He wrote a very nice hand as is proved by several autographs which have come down to us. He attended the lectures of the very best teachers of his time, among whom are named the grammarian Abū Haiyān and the poets Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Ibn Saiyid al-Nās and Ibn Nubāta. Later he became an intimate friend of the renowned authors Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī and Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī. His first post was that of secretary in his native town

of Şafad, then at Cairo, later he was secretary at Halab, al-Rahba and finally he was in charge of the treasury at Damascus. He was of pleasant manners but towards the end of his life became deaf. He died at Damascus on the 10th of Şawwāl 764 = 1362/63. He was a most prolific author and stated himself in his autobiography that his compositions would fill 500 volumes and that the amount he had written as secretary would come to at least double that quantity. His biographers content themselves with mentioning only the most important of his works, many of them being nearly worthless compilations of verse and prose from modern authors. Besides a prodigious quantity of verse in his own anthologies and works of contemporary and later authors, the following works have come down to us either complete or in part. All are practically compilations from earlier authors, which he very frequently states faithfully. 1) *Al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt*, an enormous biographical dictionary in about 30 volumes, of which some are found in many libraries, though I doubt whether the complete work has been preserved. Some volumes are numbered, but volumes with the same contents have at times different numbers, from which it appears that the material of the work was divided into volumes of varying size by different scribes (for the contents of some volumes see Horovitz, *M.S.O.S. As.*, x./ii. p. 45; while the newer MSS. in the British Museum contain: Or. 6587 'Ali, Or. 6645 Muḥammadūn, 5320 other Muḥammadūn). We find in the *Wāfi* many biographies for which we should look in vain in other works of a similar nature and a full index of the names of the persons of whom biographies are found in the known volumes, would form material for a volume of considerable size. The introduction to this work was published by Amar, *J. A.*, 1911-12, in vols. 17-18 and 19. The most exhaustive account of the *Wāfi*, based upon all known manuscripts, is by G. Gabrieli in *R. R. A. L.*, Series 5, vols. xx to xxv sqq. From this it appears that the work is preserved practically complete, except for two gaps and the preserved parts contain over 14,000 biographies. 2) *A'yān al-ʿAşr wa A'wān al-Naşr*, an extract from the preceding work in six volumes, containing biographies of contemporaries. This work has been largely extracted by Ibn Ḥadjar for his *Durar al-Kāmina*. MSS. are probably in the Escorial (Nº. 1717) and Berlin, while the volumes in the Aya Sofia (Nº. 2962-70) appear to be parts of the *Wāfi*. It is quoted in the printed edition (Cairo 1305) of the *Tabakāt al-Khirkāt al-Şūfiya* of 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Wāsiṭi under the title of *Tarādjim A'yān al-ʿAşr*. 3) *Masālik al-Abşar fi Mamālik al-Amşār*, a book on geography, a MS. of which is in the Şādiqiya library in Tunis. 4) *Tārikh al-Awāfi*, probably another extract from the *Wāfi*, also in MS. in the same library as the preceding. 5) *Tuḥfat Dhawī 'l-Albāb*, an Urdjūza on the rulers of Egypt to his own time, abbreviated from a work of Ibn 'Asākir. 6) *Nukat al-Himyān fi'l-Nukat al-ʿUmyān*, biographies of celebrated blind persons. This work has recently appeared in print in Egypt in a very careful edition, based upon 4 MSS. It was edited by Aḥmad Zeki Paşa and dated 1911. After explaining that Şafadī was induced to write this book through finding a short account of blind persons of note in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ūrif* of Ibn Kūtaiba and a work of al-Djauzi, he enlarges on the

etymology of blindness and its limits. The principal portion of the work is occupied by a large number of biographies arranged in alphabetical order, among which figure a number of valuable notices of men of all ages of Islām. 7) *Kitāb al-Shu'ūr fi 'l-ʿUr*, biographies of persons who had lost one eye. 8) *Aḥsan al-Sawādji min al-Nadī wa'l-Rādji*, containing letters addressed by him and to him, giving in many cases the dates. The first letter in MS. (Brit. Mus., Or. 1203) is dated 745 A.H. 9) *Munsha'āt*, a collection of his own epistles. 10) *al-Tadhkirat al-Şalāḥiya*, a collection of extracts from other works, interspersed with his own compositions. It is difficult to ascertain of how many volumes the work consisted; the good old MS. (India Office, Arab. 3799) contains vols. 48 and 49. From these it appears that each volume commenced with the exposition of some verses of the Qur'ān, then was followed by extracts of the most varying character. For example B. M., Or. 1353, the contents of which were given by Flügel, *Z. D. M. G.*, xvi. 538-544, contain the *Kitāb al-Itbā' wa'l-Muzāwadjā* of Ibn Fāris, not used by Brünnow for his edition of that work, on fol. 53v-77v, examples of the poetry of al-Bākhārzi on fol. 77v and following; MS. Brit. Mus., Or. 7301 (named on title-page *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn wa'l-ʿAddād*), contains extracts from the medical work of Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd al-ʿAṭṭār entitled *Iktidāb fi'l-Maṣ'ala wa'l-Djavāb* (fol. 55r) MS. India Office, Arab. 3799, contains in vol. 48 extracts from the autograph *Diwān* of Amin al-Dīn Djūbān al-Kawwās entitled *Naḳ' al-Wakā'if wa Raḳ' al-Wasā'if* (fol. 20v-26v), extract from the book *al-Tadjianni 'alā Ibn Djinni* of Abū 'Alī Ibn Fūrādjdja (fol. 71v), extract from the *Rūnāmadi* of al-Şāhib Ibn 'Abbād (fol. 90v). Extracts of this work are found printed in the *Thamarāt al-Awrāk* of Ibn Hidjdja (Cairo 1304), vol. ii. 182, 183, 184 and 192. 11) *Diwān al-Fuṣḥā' wa Tarǧumān al-Bulaghā'*, an anthology composed for Malik al-Aşraf. 12) *Law'at al-Şāḥi wa Dam'at al-Bāki*, life of a paederast with poems to the boy he loved. This worthless composition has been printed repeatedly, first 1274, then 1280 in Tunis, later in Constantinople and Cairo, showing that the work is appreciated in many countries of Islām. 13) *al-Husn al-Sariḥ fi M'at Maliḥ*, another worthless anthology containing a hundred poetical quotations by contemporary poets and the author himself upon pretty youths. 14) *Kashf al-Hāl fi Wasf al-Khāl*, another small collection of poems containing words which have different meanings if vocalised differently. 15) *Ladhdhat al-Sam' fi Şifat al-Dam'*, a similar collection of verses of the author and contemporaries on tears in 37 chapters. 16) *Al-Rauḍ al-Nāsim wa'l-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim*, a similar collection of erotic extracts. 17) *Kushf al-Tanbīh 'alā'l-Wasf wa'l-Tashbīh*, anthology of metaphorical verses. 18) *Rashf al-Zulāl fi Wasf al-Hilāl*, anthology of verses on the New Moon (vide Nº. 33). 19) *Rashf al-Raḥiḳ fi Wasf al-Hariḳ*, a maḳāma on wine. 20) *Al-Ghaiṯ al-Musadǧjam fi Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam*, commentary on the poem of Tuḡhrā'ī. He explains first every word, then the rhetorical figure quoting many verses, principally by modern poets. The work has also the title *Ghaiṯ al-ʿAdab alladhi insadǧjam fi Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam* (printed Cairo 1305 in two vols. 4^{to}). 21) *Kitāb al-Arab min Ghaiṯ al-ʿAdab*, extract of the preceding work

(printed in Cairo without date, but recently). 22) *Kitāb Taṣṣiḥ al-Sam' bi Inkisāb al-Dam'*, printed in Cairo s. d.; perhaps similar or identical with N^o. 15. 23) *Nuṣrat al-Thā'ir 'ala 'l-Maṭhal al-Sā'ir*, against the well-known work of Ibn al-Aṭhīr entitled *al-Maṭhal al-Sā'ir*; cf. Hoogvliet, *Spec. Div. Script.* (Leiden 1839), p. 153. 24) *Qinān al-Qinūs fi 'Ilm al-Bad'f*, paranomasia consisting principally of the author's own verses (printed Constantinople 1299). 25) *Ikhṭirā' al-Khīrā'*, explanation of obscure verses lexicographically and as to their rhetorical figure. 26) *Faḍḍ al-Khitām 'ani 'l-Tawriya wa'l-Istikhḍām*, on metalepsis and the use of words which can be altered so as to give different meaning. 27) Commentary on the work of Ibn al-'Arabī entitled *al-Shaḍjarat al-Nu'māniya fi'l-Dawlat al-Uḥmāniya*, prophecies about the Turkish dynasty. 28) *Ṭawḥ al-Ḥamāma*, abbreviation of the commentary of Ibn 'Abdūn on the poem of Ibn Badrūn. 29) *Tamām al-Mutūn fi Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaidūn*, commentary on the celebrated epistle of Ibn Zaidūn, no doubt inspired by the work of his master, Ibn Nubāta. 30) *Kitāb Qhawāmid al-Saḥāḥ*, a small work on the obscurities of the *Saḥāḥ* of al-Djawhārī (autograph in the Escorial, N^o. 192, dated 757 A. H.). 31) *Nadīd al-Falāḥ fi Mukhtaṣar al-Saḥāḥ*, abbreviation of the *Saḥāḥ*, omitting the evidentiary verses and correcting errors. This work he completed in Ramaḍān 757 A. H. 32) *Ḥaly al-Nawāhid 'alā mā fi 'l-Saḥāḥ min al-Shawāhid*, explanation of the evidentiary verses quoted in the *Saḥāḥ*. 33) al-Suyūṭī composed a work containing verses of Şafadī and his contemporaries on the new moon, which he extracted from the *Tadhkira* of Şafadī and gave it the same title as N^o. 18; when he discovered this he re-named his book *Raṣf al-La'ālī fi Waṣf al-Hilāl*. This book was printed in Constantinople in the *Tuḥfat al-Bakiya*, p. 66—78.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar al-Kāmina*, B. M., Or. 3043, fol. 120r; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt*, B. M., Add. 23362, fol. 155; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Cairo), vi. 94—103; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Samīr* (ed. Bombay 1857), iii. part 2, p. 9; Amar, *J. A.*, series 10, vols. 17—19; Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, ii. 31—33; Hartmann, *Muwaṣṣā*, p. 81; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschr. der Araber*, p. 423; Hoogvliet, *Div. Script.* (Leiden 1839), p. 152—158; *Notice sur Khalil, J. A.*, series 9, vol. 5 p. 392. Verses of Şafadī are quoted in nearly every anthology later than his own time; he is extensively cited in the *Ḥalbat al-Kumait* of Nawāḍī and the *Ma'āhid al-Taṣṣiḥ* of 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Abbāsī.

20. AL-ḤASAN B. ABĪ MUḤAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH AL-ḤASHIMĪ AL-ŞAFADĪ appears from casual remarks in his work to have been an intimate courier of the Egyptian Sultān al-Nāṣir b. Qalā'ūn. It has been impossible to find any biography in any of the accessible works dealing with the history of his time. He must have died early in the eighth century of the Hījra as the last events recorded in his history are dealing with the year 711 = 1311/12 or perhaps as late as 714. From a statement fol. 62v Brit. Mus. it appears that he composed the history in the year 716. He probably had held earlier an appointment in the office of the wazīr for he tells (MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 69v) that in the year 694 he received instructions from the wazīr Ibn al-Khalīlī to investigate a case of cannibalism during the famine which prevailed in Egypt

during that and the following year. He composed a short history of Egypt which in the Paris MS., N^o. 1706 has the title: *Nuṣhat al-Mālik wa'l-Mamlūk fi Mukhtaṣar Sira man waliya Miṣr min al-Mulūk*, while in the other Paris MS., N^o. 1931, 22 it has the erroneous title of *Faḍḍ al-Miṣr*, yet the London MS. has another title from which it appears that probably the first is the correct one. The earlier part beginning with the natural and other advantages of Egypt gives a very succinct account of the earlier rulers consisting mainly of anecdotes, but the chief interest lies in the portion which deals with the Turkish Sultans; here he gives exact dates and facts which supplement our knowledge of the closing years of the 7th century of the Hījra. Perhaps the account of the great flood in Ba'labak in 717 found in the London MS. may be by him, but it is not found in the other two copies. The MS. in the British Museum written for the Egyptian caliph al-Mutawakkil proceeds to give events down to 795, but from fol. 113v it contains only matter concerning the family of the owner of the manuscript, first a genealogy of al-Mutawakkil (fol. 113v) and then a long list of his children, first the boys then the girls, indicating in each case the date and hour of their birth, and in cases where they died before 794, the dates of their death. The last entry by the same hand but with different ink records the birth of a son, in 795 A. H., the 25th of Sha'bān. The three MSS. all contain the same work in spite of their varying titles: Brit. Mus., Add. 23326; Paris 1706 and 1931, 22. **Bibliography:** in the article.

(F. KRENKOW)

ŞAFAR, name of the second month of the Muhammadan year, also called *Ş. al-khair* or *Ş. al-muṣaffar* because of its being considered to be unlucky (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchinese*, i. 206; do., *Mekka*, ii. 56). The Muhammadan Tigre-tribes pronounce the name *Shafar*, the Atchinese *Thapa*. According to Wellhausen in the old-Arabian year, Şafar comprised a period of two months in which Muḥarram (which name, according to this scholar is a Muslim innovation) was included. As a matter of fact, tradition reports that the early Arabians called Muḥarram Şafar and considered an 'umra during the months of the Ḥaḍḍj as a practice of an extremely reprehensible nature. They embodied this view in the following saying: *Idhā bara'a 'l-dabar wa-afa 'l-aṭhar wa 'nsalaḥha Şafar ḥallati 'l-'umra li-man f'tamar*, i. e.: When the wounded backs of camels are healed and the vestiges [of the pilgrims] are obliterated and Şafar has passed, then the 'Umra is allowed for those who undertake it.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

ŞAFAWIDS, the most famous and glorious of the native dynasties of Persia since the introduction of Islām, which takes its name from Shaikh Şafī al-Dīn Ishāḳ [q. v.], from whom its founder, Ismā'īl Şafawī [cf. ISM'Ā'IL I], was sixth in descent. The family had long been settled at Ardabīl [q. v.] as hereditary spiritual instructors of the people, and at

the end of the sixteenth century Ismā'il, after the death of his two elder brothers, extended his authority by degrees over *Shirwān*, *Ādharbājdjān*, *Irāk* and the rest of Persia, "the ground having been assiduously prepared by widespread politico-religious propaganda". The *Shi'a* doctrine had always been popular in Persia, but Ismā'il was the first ruler to make it the state religion, and to propagate it among the Turkish tribes of the north, whom he enlisted in his service and distinguished by giving them red hats, whence they were known as *Kizil-bāsh* (Red-heads). He virtually extinguished the *Sunni* religion in Persia. He died on May 24, 1524, and was succeeded by his son, *Tahmāsp I*, who repeatedly expelled the *Uzbeks* from *Khurāsān*, waged a not entirely unsuccessful war against the *Uthmānli* Turks who, under *Salīm I*, had defeated his father, and helped *Humāyūn* to recover his Indian throne. On his death in 1576 the throne fell, after a contest, to his fourth son, *Ismā'il II*, a worthless and debauched tyrant, during whose shameful reign the kingdom was a prey to intestine strife and foreign aggression, but on his death he was succeeded by his youngest son, *Shāh 'Abbās I* (1585—1628), justly entitled the Great, who restored Persia to her legitimate place in the *Islāmic* world. He inflicted on the Turks a defeat which deterred them from molesting his kingdom, he drove the *Uzbeks* and *Turkmāns* from *Khurāsān*, and he recovered *Qandahār* from the emperor of India. He was just and tolerant, he imported an industrious colony of *Armenians* from *Djulfā* [q.v.] on the *Araxes* to *Isfahān*, where they built and inhabited the suburb of New *Djulfā*, he encouraged trade and intercourse with western nations, and he was a liberal patron of architecture. His grandson, *Šafi I*, who succeeded him, and reigned for fourteen years, was a blood-thirsty tyrant who disgraced the throne of his ancestors and was devoid of either justice or humanity. His armies repelled the raids of the *Turkmāns* in *Khurāsān*, but in his reign *Qandahār* was recovered by the emperor of *Dihli*. The *Turks*, encouraged by the disorders which his tyranny engendered, recovered *Baghdād* and even occupied *Tabriz*, but were compelled by the severity of the winter and the scarcity of supplies to withdraw from *Ādharbaidjān*. *Šafi* recovered *Eriwān* from the *Turks*, and died in 1642, when he was succeeded by his son, *'Abbās II* [q.v.], then only ten years of age. *'Abbās* recovered *Qandahār* from *Shāh Djahān* of *Dihli*, and a movement of his troops against an *Uzbek* chief on the *Khurāsān* frontier caused the *Indian* forces to evacuate *Balkh*. The relations of Persia with *Turkey* were greatly improved in his reign, and intercourse with the western powers was extended. He died on Oct. 26, 1666, and was succeeded by his elder son, *Šafi*, who frustrated an attempt of the *amirs* to exclude him from the throne, and assumed the name of *Sulaimān*. He was an enlightened and tolerant monarch and welcomed the ambassadors of European powers, even of the *Russians*, whose habits disgusted him. His health was always poor, but he reigned for twenty-nine years, and on his death in 1694 was succeeded by his son, *Sultān Husain*, a weak prince who permitted ecclesiastics to conduct all affairs of state. Those who refused to conform to the state religion — that of the *Shi'a* — were persecuted, and this fatuous policy provoked the hostility of the *Afghāns* who held *Qandahār*

for the King of Persia, so that in 1709 *Mir Wais*, governor of that province, proclaimed his independence. In 1722 *Maḥmūd*, son of *Mir Wais*, invaded Persia and besieged *Isfahān*. Famine compelled the city to surrender, and *Maḥmūd* deposed *Sultān Husain* but died soon afterwards. In 1729 *Ashraf*, the brother and successor of *Maḥmūd*, was expelled from Persia, and *Nādir Kuli* [see the art. *NĀDIR SHĀH*] placed *Tahmāsp III*, of the *Şafawi* family, on the throne, but shortly afterwards deposed him as being unfit to reign, and caused his son, then only eight months old, to be proclaimed under the title of *'Abbās II*. The child died soon afterwards and on Feb. 26, 1737, *Nādir Shāh*'s assumption of the royal title extinguished the *Şafawi* dynasty.

Bibliography: *Muḥammad Muḥsin Mustawfi, Zubdat al-Tawārikh*, MSS.; *Malcolm, History of Persia*; E. G. Browne in *J.R.A.S.* for July 1921 p. 395 sqq.; *Chardin, Voyages en Perse*, Amsterdam 1735; *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, ii. 579—85, with references on p. 588; P. Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London 1921), ii. 158—230; E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature in modern Times*. Chap. I—IV, Cambridge 1924.

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-SAFFĀH. [See *ABU 'L-'ABBĀS*].

ŞAFFĀRIDS, a dynasty founded by *Ya'qūb b. Laith al-Şaffār* which originated in *Sadjistān* and reigned in Persia for thirty-three years. *Ya'qūb*, who was a coppersmith (*şaffār*) by trade abandoned his handicraft and became a brigand, but his chivalrous conduct in his predatory calling, attracted the favourable attention of *Šālih b. Naşr* (or *Nadr*), and he gave him the command of his troops. *Ya'qūb* rebelled against *Dirham b. Naşr*. In 253 (867) he was master of the whole of *Sistān*. Having thus established himself in *Sistān* he captured *Herāt*, and *Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. Aḥmad*, governor of *Khurāsān*, attempted to divert his attention from this town by bestowing on him the government of *Kirmān*. In 253 (867), however, he recaptured *Herāt* and took some *Tāhirids* prisoner. He sent an embassy with magnificent presents to the *Caliph al-Mu'tazz*, tried to take possession of the province of *Fārs*, defeated the governor *'Alī b. al-Husain* and entered *Shirāz*, without injuring the population. Then he returned to *Sadjistān* without establishing his power in *Fārs*. — He then turned to the domain of the princes (*rutbāi*) of *al-Rukhkhadj*. In 256 (870) he conquered *Balkh*, *Bāmiyān* [q.v.] and *Kābul*. In 257 (871) *Ya'qūb* again tried to take possession of *Fārs*. In order to turn his attention from this province, *al-Muwaffaq* gave him *Balkh*, *Tukharistān* and *Sind* in fief. In 259 he marched against *Naisābūr*, which he captured in *Shawwāl*. There he took *Muḥammad b. Tāhir* prisoner. After an unsuccessful expedition in *Tabaristān*, he finally remained in possession of *Khorāsān*. The *Caliph* however, refused to acknowledge him. This induced him to conduct his army through *Khūzistān* against *Baghdād*, after having defeated the governor of *Fārs*. He was in his turn defeated at *Dair al-'Ākūl*, retired to *Khūzistān* and died at *Djundāi Shābūr* (*Shawwāl* 265 = June 879) where his tomb is still shown.

He was succeeded by his brother *'Amr* [q.v.], whose descendants maintained themselves in *Sistān* till 1163.

Bibliography: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Kāẓimī, *Ta'rikh-i-Guḡda* (Gibb Memorial Series); Mir Khwānd *Rawḡat al-Şafā* (Tīhrān lithographed edition; Ya'kūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 605, 616; *B.G.A.* i. 245—247 = ii. 302 sqq., cf. index; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje) iii., 1500—1926, passim; Mas'ūdī (Paris ed.) viii. 41 sqq.; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 838; Nöldeke, *Sketches from East. Hist.*, p. 176 sqq.; Barthold, *Zur Gesch. der Saffariden* (Festschr. Nöldeke) i. 171 sq.; Lang in *Z.D.M.G.*, xli. 262.

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-ŞĀFFĀT, title of Sūra xxxvii. of the Qur'ān, after the first word *wa'l-Şaffāt*.

SAFĪ, more accurately Asfī, ethnic Masfīwī, a port in Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean, a few miles south of Cape Cantin, at the top of a very open bay. Safī has about 21,000 inhabitants of whom 3500 are Jews and a thousand Europeans.

Safī does not seem to date back to any great age. Al-Bakrī (ixth century A. D.) mentions it without attributing any great importance to its al-Idrīsī in the next century says it is a fairly busy port but the roads are not at all safe. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, a ribāṭ arose there. But the importance of Safī really date; only from the coming of the Portuguese, who, continuing their progress along the Moroccan coast, settled there in 1507. There they established a stronghold which in 1510 resisted a vigorous attack; with the help of a local chief, Yaḥyā ben Taḥfī, who seems to have, been a personage of considerable importance, the Portuguese for several years made Safī the principal centre of their operations. They established a regular protectorate there, gradually winning over the neighbouring tribes and daily advancing their outposts and their razzias further afield. They ultimately reached the very gates of Marrākush. But Portugal, with her hands full elsewhere, especially in the Indies, could not long sustain such an effort; on the other side too, the holy war movement gradually increased in force and the administration, in difficulties for funds, forced to exploit more and more the subdued country, became worse and worse. In 1516 the governor Lope de Barriga was taken prisoner; in 1517 Yaḥyā b. Taḥfī was killed in an ambush. The attacks of the Shorfa became more and more serious and after 1534 the question began to be considered of evacuating Safī and Azemmour (which had been occupied in 1513), to concentrate the defence on Mazagan. They were forced to this solution of the problem in December 1541 after the loss of Agadir in March of that year. The evacuation was made in good order under the direction of Joanno de Castro.

The Sa'dī Shorfa having occupied Safī made it their principal port: as a matter of fact it is the nearest to Marrākush, which was their usual residence. Safī thus attained great importance in the xvth and xviith centuries; a considerable part of the Christian trade was centred there. When the 'Alawids seized the power and moved their capital to the towns of the north, Meknes or Fās, Sale became the busiest port and Safī lost a great deal. In the xviiith century, however, Christian merchants were still numerous there; the representative of France, it may be noted, lived there for several years. In the xixth century its decline became more marked. It is now a fairly busy little town from which are exported the agri-

cultural products of the rich country of the 'Abda, of which Safī is the centre. Of the ancient ribāṭ it has retained the name of one of its two quarters while the name of the other is commemorated in walls for the most part Portuguese.

Bibliography: Besides the geographers and historians of Morocco (al-Şāwī in particular — cf. the bibliography to the article MOROCCO) see the Portuguese chronicles; Pedro de Salazar, *Historia en la cual se cuentan muchas guerras entre Cristianos e infideles* (1550); Diego de Torres, *Hist. des Cherifs*; Marmol, transl. Perrot d'Ablancourt, Paris 1667, ii. 78—93; Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris 1787; among contemporaries see especially de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (in course of publication), passim; cf. also Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco in the XVIth Century*, London 1904; Cour, *Les Beni Waṭṭas*, Constantine 1920.

(HENRI BASSET)

ŞAFĪ, FAKHR AL-DĪN 'ALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN AL-WĀ'IZ AL-KĀSHĪFĪ, with the *takhalluṣ* ŞAFĪ, son of the preacher and man of letters al-Ḥusain al-Wā'iz al-Kāshifī (d. 910 = 1504/5), a Persian author. From the preface to his work *Laṭā'if al-Ṭawā'if* it appears that he was a prisoner in Herāt for a year and in 939 (1532/3) entered the service of Shāh Muḥammad, prince of Ghardjīstān where he composed the *Laṭā'if*. He must therefore have died after 1533; the exact date is not known any more than that of his birth.

Works: 1) a romantic poem, *Maḥmūd u Āyās*, as far as is known the oldest poetic version of the theme; 2) *Rashahāt-i 'Ainu'l-Hayāt, a taḥkīra* of the Naḡshbandī Shaikhs, ed. Taschkent 1329, finished in 919 (1513/4); a Turkish translation of it appeared at Constantinople in 1236, at Bülāḡ in 1256 (Ethé in the *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 365); 3) the above mentioned *Laṭā'if al-Ṭawā'if*, also called *Laṭā'if al-Zarā'if*, a narrative work found in a considerable number of manuscripts in European libraries, which contains in 14 bābs anecdotes regarding individuals of various classes of society (extracts in Schefer's *Chrest. Pers.*, i. 106 sqq.).

Bibliography: Ethé in the *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 250, 332, 334, 365; Sachau-Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian... Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i. 428 sqq.; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 353, 757; do., *Supplement*, p. 69; Pertsch, *Die persischen Handschriften der Herz. Bibl. zu Gotha*, p. 121; do., *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, cf. Index iii. under 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusain; de Goeje, *Cat. Cod. Orient. Bibl. Acad. Lugd. Bat.*, v. 295. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

ŞAFĪ AL-DĪN (Shaikh), ancestor of the Şafawids [q.v.] in Persia, was born at Ardabil [q.v.] in 650 = 1252/3, the son of Khwādja Kamāl al-Dīn 'Arabshāh and Dawlatī, said to be in the twenty-fifth line of descent from 'Alī and in the twentieth from Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh Imām (on his genealogy see E. G. Browne in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1921, p. 397 and *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Şafawiya*, Berlin 1924). He was the fifth of seven children and his father died when he was six years old. He is described as a serious youth who grew up without comrades and early devoted himself to religious exercises. As he found no one among the learned men of Ardabil who pleased him as

a teacher he went to Shīrāz with the intention of attending the lectures of Shaiḫ Naḍīb al-Dīn Buzḡhūsh (d. 678 = 1279), but the latter died before he arrived there. He made the acquaintance of pious dervishes and devout men, including Shaiḫ Ruḡn al-Dīn al-Baiḍāwī and Amīr ‘Abdallāh, who finally referred him to Shaiḫ Zāhid, i. e. Tādj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Rawshan Amīr b. Bābil b. Shaiḫ Bundār al-Kurḍī al-Sandjānī of Gilān, who was reported to live on the Caspian Sea. He is said to have spent four full years searching for him and ultimately discovered him in Hīlyakirān in the Khānbālī district of Gilān. Shaiḫ Zāhid gave him a kindly welcome and Safī al-Dīn remained 25 years with him until Zāhid died at the age of 85. Safī al-Dīn then became his successor in Zāhid's brotherhood until he in turn passed away, likewise aged 85, on Monday, Muḥarram 12, 735 = Sept. 12, 1334. Shortly before his death he had made the pilgrimage to Mekka and had previously designated his son Šadr al-Dīn as his successor. On his return he became ill, lay for twelve days in bed and then passed away. He had two wives, Bibī Faṭīma, daughter of Shaiḫ Zāhid, and the daughter of Akhī Sulaimān of Gīlkhwarān. The former was the mother of 1) Muḥyī al-Dīn, who died in 724 = 1324, 2) Šadr al-Dīn (born April 27, 1305 = Shawwāl, 704, died 794 = 1392), Šafī al-Dīn's successor and 3) Abū Sa‘īd. The second wife bore him two sons, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn and Šaraf al-Dīn, as well as a daughter, who was given in marriage to Shaiḫ Shams al-Dīn, a son of Shaiḫ Zāhid.

Safī al-Dīn was the founder of the Dervish order of the Šafawī which later attained political control of Persia. The organisation and history of this brotherhood have not yet been thoroughly investigated. It is closely connected in its political and religious history with the dervish bodies which later appeared in Anatolia and became powerful there, like the Akhis and the Bektāshīs [q. v.]. Its members later wore as a badge a twelve-pointed cap of scarlet wool (later called *rādjī ḥaidar*; cf. *Islam*, xi. 83), from which comes the Turkish name *kızıl-baş* “red head”. Of the religious system of the order it is certain that its later point of view was that of the Shī‘a, although it is said that Safī al-Dīn himself, the founder, was a Sunnī (cf. E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 43 sq., following the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*). Safī al-Dīn received numerous adherents from Persia and especially from Anatolia (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, p. 403—4) and it is to him that the order owes its great prestige in Šūfī circles and its later great extension, which was ultimately to prove almost fatal to the Ottoman Empire.

Bibliography: The principal source is Ibn al-Bazzāz, *Šafwat al-Šafā’*, lith. Bombay 1329 = 1911; MSS. in the British Museum, Add. 11745 and in King's College, Cambridge (cf. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 35); this work, of which Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 38 sq., gives an excellent survey, deals exclusively with Safī al-Dīn's influence and neglects almost entirely the merely biographical data of his career. The *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Šafawiya*, extracts of which have been given by E. G. Browne in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, p. 395—418 (cf. thereon F. Babinger in the *Islam*, xii. 231 sqq.), and published by him in Persian at the Kavianī press in Berlin in 1924,

is also important; on it see the earlier article by von Khanikoff in the *Mélanges Asiatiques ... de St. Pétersbourg*, i. 850—853. On further Persian literature see P. Horn in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii., Strassburg 1896/1904, p. 586 sq., and v. Khanikoff in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. 543 sq. On Shaiḫ Šafī al-Dīn cf. especially the very full account by E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 3—44; on his order, the *Kızılbaş*, and their connections with Anatolian dervish orders see F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Din*, Leipzig and Berlin 1921, p. 78 sqq. (*Isl.*, xi. 78 sqq.), with the sources there quoted and also do., *Marino Sanuto's Tagebücher als Quelle zur Geschichte der Šafawīja in A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 28—50.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ŠAFĪYA BINT ḤUYAĪY B. AKḤṬAB, Muḥammad's eleventh wife, was born in Medina and belonged to the Jewish tribe of the Banu ‘l-Naḍīr; her father and her uncle Abū Yāsīr were among the Prophet's most bitter enemies. When their tribe was expelled from Medina in 4 A. H., Huyaiy b. Akḥṭab was one of those who settled in Khaibar, together with Kināna b. al-Rabī‘, to whom Šafīya was married at the end of 6 or early in 7 A. H.; her age at this time was about 17. There is a tradition that she had formerly been the wife of Sallām b. Mashkam, who had divorced her.

When Khaibar fell, in Šafar 7, Šafīya was captured in a fortress, al-Qamūs or Nizar, together with two of her cousins. In the division of the spoils she had been assigned, or actually given, to Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbī, but when Muḥammad saw her he was struck by her beauty, and threw his mantle over her as a sign that he had chosen her for himself. He redeemed her from Dihya against seven heads of cattle, and induced her to embrace Islām. Her husband was condemned to a cruel death by Muḥammad for having refused to give up the treasure of the Banu ‘l-Naḍīr; the desire of marrying Šafīya may have influenced the Prophet, for the nuptials were celebrated with unseemly haste, either in Khaibar itself or at al-Šabbāḥ, some 8 miles from it, on the way back to Medina. Šafīya's dowry consisted in her emancipation, and she assumed the veil (*ḥiḍjāb*), thus establishing her position as a wife, which at the beginning appears to have been questioned.

In Medina Šafīya received a cold welcome: ‘Ā’isha and Muḥammad's other wives showed their jealousy with slights upon her Jewish origin. She seems to have lived aloof from her surroundings, for we find no further mention of her in the years preceding Muḥammad's death, except in an episode that shows how, during his last illness, she expressed her devotion to him, and was criticised by the other wives. With the Prophet's daughter Faṭīma she was, however, on good terms.

In 35 A. H. Šafīya sided with ‘Uthmān; while he was besieged in his house she made an unsuccessful attempt to reach him, and she used to bring him food and water by means of a plank placed between her dwelling and his. When ‘Ā’isha asked her to be present at ‘Uthmān's last interview with ‘Alī, Talḥa and al-Zubair, which took place in her house, Šafīya went, and tried to defend the unfortunate Caliph.

She died in 50 or 52, during Mu'awiya's caliphate, leaving a fortune of 100,000 dirham in land and goods, one third of which she bequeathed to her sister's son, who still followed the Jewish faith. Her dwelling in Medina was bought by Mu'awiya for 180,000 dirham.

In Cairo there is a xvii. century mosque dedicated to Sitt Şafiya, which gives its name to the surrounding quarter.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 354, 653, 762, 766; Ibn Sa'd, viii. 85—92; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 379, 415; II/i. 29, 34; viii. 223; al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 173; Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 246. (V. VACCA) AL-ŞAHĀBA. [See AŞHĀB].

SAHARA (AL-ŞAHĀRA), an African desert. Şahrā is the feminine of the adjective *aşhar*, "of a fawn colour". The word is applied by some writers to a combination of stony soil, steppes and sands (cf. al-Idrīsī, ed. de Goeje, p. 37 note), while the word *muḍjiba*, is more particularly applied to areas covered with moving sands and absolutely devoid of water (cf. Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Bulḍān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 137; transl. Reinaud, ii. 190). Leo Africanus uses it as a synonym for desert in general (Schefer I, i. 5).

The Sahara lies between Barbary, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Marmarica in the north, the Sūdān in the south, the Atlantic in the west and the Nile valley in the east. Some geographers even extend it as far as the Red Sea, and thus link it up with the Arabian deserts. Its area, if we leave out Egypt, may be estimated at three million square miles, or a quarter of the total surface of Africa.

The Sahara, as a whole, may be regarded as an ancient "plain" concealed in many parts by more recent geological formations. Its surface, far from being uniform, presents considerable variations of level. Some parts, in the vicinity of the Egyptian border, in the south of Tripolitania and in the south of Tunisia, are below the level of the sea; in other parts, however, there are high plateaux, and mountain ranges, for the most part of volcanic origin, tower up (Tibesti, Air, Hoggar), some of whose summits are over 10,000 feet high (Tibesti). On the whole, we may say that low-lying areas predominate in the western Sahara and the heights in the eastern.

The desert character of the Sahara is primarily due to the climate of this part of Africa. Rains are very rare and irregular there; the extreme dryness of the air produces an intense evaporation, which reduces to a minimum the rising of springs to the surface. The great variations of temperature and violence of the winds result in the break up of the rocks and the denudation of the surface. The conditions of animal and vegetable life are, in consequence, extremely precarious. It is, however, right to make a distinction in this respect between the border zones and the desert strictly speaking. In the north, indeed, the fairly abundant rainfalls have allowed the development of a zone of steppes suitable for stock-rearing, of which the high plateaux of Algeria show the most perfect type; in the south a border of savannah and bush rolls almost without interruption from the Atlantic to the Nile basin, and forms the transitional link between the Sahara and the fertile regions of Equatorial Africa. This is the "Sūdānese Sahara", in which the desert character lessens gradually as one goes southwards. The Sahara,

properly so called, occupies the whole area between these two zones and even in the north reaches to the Mediterranean in the region of Sidra and Marmarica. It presents very different aspects in its different parts. Sand-dunes cover enormous tracts (cf. the article 'AREG'), separated from each other by rocky plateaux (Hamada), bounded by steep slopes. In other parts we find river valleys, usually dried up, called *wādī* (weds) or flat plains of a soil sometimes perfectly uniform (Reg) as in the Algerian Sahara, sometimes filled with pebbles which makes walking very difficult, as in the Libyan desert. The most desolate parts are the "Tanezruft", absolutely sterile regions and totally without springs. On the other hand, wherever we find surface water and wherever sheets of subterranean waters are sufficiently near the surface to be reached by wells or irrigation channels, there have arisen centres of population and cultivation, known as "oases", some isolated, others grouped like the islands of an archipelago: Fezzān, Kawar, Wed Rir (*wādī Righ*), Zibān, Tidikelt, Tuāt, Gurara, Tafilelt etc.

The Arab authors only give us fragmentary and often vague information regarding the Sahara. The only region that they know with any exactness is the northern zone, adjoining Ifrīkiya and the Maghrib, the zone in which Ibn Khaldūn (*Les Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 120; transl. de Slane, i. 190) includes Tafilelt, Tuāt, Gurara, Fezzān and even Ghadames. The Arabs, however, do not agree as to the bounds of the Sahara. Al-Bakrī, for example, says that the sands mark the beginning of the "lands of the blacks" (*Ma-şālik*, Algiers 1911, p. 21; transl. de Slane, p. 49). Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand, makes it clear that this country is separated from Barbary by a vast region of deserts, "in which one is in danger of dying of thirst"; here and there also we find some notes on the parts of the deserts traversed by caravan routes (e. g. on the western Sahara; cf. the description of the desert called *Nisar* or *Tisar* by al-Idrīsī, *Yasr* by Abu 'l-Fidā) or the accounts of commercial centres like Tadmakka, Audaghost (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 339).

Leo Africanus gives a resumé of the data supplied by his predecessors. He identifies the Sahara with the Libya of the ancients (Bk. i. 5) and attempts a division into regions based on their populations. He distinguishes five different areas in the Sahara: (1) the desert of the Zenaga (زنقة), from the ocean to the salt beds of Tegaza; (2) the desert of Wanzigha from the salt-beds of Tegaza at the Air in the east to the desert of Sidjilmāsa in the north; (3) the desert of the Targa (تارقة = Tuareg), bounded in the west by Ighidi, in the north by Tuāt, Gurara and Mزاب, in the south by the kingdom of Agades; (4) the desert of the Lamta bounded on the north by the deserts of Wargla and Ghadames, in the south by deserts which reach as far as Kano; (5) the desert of the Bardāwa lying between the desert of the Lamta in the west, the desert of Awjila in the east, Fezzān in the north, Bornū in the south (Leo Africanus, Bk. vi.; transl. Schefer, iii. 267 sqq.).

In spite of the sparsity of its resources, the Sahara has always been the home of man. The discovery on numerous places, at a great distance from one another, of wrought flints, pottery, rock carvings, etc. testify to the presence of man there

at a very remote epoch. The ancients gave these Saharan people the name of Ethiopians (Herodotos) or Libyans. They peopled the Sahara in the strict sense of the word, while Fezzān was occupied by the Garamantes, negroids, perhaps related to the present day Bornūans. In the northern border zone, Berbers of a white stock lived; gradually, however, the negroes were pushed southwards and had to give way to the whites. According to E. Gautier (*Le Sahara*, p. 93 sqq.) this ethnic change was the result of the introduction into North Africa in the Imperial period of the camel which supplied the Berbers with the indispensable means for the conquest of the Sahara. In any case, from this time onwards the Berbers never ceased to advance into the interior. When the Arabs came, the Zanāta were already settled in the oasis of the Wed Rir, while the Ṣanhādja were leading a nomadic life to the south of the great Atlas as far as Senegal. In the fifth century A. H. the Almoravids [q. v.] ruled the whole of the western Sahara. Three centuries later the Berber tribes (Guadala, Lamtūna, Uzīga, Masūfa, Lamta and Targa) formed from west to east a cordon stretching to the borders of the land of the negroes (Ibn Khaldūn, *Les Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 21; transl. de Slane, p. 104). The advance continues in the centuries following. In the sixteenth century A. D. the Tuareg occupied the Air, in the seventeenth and eighteenth they settled in Adrār and reached the banks of the Niger.

Arab penetration followed the Berber penetration. In the first century A. H. the Arabs first arrived in Fezzān; during the period following, they found their way into the central Sahara and into the western Sahara, as missionaries and merchants. But it was the Hilālī invasion that brought in whole tribes, who, finding the Maghrib too small for them, overflowed into the desert, thrusting forward the Berber tribes and forcing them to go further south, so that by the time of Ibn Khaldūn, Arab tribes were occupying the border country north of the desert. Certain later happenings contributed to the diffusion of the Arab element, for example the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, which brought refugees even as far as Shingit in Adrār, and the conquest of the Sūdān by the Saʿdians at the end of the sixteenth century A. D. The Arab expansion has gone on into our own times; witness, for example, the settlement in Bordū about 1820 of the Awlād Sulaimān (Uled Sliman), who came from the shores of the Gulf of Sidra. The existence of fairly active commercial relations between the two sides of the Sahara has always contributed to facilitate this infiltration. From the early centuries of the Hīdjra, caravan routes connected Fezzān with Tchad, Southern Tunisia with Nigeria, and the extreme Maghrib with the empire of Ghāna. In the seventh century A. H. Walata was in regular connection with Morocco and Tuāt, Kanem with Ifrīkiya. In the sixteenth century A. D. Timbuktu traded with Morocco and Tunisia; in the nineteenth the routes from Tripoli to Bornū and Wadāi were still busy and Arab traders were settled at all the caravan stations.

This Arab and Berber penetration has, however, been checked from time to time by return offensives by the Sūdānese. At more than one period, indeed, negro empires have extended over the Sahara. The Soninke empire of Ghāna stretched

over all Mauritania; the Mande empire reached to Tuāt; the authority of the Sultāns of Kanem has been recognised around Wargla, that of the Askia of Gao even to beyond Timbuktu.

This ebb and flow of peoples has left its trace in the present ethnography of the Sahara. We find in it the elements of white and black, either pure or altered by mixture in different degrees. The first, numerically the most important, is represented by the Arabs and the Tuareg [q. v.]. In spite of the differences of origin and of language which distinguish them, they both present some features in common. They lead the same kind of life, a purely nomadic one, to which a kind of secular selection has wonderfully adapted them; as regards politics, they have not advanced beyond the rudimentary organisation into tribes and confederacies of tribes. Their geographical areas, however, are quite distinct. The Tuareg predominate in the Central Sahara from which they have advanced, gradually mixing more and more with black blood, as far as the bend of the Niger. The Arabs predominate on the frontiers of the Maghrib and especially in the western Sahara, which they have arabicised, and where their intermarriage with the Berbers has given birth to a mixed population, the Moors. The families who have preserved their Arab descent almost intact and who bear, as a rule, the name of "Hasan", constitute an aristocracy among them, while the other sections of the population, with the exception of some groups of Ṣanhādja and Almoravid descent, are treated as an inferior caste (cf. the article MAURITANIA).

The black population also includes elements of various origins. The aboriginal population, gradually thrust back by the whites, seems to be represented at the present day only by the Tibu [q. v.], who, numbering barely 10,000 or so, occupy Tibesti and the neighbouring regions [see the article TIBESTI]. The vast majority consists of individuals of different origins (Hausa, Bornūans, etc.), whose ancestors were settled in the Sahara as the result of the Sūdānese conquests, or who have been brought into the country as slaves. The intermarriage of these negroes among themselves and with Berbers seems to have given birth to a particular type, the "hartani" (plur.: *harratin*), among whom black blood predominates; they play a very important part in the economy of the Sahara, especially in the villages and oases of the Northern Sahara. In contrast to the essentially nomadic white, the black is a settler; he cultivates the oases, a work for which the whites are unfitted by their inclinations as well as their physiological organisation. The black tiller of the soil secures for the nomads the means of subsistence, without which they could not do, but he is kept by them, whether Arab or Berber, in a state of dependency and service.

If it has not opposed an insurmountable obstacle to the relations between the Mediterranean region and the Sūdān, the Sahara has been no more a barrier to the diffusion of Islām, the progress of which coincides with that of the white element in the desert. Introduced into Fezzān in the first century A. H., Islām was spread by the Arab traders, who frequented the caravan routes and commercial centres, and by the nomad Berbers, like the Lamta and the Lamtūna. The conquests of the Almoravids gained for Islām a vast

area in the western Sahara and up to the borders of the Sūdān. This Islām, quite superficial by the way, like that still professed by the Tuareg, allowed traces of previous beliefs and practices contradictory to Korānic law to go on; on the other hand, it met with centres of resistance like the Tuāt, where Judaeo-Berbers maintained themselves till the fifteenth century A. D. At this period the religious revival which began in North Africa had its repercussions in the Sahara. Marabouts and *Shorfa*, coming for the most part from Morocco, appeared in all places of any importance, exterminated all who differed from them, preached the orthodox doctrine and themselves became founders of Marabout factions, whose members enjoyed great material and moral prestige. The activity of the religious brotherhoods became added to that of individuals, and is still felt at the present day. The western Sahara is under the influence of brotherhoods attached to the Kādīriya order and, in a smaller degree, to the Tīdjāniya; the eastern Sahara to that of the Sanusiya.

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SAHĀRANPŪR, a city of northern India, situated in 29° 57' N. and 77° 33' E., was founded about 1340, in the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq, and was named after a local Muḥammadan saint, *Shāh Haran Čishti*. The city and district suffered severely during the invasion of Timūr; and in 1526 Bābur traversed them on his way to Pānīpat, and some local Mughal colonies trace their origin to his followers. Muslim influence gained much by the proselytizing zeal of 'Abd al-Ḳuddūs, who ruled the district until the reign of Akbar. In the reigns of Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān, Sahāranpūr was a favourite summer resort of the court, owing to the coolness of its climate and the abundance of game in its neighbourhood. Nūr Djahān had a palace in the village of Nūrāgar, which perpetuates her name, and the royal hunting seat, Pādshāh Maḥall, was built for Shāh Djahān. After the death of Awrangzib the district suffered severely from the inroads of the Sikhs, who massacred Hindūs and Muslims indiscriminately, until, in 1716, they were temporarily crushed by the imperial authority. The upper Doāb then passed into the hands of the Sayyids of Bārha, and on their fall in 1721 into those of several favourites. In 1754 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī conferred it on the Rohilla, Nadītb Khān, as a reward for his services at the battle of Kotila. Before his death, in 1770, it was overrun by Sikhs and Marāṭhās. His son Zābiṭ Khān revolted from Dīhli, but was reconciled, and his son Ghulām Kādir, who succeeded him in 1785, established a strong government and dealt firmly with the Sikhs. He was a coarse and brutal chief and in 1788 he blinded the emperor Shāh 'Ālam and was justly mutilated and put to death by Sindhya. Sahāranpūr remained nominally in the hands of the Marāṭhās, but actually in those

of the Sikhs, until its conquest and occupation by the British after the fall of 'Algaṛh and the battle of Dīhli in 1803.

Bibliography: Abu'l-Faḍl, *Āin-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann and Jarrett) (Calcutta 1873—1894); *Tuzuk-i-Djahāngiri* (trans. Rogers and Beveridge) (London 1909); 'Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhūrī, *Pādshāhnāma* (Calcutta 1867—8); W. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, edited by Jādūnāth Sarkār; Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908.

(T. W. HAIG)

ŞAHİB, the participial form of *ṣ-h-b*, to be the companion of, meant originally to be on equal terms of friendship, and was especially used of all those who came into contact with Muḥammad, and died in the faith of Islām [cf. the art. *Aṣḥāb*]. But also in Muslim literature it often has the common meaning of companion. Muḥammad calls himself *ṣāhibukum* when he addresses his companions; and the Kaibar is called *Ṣāhib al-Rūm*, the governor of al-Buṣrā *Ṣāhib al-Buṣrā*. By 167 = 783/84 the Caliph al-Mahdi created an Inquisitor and gave to him the title of *Ṣāhib al-Zanādika*. Still, for Governors, the term Ḥākim was preferred. It is probable that the sacred association with the Prophet's Companions led to this preference.

The term *Şahib* is used universally in India to-day to designate Europeans, and is a formal mark of respect. When applied to Indians of high station it is an added honour, e.g. *Khān Şahib*.

Curiously enough the Arabic feminine form is seldom in use, and not in an honorific sense. In the Creed of Al-Ash'ari (Spitta, *Zur Geschichte Al-Ash'ari's*, p. 133 sqq.) he says of God: "He has taken to Himself no companion (*ṣāhibā*)". This use, however, is very exceptional. In India at present the feminine is obtained by prefixing *Madam*, with an elided d, and pronouncing *mem-sahib*, and this is the form by which all European women are addressed.

On the use of *ṣāhib* in the Mekkan dialect, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, No. 23.

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ŞAHİB KİRÂN, a title, meaning "Lord of the (auspicious) conjunction". *Kirān* means a conjunction of the planets, *Kirān al-sādain* (cf. the art. *SA'DĀN*) a conjunction of the two auspicious planets (Jupiter and Venus), and *Kirān al-naḥsain* a conjunction of the two inauspicious planets (Saturn and Mars). In the title the word refers, of course, to the former only. The Persian *i* of the *iḳāfa* is omitted, as in *Şahib-dil*, by *fakk-i-iḳāfa*. The title was first assumed by the Amīr Timūr, who is said to have been born under a fortunate conjunction, but with whom its assumption was, of course, an afterthought. After his death poets and flatterers occasionally applied it to lesser sovereigns, even to so insignificant a ruler as Burhān Nizām Shāh II, of Ahmadnagar, but it was officially assumed by Timūr's descendant, the emperor Shāh Djahān, who styled himself *Şahib Kirān-i-Thānī*, "the second Lord of the Conjunction".

Şahib-Kirān was also, in Persia, where it has since been corrupted into *Kirān* or *Krān*, the name of a coin of 1000 *dinārs*, the tenth part of a *tūmān*.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-Dîn 'Alî Yazdî, *Zafar-nâma*, Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muḥammad Kâsım Firîştâ, *Gulshân-i Ibrâhîmî* (Bombay lithographed edition of 1832); 'Abd al-Ḥamîd Lâhorî, *Pādshâh-nâma*, Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Standard Arabic and Persian lexica, s. v. *Kîrân*.

(T. W. HAIG)

ŞAHİH, sound, free from defect or blemish, is the name given to (a) a tradition whose chain of guarantors or transmitters is unassailable; and (b) the collections which contain nothing but *ṣaḥîḥ* traditions, namely those compiled by al-Bukhârî [q. v., i. 783] and Muslim b. al-Hadîdjâdj.

(a) The *ṣaḥîḥ* tradition, according to al-Djurdjânî (d. 816) embraces categories so wide apart as the *musnad* (supported by authorities resting on the prophet) and the *fard* (peculiar to one district or one reporter).

(b) The *Ṣaḥîḥ* of al-Bukhârî contains 7,397, or, according to other authorities, 7,295 traditions. These were selected by the author from the 600,000 *ḥadîth* current in his day and the 200,000 it is asserted that he memorized. A remarkable feature of his *Ṣaḥîḥ* is the chapter heading or *tardjama* which is often tendentious and sometimes misleading; e. g. when he prefaces a tradition which professes to record the equal efficacy of a pilgrimage to the mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem with the words "Of the superiority of prayer in the mosques of Mecca and Medina". (*Bâb Faḍl al-Ṣalât*, ed. Krehl, i. 299).

The contents of Muslim's *Ṣaḥîḥ* are practically the same as al-Bukhârî's except that the *ismûds* differ considerably; and instead of the chapter headings so characteristic of al-Bukhârî, the author gives us a valuable preface in which he discusses the conditions which a tradition must fulfil before it can be regarded as authentic.

Both works (al-Bukhârî's more systematically) are planned to provide, where possible, apostolic *ḥadîth* on which to ground the existing laws and regulations of Islâm. So great waxed the reputation of al-Bukhârî's *Ṣaḥîḥ* that it was regarded as a charm against shipwreck and other calamities and the author's tomb became the resort of believers in distress.

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(ALFRED GUILLAUME)

SÂHİL is a reversed word, of the measure *fâ'il* instead of the measure *maf'ûl*, and its original meaning is "abraded (by the sea)". Hence, the shore of the sea or of a great river, a sea-shore, sea-coast, or sea-board; also a tract of cultivated land, with towns or villages, adjacent to a sea or great river, and the side of a valley.

Bibliography: The lexica s. v.

(T. W. HAIG)

SÂHIR, DJELÂL, a notable modern Ottoman poet and author. Born in 1883 in Constantinople, the son of Ismâ'il Hakkî Pasha who died in Yemen, he early showed literary inclinations and a talent for declamation. Through his writings he

was very soon able to procure for himself a prominent position among Turkish men of letters. He acted as a teacher of French and of belles-lettres and was for a time employed in the Foreign Office. Later he acted chiefly as editor of various periodicals, e. g. the literary part of the *Therwet-i fûnûn*, the ladies' newspaper *Demet* (the Nosegay), founded by him in 1909 but which expired after 7 numbers, the *Fedjir-i âti*, the *Türk sözü*, the *Müşavver Muhîr*, the monthly *Bilgi* (knowledge), also founded by him (1913) — he was president of the *Türk Bilgi Dirneyi* —, the *İktisâdiyet Medîmûsasy* (journal of national economy) (1916), etc. His undeniable flair for practical business is in remarkable contrast to his sensitive, elegiac, very tender style of poetry. He takes first place among the younger poets as regards perfection of language and depth of feeling. The euphony of his verse is fascinating. As a prose writer a simple and brilliant diction best fits him.

With a sure instinct he at once attached himself to the modern school of the *Therwet-i fûnûn* (*Tewfîk Fikret* — *Khâlid Ziyâ*). He actively championed the simplification of the language. As regards prosody, however, he adhered strictly to the old classical form (*'arûḡ*). That for a period he also wrote in the national metre which counts the syllables (*parmak hisâbî*), obeying the national tendency, was only an interlude. His early period of extravagant and fantastic descriptions of nature was followed by a transition to psycho-analysis. His true sphere, in which he is considered a master, is woman and love, which he sings in an inexhaustible variety of ways. He celebrates them in inspired, indeed feverishly tender poems. For him "the poem is a woman and woman a poem". This praise of woman is done in a perfectly pure, morally noble and ideal way. Only reluctantly does he turn to other themes, although here also he has produced many fine poems. A certain tendency to the morbid, to weltschmerz, foreboding of death and longing for death is strongly marked in him. It is no wonder that many, while fully recognising the merits of his charming personality, cannot regard him as a poet such as New-Turkey needs in her period of transition.

With the constitution a somewhat more vigorous national tone entered his work. Since then he has been above all a champion of women's rights, for which he fights with tongue and pen. He was president of the *Fedjir-i âti* (the coming dawn), Sturm und Drang club, which, comprising about 20 men of letters of the *therwet-i fûnûn* circle, endeavoured to control the direction of development of Turkish literature but collapsed owing to internal dissensions after only seven months. Besides numerous poems and articles in the most varied papers and periodicals he has published the following books: a collection of poems entitled *Beyâd Kögeler* ("White Shadows") (1325) and the collections of mingled prose and poetry entitled *Buḡrân* ("Crisis") (1325) and *Siyâh* ("black") (1328), all in the series, so important for modern literature, called *Edebiyât-i dîjede Kütüb-khânesi* (Nos. 13, 19 and 27); and a work entitled *Simûn*. His *İstambul itûn meb'ûth nâmâsederimiz*, published anonymously in 1335, contains political and satirical verses.

Bibliography: Shihâb ed-Dîn Süleimân, *Ta'rikh-i Edebiyât-i 'Othmâniye*, Constantinople

1328, p. 376—7; *Newsā'i millī*, Constantinople 1330, p. 243—247; Rā'if Nedjdet, *Hayāt-i Edebiye*, 1909—1922, Constantinople 1922, p. 44—45 and 169—170; Reshīd Thuraiya, *Edebiyāt-i Djedide* and the *Kyrā'at-i edebiye* (ed. by Djelāl Sāhir and Mehmed Fu'ād), both the latter Constantinople 1328; *Österreichische Rundschau*, vol. 46; part 6, Vienna 1916: *Aus dem Osmanenreiche. Literarische Beiträge, gesammelt von Djelāl Sāhir*; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig 1910; do., *Aus der neueren osmanischen Dichtung*, M.S.O.S. As., xix., Berlin 1916, p. 154—166; xxi., ibid. 1918, p. 43—44; do., *Dichter der neuen Türkei*, Berlin 1919, p. 88—91; O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1916, p. 29—30; Th. Menzel, *Die türkische Literatur*, in Hinneberg's *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1924, p. 316.

(TH. MENZEL)

SAHL B. HÄRÜN, an Arab author and poet who flourished at the end of the second and beginning of the third century A. H. (= beginning of the ninth century A. D.). According to the *Fihrist*, he was of Persian descent and born in Dastmaisān, between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ. Al-Ḥuṣrī makes him come from Maisān, which is quite near it, and gives him also the kunya Abū 'Amr (on the margin of the *ʿIqd*, ii. 190). The name of his grandfather is variously given: Rāmūy, Rāhyūn (both in the *Fihrist*) or Rāhyūnī (al-Djāhīz, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, i. 24; cf. also van Vloten's note to p. 10 of his edition of al-Djāhīz' *Kitāb al-Bukhālāʾ*). Sahl later settled in Baṣra from which he is said to have taken his *nisba* (al-Ḥuṣrī); the *Fihrist*, however, calls him al-Dastmaisānī. Exact details of his life are lacking and we have to rely mainly on anecdotal references. He held high offices in the Chancellery at the Caliph's court. We find him already in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, secretary to the Barmecid Yaḥyā b. Khalīd, whom he is said to have succeeded as *ṣāhib al-dawāwīn* (Ibn Badrūn). Whether he retained this high office under al-Amīn, we do not know, but under al-Ma'mūn he was again in great esteem although the latter had at first little regard for him. By revealing his *Shu'ūbī* predilections, he then gained the Caliph's favour. Along with other men of letters such as Sa'īd b. Hārūn and Salm (or Salmā, cf. *Fihrist*) he was engaged by al-Ma'mūn in his treasury or house of wisdom (*khiṣānat al-ḥikma*, *Dār al-ḥikma*).

Sahl b. Hārūn was a fanatical adherent of the *Shu'ūbīya* [q. v.]; it was no doubt as such that he gained the favour of the Barmecid Yaḥyā, whom he praises in some much quoted lines for his abstemiousness, just as the same sentiments later gained him favour with al-Ma'mūn (cf. the anecdote in al-Ḥuṣrī, *op. cit.*). Together with Ibn al-Mukaffā' and others, Sahl belongs to those authors who continued Persian tradition in Arabic literature. As an author, Sahl was popular in his day for two kinds of literary product. He wrote a *Kitāb Tha'la wa-Afrā* (so in the *Fihrist*; other sources give very varied spellings of these words); in this work he imitates the celebrated book of fables *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q. v.] by making animals speak and also retaining its divisions into sections. Al-Ḥuṣrī (*op. cit.*) gives a few quotations from this book. Sahl was next famous for his praise of avarice and misers. The

only work of his that has survived is a *Risālat al-Bukhālāʾ*; it is incorporated in the *ʿIqd* (iii. 335 sq.) and forms the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Bukhālāʾ* of Djāhīz. In this *Risāla* Sahl defends avarice or rather wise frugality and economy, the rational form of avarice, as al-Djāhīz says. It is dedicated to Sahl's nephews who had reproached him with some remarks he had made in praise of avarice. It is very probable that these remarks were made in the *Kitāb Tha'la wa-Afrā*, as is suggested by the above mentioned passage in al-Ḥuṣrī. Sahl was (according to al-Djāhīz, *al-Bukhālāʾ*, p. 114) with Abū Raḥmān al-Thawrī the first to devote a special book to avarice; this style of book was later imitated by several authors, e. g. by al-Djāhīz himself. Goldziher sees in his praise of avarice a *Shu'ūbī* attack on the national Arab virtue of generosity. He is also said to have written several *Rasā'il* on this subject and al-Ḥuṣrī thinks he wished to show his literary power thereby. An anecdote reports that the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [q. v.], who had sent him by Sahl a treatise on avarice dedicated to him, replied that he had taken the lesson given him to heart; and therefore did not send him the expected reward.

The list of Sahl's other works is given in the *Fihrist*; al-Djāhīz (*Kitāb al-Bayān*, i. 24) mentions three: *Kitāb al-Ikhwān* (in the *Fihrist*: *K. Asbāsiyūs fī Ittiḥād al-Ikhwān*), *K. al-Masā'il* (perhaps the same as *K. Diwān al-Rasā'il* of the *Fihrist*) and *K. al-Makḥzūmī wa 'l-Hudḥaliya* (the same in the *Fihrist*). The greater part of his works presumably belonged to the domain of belles-lettres; the *Kitāb Tadbīr al-Mulk wa 'l-Siyāsa* mentioned in the last place in the *Fihrist* shows, however, that Sahl also dealt with political science. He was also esteemed as a poet, as some poems of his quoted by various authors show. According to the *Fihrist*, however, he did not leave more than 50 pages of poetry. Besides his reputation as a wit, he seems to have achieved fame as a connoisseur (anecdote in Ibn Khallikān); indeed, in Arabic literature there is connection between the *Bukhālāʾ* and the *Akala*.

Sahl b. Hārūn found his greatest admirer and successor in his younger contemporary al-Djāhīz [q. v.] who even published several books under his name and in his *K. al-Bukhālāʾ* followed him in taking avarice as his subject. He praises Sahl as a brilliant representative of all branches of literature (*K. al-Bayān*, *loc. cit.*); whether he was personally acquainted with him is a doubtful question. Sahl's name later became widely known through the *1001 Nights*.

Bibliography: al-*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 120 etc.; Ḥādjīdī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, v. 238 sq.; al-Djāhīz, *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabayyin*, Bulaḡ 1313, i. 30, ii. 150; do., *Kitāb al-Bukhālāʾ*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1900; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Bulaḡ 1293, iii. 335 sq.; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Adāb wa Ṭhamr al-Aḥbāb* (on the margin of the *ʿIqd*), ii. 190 sq., iii. 142; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Kaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1846, p. 243 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 226, Fasc. iii. 29 sq.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, i. 159; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, Leipzig 1864, p. 523; Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, i. 14, 161; Silvestre de Sacy in the *N.E.*, x. 139, 160, 173 sq., 267; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 516;

Iranian influence on Moslem Literature, transl. from the Russian of M. Inostranzew by G. K. Nairman, Bombay 1918, p. 32, 169 sq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD SAHL B. 'ABDALLĀH B. YŪNUS, a Sunnī theologian and mystic, whose language was Arabic, born at Tustar (al-Ahwāz) in 203 (818) and died in exile at Baṣra in 283 (896).

A pupil, through his master Ibn Sawwār, of strict Sunnis like Ṭhawrī and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', Sahl was above all an ascetic of a very strict moral discipline. He was also a theologian with a vast store of intellectual knowledge.

Of his life, apparently quiet and solitary, only one detail is known: his exile to Baṣra at the time of the revolt of the Zindj (about 261=874) when the 'ulamā' of al-Ahwāz condemned his doctrinal treatise on the obligatory character of contrition (*tawba fard*).

Sahl wrote nothing, but his "thousand sayings", collected and edited by his pupil, Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 297/909), presented sufficient dogmatic coherence to give rise to a theological school, the Sālīmiya [q. v.]. It is from Sahl that this school derives its characteristics: experimental introspection practicing the rites of worship and a technical semi-gnostic vocabulary tending to monism.

Sahl's argumentation is purely dialectic (*istidlāl*; *aṣl*, *far'*) like that of the *mutakallimūn*; he does not yet argue in syllogisms in the Greek fashion as his old pupil Ḥallādj [q. v.] was to do after leaving him. In psycho-physics he teaches that man is composed of four elements (*ḥayāt, rūḥ, nūr, ʿim*), that the *rūḥ* is superior to the *nafs* (against the view of the Hellenisers) and that it survives after death (against the view of Mubarrad).

In Qur'anic exegesis each verse has four meanings, literal (*ẓāhir*), allegorical (*bāʿin*), moral (*ḥadd*) and anagogical (*muṭtala*); he admits the Imāmī theory of *al-jafr*. The examples of the prophets should be meditated upon in order that we may gradually attain their state of soul.

For Sahl, as for Ibn Karrām and al-Ash'arī, the "Islamic community" comprises all believers, provided they turn towards the *qibla* (the Sunnī view; opposed to that of the Mu'tazilis and Imāmīs). The word "faith" (*imān*) signifies at once acquiescence with the lips (*ḥawl*), conformity of conduct (*'amal*), identity of intention (*niya*) and inner enjoyment of the real (*yaqīn*).

The true worshipper of God ought first to obey the state and strictly observe the rites: "to love is to extend obedience" (al-Tustarī, also, said "*perinde ac cadaver*"). He is bound to produce actions, in imitation of the Prophet (semi-Mu'tazilī notion of *iktisāb*, opposed to the quietist *tawakkul* of Shāḥik and Ibn Karrām), but he ought continually to turn towards God (*Allāh qiblat al-niya*) with incessant contrition (*tawba fard fi kull waqt*). The analysis that Sahl makes of the stages of the voluntary act, derived from that of al-Muḥāsibī and adopted by al-Ghazālī, remains classic. In the supreme degree the ascetic "expatriated" from the world ought to possess the essential reality of God (*yaqīn*) beyond rites of worship (*ghayba bi 'l-madhkur 'an al-dhikr*); an adumbration of the Ḥallādjī doctrine of mystic union.

In eschatology Sahl uses with discretion the semi-gnostic data of Imāmī origin; the "column

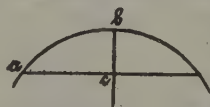
of light" (*'amūd al-nūr*, '*adl makhlūq bihi*'), a kind of "mass of primordial adoration", composed of all the souls of saints to be (as opposed to ordinary men, *adamīyūn*), an adumbration of the *nūr muḥammadiya* of the later mystics. The saints alone are predestined to possess *sirr al-rubūbiya* or *sirr al-anā*, "mystery of the sovereign personality", or "divine right to say 'I'". This idea is an adumbration of the *huwa huwa* [q. v.]. From it Sahl deduced the probability of final rehabilitation for Satan; an idea later developed by Ibn al-'Arabi and 'Abd al-Karīm Jīlī [q. v.].

The *dhikr*-formula which Shāikh Sanūsī ascribes to Sahl (*Salsabil*, s. v. *Suhūliya*) is of modern origin.

Bibliography: Sahl al-Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Na'sānī, Cairo 1326 (artificial compilation); Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Sakallī (who wrote in Kairawān in 390/999 and also left a *ṣifat al-awliyā'*), *Sharḥ wa-bayān limā aṣḥkal min kalām Sahl*, and *Kitāb al-mu'araqa wa'l-radd 'alā ahl al-firāk min kalām Sahl*, MS. Köpr. 727, Stambul; al-Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, transl. Nicholson, London 1911, Index, s. v.; R. Hartmann, *al-Kuschairis Darstellung des Šifitums*, Berlin 1914, Index, s. v.; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p. 264—70; do., *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, Index, s. v.

(L. MASSIGNON)

AL-SAHM, the arrow. *a.* Geometrical term. If one erects a perpendicular *cb* in the middle of a chord of an arc, which reaches to the arc, this is called *al-sahm*, the versed sine (*al-djaib al-ma'kūs*) of the arc *ab*; the sine (*al-djaib al-mustawī*), which corresponds to our sine, is *a c*



(see — in addition to many other passages — *Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm* (ed. v. Vloten), p. 205. The versed sine played a much more impor-

tant part in the older mathematics from the Hindus onwards than it does in modern mathematics (cf. e. g. A. von Braunmühl, *Geschichte der Trigonometrie*). Sine and versed sine are measured in the parts of the radius of the circle, the latter being taken as equal to 60 parts or = 1.

b. Astrological term: Ibn al-Kiftī says that the expression *sahm al-ghaib* (the arrow, the hitting of the secret of the future, see *op. cit.*, p. 327, 338, 410) is astrological. (E. WIEDEMANN)

c. Astronomical term: *Šurat al-Rāmi*, constellation of Sagittarius, and also *al-Kaws*, bow of Sagittarius (cross-bow), a southern constellation of the ecliptic, which, according to Ptolemy and the Arabs, consists of 31 stars mainly of southern latitude, which are almost all of the 3rd to 6th degrees of magnitude. Ptolemy gives only star 24 of Sagittarius (Arabic: *rukbat al-yad al-yusrā*, elbow of the left arm) the magnitude 2—3, while al-Bīrūnī (*al-Kānūn al-Ma'sūdī*, Berl. MS. 275, fol. 205b) gives magnitude 2 for stars 24 and 23 (*ka'b al-yad al-yusrā* = knuckle of the left hand); of Sagittarius in Ulug Beg, however, except star 3 of Sagittarius (*'ala 'l-djanīb al-djanūbi min al-kaws* = the one south of the bow), which, according to him, is 3—2 in magnitude, they are only of the 3rd or lower degrees of magnitude. This 20th Sagittarii is really of 1.9 magnitude (on 'Urkūb al-rāmi see C. A. Nallino, *Opus astronomicum*, ii. 163). The following stars of Sagittarius are also noteworthy: *Naṣl al-sahm*

= point of the arrow, and the so-called "eye of the archer", 'Ain al-rāmi, or, according to al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*), al-Saḥā'ib al-muḍa'af 'ala 'l-'ain = the nebulous double-star which is in the eye. Neither in al-Bīrūnī nor in Ulug-Beg is there any mention of ostriches (the ostrich going to drink and coming back from drinking) which are mentioned by L. Ideler (see below).

Among the Greeks Sagittarius was called *δ τοξότης*, among the Romans Sagittarius, Sagittifer and Arcitenens. There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians or Babylonians knew of al-*Ḳaws* as a bow-constellation. The bow-constellation of the latter was the bow shaped-group of stars $\epsilon\delta\tau$ Canis majoris + $\kappa\lambda$ Puppis.

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p. 183—191; F. W. V. Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Sternnahmen* (Leipzig 1796), p. 83; al-Sūfī, *Description des étoiles fixes composée au milieu du dixième siècle de notre ère par Abd al-Rahman al-Sūfī*; transl. by H. C. F. C. Schjellerup (St. Petersburg 1874), p. 30; E. B. Knobel, *Uluḡ Beg's Catalogue of Stars* (Washington 1917), p. 40, 105. (C. SCHOY)

SAḤNA, a little township in the Persian province of Kermānshāh on the great road between Kangāwar and Bisutūn. The district of Saḥna contains about 28 villages inhabited by settled Turks belonging to the tribe of Khodā-bandelū (of Hamadān). At Saḥna there are a few Ahl-i-Ḥaḳḳ (see the article 'ALĪ ILĀHĪ), who are in touch with their spiritual superiors in Dīnawar (see DĪNAWAR), a frontier district in the north. Saḥna must not be confused with Senne, the capital of the Persian province of Kurdistān, the former residence of the Walis of Ardilān [q. v.]. Quite near Saḥna on the steep bank of the stream are two funerary chambers carved out of the rock and dating in all probability from the Achaemenid period. A Saḥna (with S, not with Ṣ) near An-bār [q. v.] is mentioned by Yāqūt.

Bibliography: E. Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851, i. 413; Čirikov in the *Putevoi journal* of 1848—1852, St. Petersburg 1875, was the first to give a description of the two tombs; Rabino, *Kermanchah RMM*, vol. xxxviii., March 1920, p. 1—40; E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin 1920, p. 8 (detailed description of the principal tombs. (V. MINORSKY)

SAHNÜN, 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. SA'ĪD B. ḤABĪB AL-TANŪKHĪ, was nicknamed Sahnün after the name of a sprightly bird on account of his quick wit. His father Sa'īd had come as a soldier from Ḥims to Ḳairawān, where Sahnün was born in 160 = 776/77. Apparently his father was not rich but Sahnün enjoyed the teaching of the best scholars of his native city, especially al-Buhlūl b. Rāshid (d. 183; Ibn Farḥūn, p. 104), and when Sahnün went to Tunis to pursue his studies there his teacher wrote a letter of recommendation to 'Alī b. Ziyād (d. 183) in consequence of which 'Alī, out of respect for al-Buhlūl, used to come to the lodgings of Sahnün to teach him what he had learned from Mālik. In the year 178, according to his son Muḥammad, he went to Egypt to study under the pupils of Mālik b. Anas and met there 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim, Ibn Wahb and Aḡḡhab, who were prominent followers of Mālik. This was the year before the death of

Mālik and Sahnün had brought with him from Ḳairawān the portions of the *Muwatta'* of Mālik which Anas b. al-Furāt had heard under the master. When some questions arising out of the study of the *Muwatta'* were discussed before 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim, Sahnün required further information and he was asked why he did not travel to hear Mālik himself. He replied that his poverty and lack of money alone prevented him. This association with 'Abd al-Raḥmān was of far-reaching consequences for the spread of the Mālikī school of law in the West. Most authorities place the journey of Sahnün to the East in 188, but this is an evident error, as it is also stated that he went there during the life of Mālik, who died in 179 A. H. He later had the gratification of travelling further and performed the pilgrimage in company of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Aḡḡhab and Ibn Wahb riding on the camel behind the latter. Later he visited also al-Medīna and Syria studying under the most prominent followers of Mālik. He returned to Ḳairawān in 191 and made it his calling to spread the doctrines of Mālik. Some of his biographers state that he was the first who introduced these doctrines into the West, but before him 'Alī b. Ziyād, al-Buhlūl and Asad b. al-Furāt had taught the *Muwatta'* or at least parts of it. Sahnün worked out the doctrines in a large work, the *Mudawwana*, the basis of which was the text of Asad b. al-Furāt, which he commented by questioning 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim upon the most trivial points. Here the acumen of Ibn al-Ḳāsim and Sahnün come into prominence. Sahnün asks: "Is this point confirmed by tradition or the teaching of Mālik?" and Ibn al-Ḳāsim answers: "This was the teaching of Mālik" or "this is my own opinion" (*hadḥa ra'yī*). We see that great scope was given in the *Mudawwana* to rational judgment and no attempt is made to introduce genuine or forged traditions to affirm a point of law. In consequence the *Mudawwana* is quite a readable book in clear language and a safe guide to the genius of the compiler and his teacher. When Wahb, a foster-brother of Sahnün, died, Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād, who preceded Sahnün in the office of judge, said the prayers and Sahnün refused to say them after him because Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād was a Mu'tazilī. When the ruler Ziyād Allāh (reigned 201—223) heard of this he commanded the governor of Ḳairawān to give him 500 stripes. His wazīr 'Alī b. Ḥumaid hearing this stopped the messenger bearing the order and went to the amīr to get the sentence revoked. He pointed out that al-Buhlūl had succumbed to a similar punishment (in 183) inflicted by order of the governor Muḥammad b. Muḳātil. Ziyādāt Allāh then forgave him. During the short usurpation of Aḡḡhab b. al-Aḡḡlab (231—232) he introduced the inquisition about the creation of the *Ḳur'ān* and Sahnün fled from Ḳairawān to the hermitage of an ascetic named 'Abd al-Raḥīm at Ḳaṣr Ziyād. Aḡḡhab sent a courtier named Ibn Sulṭān to arrest Sahnün, because he knew that the latter hated Sahnün, like most courtiers, on account of his severe criticism concerning the licentious life at Court. The malevolence of Aḡḡhab, however, made Ibn Sulṭān to lean towards Sahnün. He was apprehended and led captive to Ḳairawān, but when they were about a mile from the city they received news that Muḥammad b. al-Aḡḡlab had regained his

power and that Aḥmad had been killed. This caused Sahnūn to be liberated. One of the first acts of Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab was to depose the Qaḍī 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī 'l-Djawād. This act met with the approval of Sahnūn, who exclaimed in the presence of both: "May God reward the amir for freeing the people of their oppressor". Muḥammad now, in 233 A. H., offered the office of judge to Sahnūn who for a whole year, refused to accept it but finally accepted it in Ramaḍān 234. He said on that occasion to his daughter Khadija: "To-day thy father has been stabbed without a knife". Others had proposed Sulaimān b. 'Imrān for the post, but he refused, saying that while Sahnūn lived no one else was competent to fill the office. Sahnūn accepted no presents or salary from the amir, but defrayed his expenses and those of his officials from the poll-tax imposed upon non-Muslims. To perform his duties as judge undisturbed he had a room built adjoining the mosque and admitted only the litigants and their witnesses. One of his first acts was also to exclude all heretical sects from the mosque, as there were many Šufriis, Ibāḍiis and Mu'taziliis at Ẕairawān; he was also the first to appoint a regular Imām for the mosque and the first who placed pledged property with trustworthy persons in the town, while up to his time pledges had been kept in the house of the judge. Sahnūn as a judge treated all parties with the utmost courtesy and did his utmost to appease any fears of litigants and witnesses by telling them to say frankly what they knew. In answering legal questions he was very careful, as he believed that hasty replies led to more trouble than anything else. Biographers of later times know of many *karāmāt* (blessings accruing through his influence), which proves the veneration in which he was held. He died on Sunday the 6th or 7th of Rāḍjab, 240 A. H. and his death in spite of his great age caused general consternation in Ẕairawān. Brockelmann in his History of Arabic Literature says that it was due to Asad b. al-Furāt and Ibn al-Kāsim that the doctrine of Mālik spread in the West, but, as already mentioned, the merit is principally due to the work of Sahnūn in arranging and publishing the *Mudawwana*, which, though based upon the *Muwatta'* of Mālik, is a much more comprehensive work. Manuscripts are comparatively scarce, but the work has been printed in two editions in Cairo, one in 4 volumes 4^{to} printed 1324/5 and the other in 16 parts dated 1905/6 in 8^{vo}. There exist in private hands seven parts written on parchment in Ẕairawān about the year 400, which I have been able to consult and which, I hope, will find their way into a public library.

The work of Sahnūn being too large for quick reference was abbreviated by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Zaid (died 386 A. H.), whose work has been printed several times. I have also seen an early manuscript written before 400 A. H., in private ownership, entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Mudawwana*. This work contains also a few additions by Ibn Abī Zaid. Another abbreviation is by Abū Sa'īd Khālaf b. al-Kāsim al-Azdī al-Barādhī, who was one of the principal pupils of Ibn Abī Zaid. He re-arranged the abbreviation in the order of the *Mudawwana* and omitted the additions of Ibn Abī Zaid. This work has found many commentators (Ibn Farḥūn, ed. Fās, p. 115). Among the many commentaries written upon the

Mudawwana is one by Sahnūn's son Muḥammad, 2) by Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd al-Khalīk al-Suyūrī, who died in Ẕairawān in 460. 3) By Abū Ishāq 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī 'Imrān al-Fāsi, who died in 443. 4) Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Raba'ī, who died in Sfāx in 478. 5) Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ibn al-Šā'igh. 6) Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zarwīlī al-Šughair, who died in 719. The latter's commentary consists of 12 volumes. Abū 'l-Walid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ruṣḥd wrote an exposition of difficult passages of the *Mudawwana* entitled *al-Muḥaddamāt al-mumahhidāt*, which has been printed in Cairo (1325) in two vols. 4^{to}.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Dabbāgh, *Ma'alim al-Imān* (Tunis 1320-25), ii. 49—68; Ibn Farḥūn, *Diwānī* (Fās), p. 171; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 355 = Cairo 1310, i. 291; 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrākushī (ed. Dozy, Leiden 1847), 201; *Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, passim; Khushanī (ed. Madrid 1914), p. 101, 107, 108 and 156 of the Arabic text; Houdas, *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orient. Vivantes* (principally after Dabbāgh); Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 177; Vincent, *Études sur la loi musulmane*; Introduction the Cairo edition 1324/5, vol. i. 63—65. (F. KREMKOW)

SAḤŪL, a village in South Arabia, in Bilād al-Kalā' in the Yemen, half a day's journey from Ẕafār. Saḥūl, which was called *Miṣr al-Yemen* on account of its wealth in corn, was celebrated for the Saḥūlī cloaks (*saḥūliya*) made there of white cotton.

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ŠAHYŪN. [See ŠIHYAWN].

ŠĀ'IB, MİRZĀ MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ, whose *takhalluṣ* was ŠĀ'IB, a Persian poet, born about 1012 (1603) near Iṣfahān, hence called Iṣfahānī, though also called Tabrizī, because his father Mīrzā 'Abd al-Rahīm came from Tabriz. This 'Abd al-Rahīm moved to 'Abbāsābād near Iṣfahān, where he was appointed *kadkhudāy* of the merchants of 'Abbāsābād. Ḥakīm Ruknāyī Kāshī and Ḥakīm Shifā'ī Iṣfahānī are mentioned as Šā'ib's masters in poetry. He spent a considerable time in India, where the governor of Kābul, Ẕafār Khān, became his patron and obtained his introduction to the court of Shāh Djahān. He afterwards followed Ẕafār Khān to Kāshmir, whence he ultimately returned home to Persia. Shāh 'Abbās II gave him the title *Maliku 'l-Shu'arā'*. He died at Iṣfahān in 1080 (1677) but other dates are also given (see *Catalogue Bankipore*, iii. 148).

Šā'ib was one of the most prolific Persian poets of the later period; Oriental critics place him very high; according to them, he was the creator of a new style. His works are, in addition to a romantic poem, *Mahmūd u Āyaz* (Éthé in the *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, ii. 250), *kaṣida's*, *ghazals* (in Persian and in Turki), *maṭn awī's* and shorter

poems. On account of the great bulk of his *Diwān* anthologies from it have been compiled: *Wādību 'l-Hifz-i Mīrsā Şa'ib* of Darwish 'Amīlā al-Balkhī; *Mīr'ātu 'l-Djāmāl*; one author makes the remarkable assertion that these anthologies were compiled by the poet himself (*Cat. Bankipore*, iii. 149). The *Diwān* was published in Lucknow in 1292 A. H.

Bibliography: Ethé in the *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, ii. 250, 312; Sachau-Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian . . . Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i. 697 sqq.; Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Indian Office*, i. 880 sqq.; Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, cf. index iii. under *Şa'ib*; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 693, 807, 1001; do., *Supplement*, p. 287, 235, 267; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Handschr. der K. K. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, i. 589, 597, 609, iii. 508; Sprenger, *Catalogue of the . . . Manuscr. of the libraries of the King of Oudh*, i. 384 sqq.; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, iii. 146; Browne, *History of Persian Literature in modern times*, p. 164 sq., 265 sq. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SA'ID B. AL-ĀŞ B. SA'ID B. AL-ĀŞ B. UMAIYA B. 'ABD ŞHAMS B. 'ABD MANĀF B. KUŞAIY, governor of Kūfa and Medīna. At the death of Muḥammad, Sa'īd was about nine years old; his father had fallen among the unbelievers at Badr. Sa'īd was a member of one of the most prominent families of the *Kuraish* and was especially noted for his liberality and eloquence. He was held in high respect by 'Othmān and when the latter had decided to establish a definite text for the *Korān*, Sa'īd was nominated to the committee appointed for the purpose. In the year 29 (649/650) or 30 (650/651) 'Othmān appointed the young and inexperienced Sa'īd to be governor of Kūfa in place of al-Walīd b. 'Ukba who had made himself impossible. During his governorship he undertook expeditions against *Tabaristān* and *Djurdjān* and suppressed unrest there but aroused unpopularity among the people of Kūfa by his aggressive demeanour. The Kūfans complained, but without success, to the Caliph, but when Sa'īd's attitude continued to give cause for discontent ten men of Kūfa, among them the respected and influential *Malik al-Ashtar*, appeared before 'Othmān and demanded the dismissal of Sa'īd, who was with the Caliph at the time. 'Othmān declined to pay heed to the complaint and ordered Sa'īd to return to his post at once. But al-Ashtar was not satisfied with this; he returned without delay to Kūfa and stirred up the easily roused inhabitants, and when Sa'īd was on his way back to Kūfa, al-Ashtar's emissaries met him with a strong force and compelled him to return to Medīna at once. Al-Ashtar then went into the mosque in Kūfa and proclaimed *Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī* [q. v.] governor on his own initiative. After those present had taken the oath of fealty to the Caliph, al-Ash'arī agreed to be chosen as governor and 'Othmān confirmed the appointment. Sa'īd had remained in Medīna and when the rebels attacked the Caliph in his house Sa'īd fought for him until he was himself severely wounded. When *Talḥa*, al-Zubair and 'Ā'isha left Mecca after the assassination of 'Othmān and went to Baṣra to raise the troops there for their cause Sa'īd at first went with them;

but when he reached Marr al-Zahrān or, according to another authority, *Dhāt 'Irq*, he declined to accompany the others any farther, because he did not believe in the honourable intentions of the two leaders of the enterprise, *Talḥa* and al-Zubair, and endeavoured to dissuade the others from the project. Marwān b. al-Hakam contradicted his assertions, but al-Mughira b. *Shu'ba* joined Sa'īd, whereupon these two with a few others separated from the other members of the party. Sa'īd then settled in Mecca and did not take part in the battle of the Camel nor in the battle of *Ṣiffin*. During the reign of Mu'āwīya he was governor of Medīna alternately with Marwān b. al-Hakam. Marwān filled the office first; then came Sa'īd's turn and when he was dismissed the former received the post again. But after a time he was again dismissed and Sa'īd once more appointed his successor. Sa'īd died on his estate in al-'Aḳīk, according to the most usual statement in 59 (678/679), according to others, as early as 53 (672/673) or 57 (676/677) or 58 (677/678).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'īd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, v. 19 sqq.; al-Nawawī (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 281 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, ii. 309 sqq.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii. N^o. 5058; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), iii and iv. passim; al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 119, 198, 280, 322, 328 sq., 334, 336; al-Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 152, 190, 192, 207, 267, 283 sq.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 118 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, see Index. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SA'ID B. AWS. [See *ABU ZAID*].

SA'ID B. MAS'ADA. [See *AL-AKHFAH*].

SA'ID B. ZAID B. 'AMR B. NUFAIL B. KA'B B. LU'AIY, one of Muḥammad's earliest companions. His mother was *Fāṭima bint Ba'dja* b. Umaiya of the clan of *Khuzā'a*. His *kunya* is *Abu 'l-A'war* or *Abū Thawr*. He was one of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's cousins and at the same time his brother-in-law through his wife, who was 'Umar's sister, as well as through 'Umar's wife who was his sister. He assumed *Islām* before Muḥammad entered the house of *Zaid b. al-Aḳkam* and 'Umar's conversion is said to have taken place under the influence of Sa'īd and his family.

His father, *Zaid b. 'Amr*, was one of the *ḥanīf's*; he was much interested in monotheism, refused to worship idols, warned his contemporaries against idolatry and confessed the "religion of Abraham" (cf. *ZAID B. 'AMR*). It is said that he died in the year when the *Ka'ba* was rebuilt, an event in which also Muḥammad is said to have taken part.

Sa'īd migrated with the Muslims to Medīna, where Muḥammad allied him with *Rāfi' b. Malik al-Zurāqī*, or, according to others, with *Ubayy b. Ka'b*.

When the rumour of the return of the *kuraishite* caravan from Syria reached Medīna, Sa'īd, together with *Talḥa b. 'Ubaid Allāh*, was sent on scouting service. They met the caravan at al-*Hawrā'* and hurried back to Medīna to report the news. But Muḥammad was already on the way to Badr and the battle took place without their taking part in it. They nevertheless obtained their portion from the booty. Sa'īd was present at all the other *ma-shāhid* and distinguished himself in the battle of *Adjnādain* (13 A. H.), where he was at the head of the cavalry, in the battle of *Fijl* (13 A. H.), where the infantry was under his command, and in the battle of the *Yarmūk* (15 A. H.).

At 'Umar's death Sa'id belonged to those who promoted 'Uthmān's election as Caliph. Yet he was not content with his government, though he did not join the 'Alid party.

He died in 50 or 51 A. H. in 'Aḳīḳ near Medina, where he was buried. It is said that he reached the age of over 70 years. According to others, he died as governor of al-Kūfa under Mu'āwīya.

Sa'id never played the first role in the Muslim community. He was honoured because of his early conversion and belongs to the ten who were promised Paradise (*'aṣḥāra mubārakihara*). Muḥammad is sometimes (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 187 sq.) represented as ascending mount Hira' or Uhud with some of his companions. As the mountain begins to tremble, he says: "Stand fast, oh mountain, for on thee walk a prophet, a *siddīq* and witnesses." Then he proceeds to testify his companions, among whom Sa'id mentions himself in a veiled manner in some traditions. Some of the forms of this report remind us of Jesus' transfiguration on the mountain (Matthew 17).

Sa'id belonged to those whose curse (*du'ā'*) is efficacious. This is illustrated in the story of a woman who, being cursed by him, became blind and was drowned in a well into which she happened to fall because of her blindness.

Sa'id's *musnad*, i. e. the traditions handed down on his authority, is to be found in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, i. 187—190.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'id, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, iii./i. 275—281; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *Uṣd al-Ḡhāba*, s.v.; Ibn Hiṣḥām, ed. Wüstefeld, index; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, *Indices*, s.v.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, *Indices*, s.v.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SA'ID PASHA, called KÜÇÜK (the "little"), not so much to indicate that he was particularly small in body as simply to distinguish him from numerous other Sa'id's, was with the reformer and organiser Aḥmed Midḥat Pasha the greatest statesman in Turkey of the last half century. He was born in 1254 (1838) in Erzerüm and died in Constantinople on March 1, 1914; he was the son of 'Alī Nāmıḳ Efendi, at one time "controller of expenditure on the eastern frontier" and trusted adviser to the governor of the day, who had been for a period consul and later Turkish *chargé d'affaires* in Teherān (d. Oct. 4, 1853); Sa'id came from a pure Turkish family of Angora, the Seb'a-zāde. He is buried in the cemetery in Eiyüb near the Ḥaǧret-i Khālid mosque. His twin brother Reḥid died prematurely and his younger brother Mehmed Ferid at his death in 1882 was *Tahrir-i Emlāk Mūdiri*.

Sa'id received his early education in Erzerüm. When 16 he entered the civil service there, in which he was destined to have a brilliant career and pass through all stages up to the very highest office. Two years later he was moved to a post in the military administration of Anatolia, then came in the course of his duties to Constantinople, where his versatility procured him a post in the office of the Supreme Council. He accompanied the Inspector-General to Salonica, Monastir, Janina and Trikkala. He next became general-secretary for Janina, and then for Salonica, after which he filled successively the offices of Director of the Imperial Printing Press in Constantinople, Manager of the official newspaper, *Takvīm-i Waḳāyif*, General-Secretary to the Council of State, to the Ministry of Commerce, to the Grand-Vizierate, to the

Ministry of Education and in 1875 Councillor of the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture and Member of the Commission on reforms. From Sept. 1, 1876, to Jan. 10, 1878, he occupied the important and influential position of trust of First Secretary to 'Abd al-Ḥamid.

After acting for a short time as Wall of Angora and of Brussa (*Khındāwendigār*) he became Grand Vizier in 1879, an office which he filled nine times in all, a record attained by no other Grand Vizier, although, as regards length of tenure of the office, many others have considerably exceeded his total period of 7 lunar years and 15 days. He was also at different times Minister of the Civil List, of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs and of Justice.

The list which he himself gives of his first seven periods of office as Grand Vizier, in his *Ṣadr-i ṣabāḥ Sa'id Paṣhanın ghaṣetalarile neṣir ettiyi mektublerin färeleri-dir: sene 1324 (1908)*, a collection of his articles published in the *Ṭanin* and in the *Ṣabāḥ*, contains a number of discrepancies in the dates which we shall endeavour to remedy here. The dates are not without importance for the history of the Young Turk movement.

Sa'id Pasha was Grand Vizier (after the introduction of the so-called Constitution of Midḥat the title "First Minister" was used until Sa'id in 1882 again introduced the traditional title Grand Vizier, *Ṣadr a'zam* [q. v.]) as follows:

- 1) October, 1879—June, 1880;
- 2) September, 1880—May, 1882;
- 3) June, 1882—November, 1882;
- 4) December 2, 1882—September 25, 1885;
- 5) June 9, 1895—October 3, 1895;
- 6) November 18, 1901—January 15, 1903;
- 7) July 22, 1908—August 6, 1908: restoration of the Constitution;
- 8) October 4, 1911—December 30, 1911;
- 9) December 31, 1911—July 17, 1912.

Sa'id was a trustworthy guide to his country at a very difficult time, the period of continual endeavour to link up with modern European development, although his abilities as statesman and organiser could not obtain full scope in view of the special conditions of the times. He was a statesman of the old school, conservative, but quite friendly to reforms. To 'Abd al-Ḥamid he was a faithful and indispensable councillor and he seems to have brilliantly seconded him in his aim of gathering all power into his own hands and making the Yıldız the political centre of gravity to the exclusion of the Sublime Porte. At all events he is silent in his "Memoirs" regarding his activities as First Secretary to the Sultān, although the Young Turks for a time laid special emphasis on his work during this period. He seems also to have been not unconnected with the notorious document in defence of 'Abd al-Ḥamid's regime by Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi (*Üss-i İnḳılāb* and supplement *Zübde al-Ḥaḳā'iq*, 1877 and 1878). Except for Aḥmed Wefik Pasha, Sa'id was the only real personality among the creatures of the Sultān and he was able to retain the respect and esteem of both friends and opponents.

In a way quite unusual in a Turkish statesman he laid stress on his pure Turkish blood and on a specifically Turkish patriotism. He sought as far as possible to limit the spread of foreign influence in Turkey although he was regarded as Anglophile and progressive. On Dec. 4, 1895 he had to seek refuge in the British Embassy at Constantinople to escape an order from the Sultān for his arrest,

until 'Abd al-Hamid gave a written guarantee of safety. He spent the next six years, however, in his *konak* in Nishantash in a retirement which was practically confinement to the house until he was again summoned to power.

During his "English flight" he drew up his scheme for writing his reminiscences, although he could hardly expect to publish such a work during the regime of 'Abd al-Hamid.

In spite of many attacks by the court camarilla, among whom he had many opponents, and the open enmity of Kamil Pasha, his great antagonist from 1886 to 1913, he had been able to make himself indispensable; in any situation of particular difficulty they always came back to him, who possessed an unusual degree of energy and an unfailing breadth of vision in matters of policy, in spite of his submissive disposition. He never prejudiced himself in the slightest but retired as soon as his own views became too much in contrast to those of the Sultan. As early as 1896 he had had the courage to demand an independent responsible ministry.

At the outbreak of the revolution of 1908 he was entrusted by 'Abd al-Hamid with the restoration of the constitution. But he retired as soon as the Young Turks demanded an entire change of system and complete breach with the past and handed over the Grand Vizierate to Kamil Pasha. But when the Italian campaign in Tripoli had to be settled and the Balkan War, which had taken so unexpectedly a tragic turn, as a result of the destruction of the whole organisation of state and army in Turkey by the doctrinaire Young Turks, seriously threatened the stability of the Empire, it was again Sa'id who was called upon to save what was still left to save. His power of adaptation was so great that he was now regarded as a Young-Turkish statesman.

In the first three sessions of the new parliament he was President of the Senate. In this capacity also he presided over the National Assembly in S. Stefano on April 22, 1909, which declared that the proceedings of the besieging army were in accordance with the wishes of the people, whereupon 'Abd al-Hamid was deposed on April 27, 1909.

When the Young-Turk party came to political power, he became President of the Council of State but later handed over this office to Khalil Bey and retained only the presidency of the Senate, which he had received after the assassination of Mahmud Shefkat Pasha in succession to the Albanian Ferid Pasha on June 11, 1913. He was still President when he died after a month's long illness at the age of 76.

Sa'id is probably the first Turkish statesman who left his memoirs, a work of the first historical importance. It was published in 3 volumes in Constantinople (1328) under the title *Sa'id Pashanin Khafirati*, but this does not seem to be complete. The circumstances of the time prevented these reminiscences being fully utilised; although biassed in many directions, they form documentary material of inestimable value for contemporary history and were published to defend his policy, when he took refuge in publicity. Only Kamil Pasha, whom he exposed more than any other of his opponents (d. Nov. 14, 1913 at Larnaca in Cyprus), at once replied in his pamphlet *Kamil Pashanin A'yan Re'isi Sa'id Pashaya Djewableri*, 2nd ed., Constantinople 1328, and followed this up with his own

memoirs, *Sadr-i sabik Kamil Pashanin Khafirati*, Constantinople 1329; *Ta'rikhi siyasi-i Dewlet-i 'aliye*. Zihni Pasha also replied ("Presentation of the Truth", Constantinople 1327).

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(TH. MENZEL)

SA'ID PASHA, Viceroys (Khedive) of Egypt from 1854 to 1863. Muhammad Sa'id, youngest son of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, was born in 1822. His father had a very high opinion of this, his fourth, son whom he sent when only 19 to Constantinople to conduct negotiations regarding the tribute to be paid by Egypt.

Sa'id, who was francophil, was not on good terms with his nephew and predecessor, 'Abbās I [q.v.]. The latter had done everything possible to induce the Porte to alter the law of succession formulated by the Sultan's firmān in favour of Muhammad 'Ali and to secure the succession in direct line for his own descendants by abolishing the law by which the eldest living descendant of the founder of the dynasty was always called to succeed to the throne. Sa'id would thus have been excluded but 'Abbās died before he could realise his project. By an intrigue, however, the death of 'Abbās was kept secret for a week and it was only then that Sa'id was able to enforce his claim to the throne (July, 1854).

Sa'id was a well intentioned prince and quite popular, although he had not the energy of his father, perhaps on account of his indifferent health. In November, 1856, he created a kind of Council of State, composed of princes of the blood, four generals and four high dignitaries. He relaxed the extreme centralisation of the administration instituted by Muhammad 'Ali and contributed considerably to relieve the economic position of the people by promulgating an agrarian law which granted all his subjects the right henceforth to own landed property and to dispose of it freely (1858). It was he who first attempted to abolish the trade in negro-slaves (visit to Khartūm in 1857). In the reign of Sa'id as in that of his predecessor the policy of expansion southwards was not continued. The Sudan received certain privileges and prince Halim was appointed governor. Sa'id kept up the Egyptian contingent of 18,000 men which 'Abbās had sent to reinforce the Turkish army in the Crimean War and he also allowed a regiment of fallāḥin to take part in an expedition sent by Napoleon III to Mexico. By making it, however,

possible for the fallāḥīn to obtain the rank of officer, he began the gradual diminution of the power of resistance of the Egyptian army.

In his reign the railway between Cairo and Suez was finished and a telegraph concession granted to the Eastern Telegraph Company. The Bank of Egypt was founded in 1854. The most important act of his reign was undoubtedly the concession which he granted to Ferdinand de Lesseps in 1856 to construct the Suez Canal. Although English diplomacy was able for two years to prevent the Sublime Porte from ratifying the concession, it was owing to the perseverance of the Khedive that the work could be begun in 1859, the necessary labour being supplied by levies raised by conscription from the fallāḥīn. The town of Port Said situated at the northern exit of the canal is called after Sa'īd Pāshā.

Finally, it was in the reign of Sa'īd that Egypt's foreign debt originated. The financial embarrassment resulting from the military help given to Turkey and from public works necessitated a loan of over £ 3,000,000 sterling from a London banking-house. This was the first step on the disastrous path later followed by Ismā'īl Pāshā.

In 1860 Sa'īd Pāshā travelled to Europe; during his absence his place was taken by the heir presumptive Ismā'īl Pāshā, his nephew. He died at Alexandria on Jan. 17, 1863, and was buried in that town.

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AL-ŞA'ID or ŞA'ID MIŞR, the Arabic name for Upper Egypt. The region thus named extends from the south of Cairo to the cataract of Assuan: at the present day the expression has no administrative significance and, indeed, has not had since the time of the Mamlūks. Besides, the political frontier of Egypt now extends to within reach of Wādī Halfā, thus including the whole of Lower Nubia. The expression, however, is still used, for it preserves a very marked geographical distinction, which contrasts the long narrow valley of the Nile above Cairo to the large fan-shaped area of alluvial deposits of Lower Egypt, in Arabic, the low [country] (*asfal al-arḍ*). Indeed, the word Şa'īd has always been limited in application to the cultivated regions bordering on the river, excluding the Faiyūm and the Oases of the Libyan Desert. This strip, about 600 miles long, extremely narrow in places (3 to 6 miles on an average), reduced to the bed of the river only at certain points between Edfū and Assuan, reaches its maximum breadth in the neighbourhood of Banī Su'ēf (15 miles). Upper Egypt is now divided into 8 *mudiriyyas* called, with one exception, after their chief towns: Gizeh (Djize), Banī Su'ēf, Faiyūm, Minya, Asyūt (to which are attached the Oases of Dākhle and Khārgē), Gīrgā (chief town Sōhāg), Kenā and Assuan.

The Arabs after the conquest of Egypt retained

the division into pagarchies, which they called *kūra's*, a transcription of the Greek *χώρα*. Upper Egypt corresponded to the duchies of Arcadia and the Thebaid, a memory of which is still retained in the division of the Şa'īd into *a'lā* (upper) and *adnā* (lower); Yākūt even makes three divisions: *Şa'īd a'lā* from Assuan to Akhmīm, an intermediate region stretching northwards as far as Bahnasā and the *Şa'īd adnā* which stretched to Fustāt. As a matter of fact there were three Byzantine duchies, of which two were in the Thebaid, and the frontier between the latter lay south of Panopolis (Akhmīm).

If we compare the list of the *kūra's* preserved by al-Maḡrīzī with that of the pagarchies given by Hierocles, we find that the alterations are quite insignificant. In course of time certain towns fell into decay and gave place to younger ones; for example Philai which became supplanted by Assuan. An administrative redistribution took place under the Fātimids. They introduced a division into large provinces (*'amal*) which has survived in its main lines to the present day. The nine or ten provinces of the Fātimids, the Aiyūbids and the Mamlūks, corresponded to the eight *mudiriyya's* of to-day. The most notable differences were the following: the provinces of Aṭfīhiya and of Bū-ṣṣiriya combined into one province from the Mamlūk period under the name of Aṭfīhiya have given place to the *mudiriyya* of Banī Su'ēf. Minya has succeeded to Bahnasā, now an insignificant town. The former districts of Ashmūnain and Manfalūt (the latter intermittently) have gone to increase the province of Asyūt. In the south we still find the two mediaeval subdivisions but their capitals have been removed from Akhmīm and Kūš to Gīrgā and Kenā. On account of the frequent Nubian inroads, Assuan down to the end of the Mamlūk period was considered as a limes (*thaghr*) without administrative autonomy, being under the governor of the province of Kūš, whose authority extended eastwards as far as 'Aidhāb. The Oases sometimes formed an independent province and sometimes were administered by officers who held them as *ikhṭā'* (as part salary).

Although we find under the Fātimids the title *wālī 'l-Şa'īd al-a'lā*, we cannot say with certainty that the reference is not to the governor of the province of Kūš, which was in the middle ages the most important in Upper Egypt. It is certain, on the other hand, that under the Mamlūks the various provincial governors were under a governor-general of Upper Egypt called at first *kāshif al-waḍiḥ al-kibī*, then *nā'ib al-waḍiḥ al-kibī* when Barḳūḳ gave this official the rank of *nā'ib al-salṭana*. Al-Kāḷkashandī gives the following account of the administration of Upper Egypt at the beginning of the ixth/xvth century: two governors of different ranks shared the authority there; alongside of the *nā'ib*, who administered the Nile valley, there was a *kāshif*, who governed the Faiyūm and the province of Bahnasā, the latter having at its head a *wālī*. Below the *nā'ib*, who lived at Asyūt, there were three governors of the first class, at Ashmūnain, Kūš and Assuan, and three of the second class, at Gizeh, Aṭfīh and Manfalūt.

Under Turkish administration Upper Egypt comprised 24 *kāshiflik*, a list of which is given us by Vansleben.

The population of Egypt has almost doubled in the last 35 years:

1882	6,818,000 inhabitants
1897	9,734,405 "
1907	11,287,359 "
1917	12,750,918 "

Although none of the great centres of population are in Upper Egypt, the figures for certain towns are quite high and a comparison with the figures for 1897 shows that the towns of the Ša'īd have in general prospered in the last 20 years except in the extreme south: Asyūt 51,431 (compared with 42,000); Madīnat al-Faiyūm 44,000 (31,000); Minya 34,945 (20,400); Banī Su'ef 31,986 (15,000); Kenā 23,357 (27,500); Sōhāg 20,760 (14,000); Gīzeh 18,714 (16,820); Kūs 13,000 (14,200); Assuan 11,293 (13,000). The population was greater in the middle ages as we may deduce from the figures given for the deaths during the drought of 806 (1403); there were 17,000 deaths at Kūs, 11,000 at Asyūt, 15,000 at Hū, now a wretched little hamlet about 20 miles west of Kenā.

The settled population of Upper Egypt is in the main autochthonous, whether converts to Islām or Jacobite Copts. The latter are especially numerous in the Ša'īd, especially between Asyūt and Esne. Al-Kalkashandī and al-Maḥrizī give in detail the list of Arab tribes who were settled in Upper Egypt; the principal were the Balī, Djuhaina, who penetrated right into Central Africa, and especially the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaim, whose ultimate emigration into North Africa is celebrated in history. Their old names do not seem to have survived and the descendants of these tribes are now known by other names (*Fāwāiya*, *Ma'za*, *Banū Wāṣil*, *Aṣṭuwānī*). The Banu 'l-Kanz alone, an isolated branch of the Rabī'a, still exist in the Assuan region under the name of Kunūz. There is no longer any trace of the Berber tribes who accompanied the Fātimids into Egypt (Luwāta, Hawwāra). On the other hand, we still find in the southern part of Upper Egypt the nomadic Bedja who have often been identified with the ancient Blimmys. Their principal subdivisions at the present day, the *ʿAbāde* and the *Bishārīn*, lead a nomadic life in the Arabian desert from the latitude of Asyūt to beyond Nubia, leading a miserable existence on the products of their camels and goats.

The Bedja played an important role during the period of Arab domination, for they held the flourishing port of ʿAidhāb where one embarked for Djidda, Yemen and the Indies. This town was linked by caravan routes with Assuan, Zafū and Kūs; this last road Kūs—ʿAidhāb was the most frequented and assumed considerable importance during the Crusades from 460 to 660 (1068—1262), for it was the usual road for pilgrims. This road is now nothing but a memory. This is not the case with the Kenā—al-Ḳoṣair road, which is still in use at the present day: the starting point on the Nile used to be Kūs, which had taken the place of the ancient Coſitos (Ḳeſt). The Bedja country aroused the cupidity of the Egyptian government which under the Mamlūks succeeded in exploiting on its own account the gold mines of al-ʿAllāḳī in Lower Nubia. Farther north in the desert between Keft and Assuan (granite quarries) the Mamlūk sultāns also worked an emerald mine. The valley of the Nile in the strict sense of the word, an alluvial formation, is an excellent soil for the growth of cereals: agricultural

development has been improved in recent years by the construction of the barrages of Assuan, Esne and Asyūt which allow more perfect use to be made of the waters of the Nile. Industry is almost non-existent here and here again we have a contrast with the prosperity in the middle ages. The looms (wool for clothes and carpets, cotton, silk and linen) were then extremely numerous: we may mention those of al-Ashmūnain, Akhmīm, Asyūt and Bahnasā.

Muḥammadan art is poorly represented in Upper Egypt: at Madīnat al-Faiyūm, Asyūt and Gīrgā, however, we find mosques with a certain amount of character. We must also mention the mosques of al-Bāb and Bilāl, south of Assuan, built of unbaked bricks which have a minaret surmounted by a small dome — a fairly frequent type in this region even in the villages (e.g. Shanhūr, south of Kūs). The Fātimid minbars of Kūs and Bahnasā should not be omitted. As to epigraphy, Asyūt, Kūs and Sōhāg have preserved Kūfic inscriptions and we find Mamlūk decrees at Edfū, Minya, Madīnat al-Faiyūm, Asyūt, Sōhāg, Kūs and Kūṣiya. This is not the place to discuss the monuments of ancient Egypt: it is sufficient to say that the Arab authors describe the temples in their fashion and have localised here a series of legends. We may note, however, that they paid no attention to the buildings of Thebes-Carnac and that in compensation we have a fine description of the temple of Akhmīm, destroyed in the xvth century.

Dja'far Aduwī, a writer of the viiith century A.H., composed a dictionary of famous men of Upper Egypt, preceded by a brief geographical summary, the *Ṭalī' al-Ša'īd* (publ. in Cairo 1333 = 1914); its interest is not great. In the domain of folklore, we may note the stories of Ibn al-Hawā at Assuan, of Abu 'l-Ḥadīdjādī at Luḳṣor, of the princess of China at Gīrgā, to which we may add the legend of the serpent of the Djabal Ḥarīdī.

Without going into details, the following is a rapid enumeration of the main historical facts relating to Upper Egypt. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs became an established fact after the fall of Babylon and Alexandria. Al-Baladhurī mentions treaties made with certain towns of Middle Egypt. The Arabs seem to have taken no notice of the Faiyūm for some time and their advance towards this region must have been impeded by very heavy fighting which gave rise to the historical novel, the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*. In 23 (644) there was an unsuccessful invasion of Nubia which was resumed in 27 (648) and concluded in 31 (652) by an advantageous treaty, which ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz renewed in 100 (719). A census of the population was taken in 112 (730); the governor of Egypt, al-Walīd ibn Rifā'a, took charge of this in person and conducted a six months' tour of inspection of Upper Egypt as far as Assuan and we possess a papyrus containing his instructions. During the Umayyad period, the Ša'īd seems to have enjoyed more peace than the Delta which was often agitated by risings; one is noted for 121 (739). It was in Upper Egypt that the Umayyad dynasty collapsed in the person of its last Caliph, Marwān. There was a rising of the Umayyad-pretender Dīhya ibn Muṣ'ab who became master of the whole of the Ša'īd in 167 (784); he was defeated and put to death in 169 (785); Upper Egypt felt the consequences — though less than the

Delta — of the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. There was a rising of the Bedja in 241 (855) and a successful expedition against them under Muhammad al-Kumml. Some years later 'Abdallāh al-'Umarī invaded the gold-mining area and ultimately declared himself independent there; he was put to death but the contingents of the Rabī'a which he had taken there remained amalgamated with the Bedja. In 256 (870) there was an unsuccessful rising led by Ibn al-Sūfi at Esne and Akhmīm. In 308 (920) a Fātimid invasion; fighting at al-Ashmūnain and Bahnasā. The king of Nubia invaded the Oases in 339 (950), took Assuan in 345 (956) and in a third expedition in 353 (964) advanced as far as Akhmīm. Towards the end of the ivth century, Abū Rakwa rose against the Caliph al-Hākim. Order was disturbed after the great dearth in the reign of al-Mustanşir: Badr al-Djamālī set out in person for Upper Egypt to re-establish peace (inscriptions at Asyūt and Esne). Towards the end of the Fātimid period, several statesmen, like Ṭalālī ibn Ruzzik and Shāwar, served their apprenticeship to political life in Upper Egypt. It was against Shāwar, who was assisted by a body of Franks, that Shirkūh fought the battle of al-Bābain near al-Ashmūnain. This region continued to be much disturbed by Fātimid propaganda, which was kept up in the extreme south by the Banu 'l-Kanz. Saladin subjected them in 568 (1173) sending his brother Turān Shāh against them, who advanced as far as Ibrim. Other risings were crushed with great severity in 570 (1174) and in 572 (1176). There was a very serious rebellion in the whole of the land in 651 (1253), led by an important individual, the Sharif Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Tha'lab, which was an episode in the struggle between the Arab tribes and the Mamlūk government. In 671 (1272) and in 674 (1275) Baibars intervened in the domestic affairs of Nubia and sent an army which reached Dongola, which was again occupied by a second expedition in 686 (1287). Upper Egypt in 701 (1302) suffered from the brigandage of the Arab tribes, which necessitated the despatch of a powerful force against them. They were suppressed in a most bloody fashion. During the anti-Christian movement of 721 (1321) churches were destroyed in the provinces of Atfīḥ and Bahnasā, at Minya, Asyūt, Kūṣ and Assuan. Violent disturbances are again mentioned in 815 (1412), mainly at Assuan, and again in 825 (1422). The reign of Kā'it-Bey was filled with risings by the Hawwāra tribe which it took three years to subdue (881—883 = 1476—1478). As to the events after the Turkish conquest and especially the rising of 'Alī Bey and the French occupation, information will be found in the European travellers and historians.

Bibliography: See the articles dealing with subjects referred to in this article, the indices to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (ed. Torrey), al-Kindī, al-Makrizī (ed. Inst. franç.), Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, the Guide Joanne, Baedeker's *Egypt*, Murray's *Egypt*. Cf. al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iv. 24—27, 64—69; Quatremère, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, ii. 201—211; Massignon, *Notes sur les études archéologiques et Deuxième note*, BIFAO, vi. 2—13; ix. 4—11; Wiet, *Les inscr. ar. d'Égypte*, *Comptes rendus Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lett.* (1913), p. 503—504; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, MIFAO, xxxvi. 15—16, 117, 129, 131, 147—148, 153,

156—157, 170—192, 227—229 (with a vast bibliography); Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 1923, p. 119—121, 125—126.
(G. Wiet)

SAĪDA, a town in Algeria (department of Oran), 110 miles from Oran and 60 miles S. S. E. of Mascara, 2900 feet above sea-level, on the Wādī Saïda, a branch of the Habra, in a fertile and well-watered country, suitable for the cultivation of cereals and vines. Population: 12,232 inhabitants of whom 5,410 are Europeans. Saïda is the chief town of a mixed commune of 42,469 inhabitants of whom 39,500 are natives.

Owing to its position on the very edge of the high plateaux, Saïda has always been of considerable military importance. There was a Roman station here. 'Abd al-Qādir built a fortress here in order to control the nomad tribes of the district, but destroyed it on the approach of the French in 1841. In 1844 General Lamoricière, struck by the advantages of this position, built a stronghold 1¼ miles north of the Saïda of 'Abd al-Qādir, around which the modern town has grown up. (G. YVER)

SAĪDĀ. [See SIDON].

SAIF B. DHĪ YAZAN, of the Himyarite royal line, played a part in Arabian history in the expulsion of the Abyssinians from South Arabia, where they had held sway since the time of Dhū Nuwās. Native tradition records that he first sought assistance against the foreign yoke of the Abyssinians at the Byzantine court and later at the court of the Persian Khusrāw. The latter, however, would not risk anything in an enterprise with such hopeless prospects; so he only gave Saif a number of criminals out of the jails under a leader named Wahriz to assist him. The Abyssinians under Masrūk were defeated and driven out of the country by them and Saif's countrymen who rose against the foreign yoke, whereupon Saif was installed by the Persians as king. From this tradition and several Arabic poems relating to the story there results as a certain historical fact that Saif b. Dhī Yazan conquered the Abyssinians with the help of the Persian king Khusrāw Anūshirwān, broke their rule over Yemen and held sway over the land of his ancestors under a Persian protectorate. His victory over the Abyssinians may be dated about 570 A. D. The victory over the Abyssinians is wrongly ascribed not to Saif himself but to his son Ma'dikarib.

That South Arabian history and with it the story of Saif b. Dhī Yazan was studied and transmitted among the Muslims from the beginning of the Islāmic period onwards we know from several sources. It is, therefore, no wonder that Saif b. Dhī Yazan found a place in the Arab saga on account of his successful struggle with the Abyssinians, who in the period of Islām particularly became dangerous and lasting enemies to the new international movement starting in Arabia. In the romance which bears his name, the *Sīrat Saif ibn Dhī Yazan*, the war between the Muslim Arabs and the pagan negroes and Abyssinians occupies considerable space. The king of the latter, whose conflict with Saif b. Dhī Yazan runs almost throughout the book and forms a considerable part of the subject matter, gives us a clue to the date of origin of the *Sīra*. He is called Saif Ar'ad and corresponds to the Ethiopian king Saifa Ar'ad whom we know from history and who reigned in

Abyssinia from 1344—72. From this reference we may deduce with considerable certainty that the existing versions of the *Sira* date from about the xvth century, in any case not earlier than the end of the xivth century. The rest of the positive and negative data agree with this, while telling practically nothing separately and having only some value when taken cumulatively; among them are several clearly discernible borrowings from the cycle of the 1001 Nights. It does not, of course, follow that the whole romance arose at this time; isolated parts may very well have been composed and put into circulation earlier. The place of origin of the *Sira* is Egypt, to be more definite Cairo. This is clear from the many personal and place-names which all point to localisation mainly in Egypt and in part even presuppose an accurate knowledge of its topography. This statement is not invalidated by the occurrence of a few place-names from Damascus and its neighbourhood. As regards contents also, Egypt is the most satisfactory place of origin of the romance; the strong undercurrent of superstition and belief in the marvellous is perhaps also an indication of an African birthplace for the romance.

The contents of the book are in keeping with the fact that it was composed and related, if not by the people, at least for them. It is therefore easily explained why we find alongside the good Muslim general tendency so many ideas which are rather to be described as pagan, and which can only with difficulty and superficially be brought into harmony with Muslim principles. The new religion of Islām did not by any means penetrate so quickly or thoroughly among the masses as among the educated classes, whose intellectual sustenance was for the most part confined to a science and literature permeated to a great degree by Islām; among the masses the old beliefs and customs did not have any counterpoise great enough to have driven them out. As has already been mentioned, in the *Sirat Saif* a great part is played by the war of the Muslim Arabs against the pagan Abyssinians and negroes. As it is assumed to be known by every one that the hero of the struggle, Saif b. Dhi Yazan, lived in the pre-Islamic period, he has first of all to be transformed into a warlike predecessor of Muḥammad and a professing Muslim. The generally accepted possibility of obtaining a glimpse into the future by magic oracles, dreams etc., and by the guidance of pious *shaiḥs* disposes of the difficulty. Saif, like his father Dhi Yazan before him, becomes convinced of the truth of Islām before Muḥammad's coming and is won over to the new religion. In his struggle mainly directed against the Abyssinians and negroes the antagonism of race now gives place to that of religion. On his many wanderings and campaigns in the lands of men and djinns he spreads by force the religion of Islām, often with the support of helpful spirits. As Muḥammad has not yet appeared, in place of his name in the profession of faith we find that of Ibrāhīm, the *Khatil-Allāh*. The campaigns thus are no longer waged for the satisfaction of the ambitions of Saif and the Arabs but with the object of gaining recognition for the unity of Allāh and his "friendship" with Ibrāhīm. As soon as the quondam enemies satisfy this demand by repeating the profession of faith, they are accepted into the Muslim community. The superiority of the Semitic over the Hamitic

race is, of course, not thereby done away with. It is the South Arabians in particular and in them the alleged ancestors of the later Muslims of Egypt, who have the honourable task of preparing the way for the last and greatest prophet, while the Abyssinians and negroes either remain in their ancient paganism and thus show themselves unworthy of Islām or with their adoption of Islām play a passive rather than an active role in the religious movement. It is further remarkable that in the whole romance there is not the slightest trace of the Abyssinians professing Christianity. While the worship of Saturn is ascribed to them, the other non-Muslim religions are traced back to the worship of fire, of idols, rulers claiming divine worship, and of different animals (a ram, an ostrich, cows, bugs, hens). Many of these notions may have originated in the unlimited fancy of the narrators; but in part at least vague memories of the old Egyptian mythology may have crept in. The mention of fire-worship points to the old Persian religion. A knowledge of Christianity gleams through only in the mention of crosses, sometimes of stone, which are worshipped and at which oaths are taken. The motives of the *Sira* are not exhausted with the stories of the spread of Islām. The common people are also interested in profane history and in stories of events with as much action as possible. Thus in the romance we find stories of the origins of famous towns, places and buildings, of the bringing of the river Nile into Egypt etc. We further find an account of the many travels and adventures which Saif b. Dhi Yazan and his sons, paladins and spirits have to go through, of the love affairs of Saif and others which continually appear in new guise, of the splendid buildings, regions and men which are described to the hearers, and of much else. The imagination that is called upon to arouse the astonishment of the public becomes unbounded towards the end of the *Sira*, as the extraordinary is in the end no longer effective and must be surpassed again. Considerable space is further taken up — as already mentioned — by magic and superstition and all connected with it. Mention is very often made of divination by sand to ascertain the unknown past, present and future. Purely magical also is the oft recurring idea that from the act of Saif's marriage with his first wife Shāma the destruction of the Abyssinians and negroes will result, and the latter therefore endeavour to prevent the marriage at any cost. Countless are the magic treasures mentioned in the course of the story, the possession of which assures wonderful powers or control over powerful spirits. Dangerous magicians form the greatest obstacles to the spread of Islām. Their power is not denied, only they are weaker than their colleagues on the Muslim side, and if this is not the case, al-Khidr, the helper of the Muslims in need, takes up the cause of those commended to his charge and overcomes the powerful magicians. When they are converted their activities do not cease, but they place all their skill and knowledge at the disposal of the new religion. Belief in spirits is exceedingly prominent in the *Sira*. Endless troops of djinns of all classes fight for or against Islām. They are in much closer relationship with men than in the period after Muḥammad's preaching and constitute a considerable if not the greatest part of Saif's followers. If we were to cut out of the *Sira* all the passages that deal with or are

connected with spirits or magic, we should have barely half of it left.

Taken all in all, the *Sirat Saif b. Dhī Yazan* gives a faithful picture of the popular mind in Muslim Egypt at the end of the middle ages and forms therefore a valuable source for the history of Islām in its widest sense.

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(R. PARET)

SAIF B. 'UMAR AL-ASADI AL-TAMIMI, an Arab historian, who, according to the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, i. 94), composed two books: *Kitāb al-Futūḥ al-Kabir wa 'l-Ridda* and *Kitāb al-Djāmāl wa-Masir 'Aisha wa-'Alī*. Neither of these books has survived to our times. Al-Ṭabarī, however, was still able to use Saif as principal authority for the period of the *Ridda* and the early conquests (ed. de Goeje, i. 1794—3255) i.e. from 11—36 A. H. A fairly full discussion of Saif's value as a historian is given by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 3—7. He is not favourable to Saif. Although he impresses us by the wealth of his details, it is evident from a comparison of his data with those of other Arab historians and with the Christian chroniclers that his 'Irāq tradition is less reliable than that of the Ḥidjāz. Caetani makes a critical use of the fragments of Saif in the course of his *Annali*, indices to vols. iii., iv. and v., s. v. Saif b. 'Umar.

Bibliography: see the references in the article; cf. also Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, i. 516.

SAIF AL-DAWLA, **ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALĪ IBN ḤAMDĀN**, the most important ruler of the Ḥamdānid dynasty, lord of Aleppo, famous for his military activities, his struggle with the Greeks and the protection which he gave to scholars.

He was born in 303 (915/916) or perhaps in 301. He was the grandson of Ibn Ḥamdān, who owned the fortress of Mārdīn and rebelled against the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid in 281. His father Abu 'l-Haidja' in 302 received the governorship of Mawṣil and of Mesopotamia from the Caliph al-Muktadir; he fought against the Ḳarmāṭians in 315 and saved Baghdād by having the bridge of al-Anbār destroyed. His power increased under al-Ḳāḥir; he perished during the troubles in Baghdād in the course of which the Caliph was deposed.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī at first owned Wāsiṭ and the country round it; his eldest brother held Mawṣil. In 330, under al-Muttaḳī, these princes took part in the murder of Ibn Ra'īq, who was entitled Amīr al-Umarā'; the Caliph then gave this rank to the prince of Mawṣil; he gave him the surname of Nāṣir al-Dawla and to his brother 'Alī that of Saif al-Dawla. Nāṣir al-Dawla only held the office of Amīr al-Umarā' for thirteen months in Baghdād; he was dispossessed of it by the Turk Tūzūn. The situation of the Caliphate was then very precarious

and the empire divided into numerous factions. The Caliph, wishing to escape from the tutelage of Tūzūn, asked for the protection of the Ḥamdānid princes. He took refuge with his harem and all his court at Mawṣil and went from there to al-Raḳqa in 332. Tūzūn begged him to return to his capital and made him many promises of loyalty. The Caliph consented against the advice of Saif al-Dawla; but hardly had he reached the neighbourhood of Baghdād than he was seized by Tūzūn, who deposed and blinded him in 333. The Caliph's stay with the Ḥamdānid princes had cost them enormous sums.

The same year Saif al-Dawla took Aleppo from a lieutenant of al-Ikḥshid, who was ruler of Egypt. The latter sent against him an army commanded by Kāfur: Saif al-Dawla met this army near Ḥims and then besieged but did not take Damascus. In the following year 334, al-Ikḥshid having died at Damascus, Kāfur, the negro eunuch, went back to Egypt. Saif al-Dawla seized the opportunity to attack Damascus again, which he captured. He then advanced on Egypt, took Ramla, but encountered the Egyptian forces, who defeated him on the Jordan. A peace was concluded between him and the Ikḥshidids; the Ḥamdānid prince retained Aleppo and the Egyptians Damascus.

In 337, Saif al-Dawla carried war into the land of Rūm and from this date till his death, a period of nearly twenty years, never a year passed without his invading Greek territory or fighting some battle with the Greeks. He was defeated this year; the Byzantines took Mar'ash and massacred the inhabitants of Tarsūs. In 339 he advanced a considerable distance into the land of Rūm, captured several strongholds and great booty; but as he returned, the Greeks closed the passes against him and regained the baggage and prisoners they had lost. Saif al-Dawla, with a few companions, succeeded in escaping (al-Maṣṣīṣa expedition). In 342, he took the field against the Praetorian-prefect Barzos Focas, who had collected a large army which included Russians, Bulgars and Ḳhazars, and defeated him outside Mar'ash. He captured Constantine, son of Focas, and brought him to Aleppo. The latter died in captivity. By Saif al-Dawla's orders the Christians gave him a magnificent funeral. In 343 Saif al-Dawla again defeated Focas near the castle of al-Ḥadath, which he rebuilt. This fortress was destroyed again three years later. In 347, the Greeks Basil and Yānis, sons of Tsimitsēs, captured Sumaisāt and inflicted a severe defeat on Saif al-Dawla near Aleppo. Seventeen hundred Muslim horsemen were taken captive to Constantinople.

In the same year, Saif al-Dawla arranged a peace between his brother, Nāṣir al-Dawla, and the Būyids who had taken Mawṣil. He guaranteed them the payment of an annual tribute and kept Mawṣil for his family along with Raḥba and Diyār Rabī'a.

In 351, Nicephoros, now Praetorian-prefect, advanced on Aleppo with 200,000 men; a battle was fought near the town before the gate of the Jews, in which Saif al-Dawla was defeated. The town was captured, except the citadel, which held out, defended by Dailamites. The Greeks took 1,200 prisoners, whom they put to death at once, ravaged the country, plundered and destroyed the palace of Saif al-Dawla which lay outside the town; after a week they retired.

Next year Saif al-Dawla was paralysed in hand

and foot. Nevertheless he continued to fight the Greeks and defeated them, notably in the vicinity of Aleppo, to which they had returned in 353. In 355 he presided over an important exchange of prisoners on the banks of the Euphrates. He died at Aleppo in 356 of retention of the urine. His body was brought to Maiyāfāriqin and buried in the *turbe* of his mother outside the town. He had given orders for a brick made of soil that he had won in his campaigns to be placed under his head in his coffin.

Saif al-Dawla was a strong-minded prince, little liking advice, but brave, generous and eloquent; like other members of his family he was a poet. Abu 'l-Mahāsīn and Ibn Khallikān quote a delicate little poem on the rainbow by him, which gives a very high idea of his talents. He surrounded himself with poets and scholars. The most celebrated are the sceptical poet al-Mutanabbi, who was his panegyrist and afterwards that of Kāfir, and al-Fārābī, the great philosopher and musician, who died while accompanying him on a journey to Damascus. The author of the "Book of Songs" (*Kitāb al-Aghāni*) dedicated to him the autograph manuscript of this celebrated work.

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SAIF AL-DAWLA. [See ŞADAKA B. MANŞÜR].

SAIF AL-DĪN AL-BĀKHARZĪ, ABU 'L-MA'ĀNĪ **SHAIKH** SA'D AL-DĪN SA'ĪD B. MUẒAFFAR AL-BĀKHARZĪ, a native of the Bākhaz district between Nishāpūr and Herāt (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 357). After having finished his studies, he joined the great Ṣūfī Naḍm al-Dīn Kubrā at Khwārizm. The latter after interrupting Saif's second retreat (*arba'in*) sent him to Bukhārā as *khalīfa*. Al-Bākhazī occupies an important place among the *khalīfa*'s of Naḍm al-Dīn Kubrā; he lived for a considerable time in Bukhārā where he attained great fame and gathered round him a large number of disciples; he even took the surname of **Shaiikh** 'Ālam. The mother of the Mongol emperor Mangū Khān, Sirkūytay Biki (or Siyurkhokhataitai Beigi, according to Blochet) (d. in *Dhu 'l-Hijja*, 649 = Febr.-March, 1252; see *Tārīkh-i Dīkhāngushā*, ed. Gibb Mem. Series, ii. 256), had, during her son's reign, given 1,000 *bālīsh* of silver to build a *madrasa* at Bukhārā and had entrusted its administration to Saif al-Dīn al-Bākhazī (Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876, i. 188). This shows the fame of the **Shaiikh** in his life-time, just as some anecdotes in the *Nafahāt al-Uns* testify that he was an object of veneration on the part of the great men and princes of his time. Well-known Ṣūfī's of the period, like Khwādja Gharīb and Hasan al-Bulghārī, showed him respect (al-Kāshifī, *Rashahāt 'Ain al-Hayāt*, Turkish transl., p. 37—38). His mystic Persian quatrains are very popular among the dervishes. The death of the **Shaiikh**,

according to the most probable tradition, took place in 658 (1259/60). His tomb is at Bukhārā, at Fathābād, the place where his *tekke* is situated. His poems are preserved in several manuscript collections: 51 of his quatrains have been published in the Z. D. M. G., 1905, lix. 345—354 by S. Khuda Bakhsh.

This monastery of the **Shaiikh** in the suburb of Fathābād remained famous for centuries. His descendants there held the rank of **shaiikh**. Ibn Baṭṭūta, who visited the *tekke* in the viiith century A. H., found as **Shaiikh** there Yaḥyā al-Bākhazī, grandson of Saif al-Dīn, and relates that a repast was prepared for him at which the principal inhabitants of the town gathered together and Turkish and Persian songs were recited in addition to the recitation of the *Qur'an* and sermons. A Persian writer who visited Bukhārā in 1316 (1898/9) says that the tomb and the monastery of the **Shaiikh** are half a *farsakh* from the *Karshī* gate (cf. the article BUKHĀRĀ) and face the east, and that the *tekke* and the monument were built in 788 (1385) by order of Timūr and ornamented with tiles of precious faience; since then, however, these tiles have been torn off and sold. He adds that the descendants of the **Shaiikh** are buried there along with the calligrapher Mīr 'Alī. The tradition of the Yasawīs, according to which Saif al-Dīn al-Bākhazī was a follower of Aḥmad al-Yasawī, is contradicted by historical facts.

Bibliography: *Tārīkh-i guzida* (ed. Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xiv.), p. 791; *Djāmi, Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Calcutta 1858, p. 495 (Turk. transl., p. 489); Khwāndemir, *Habīb al-Siyar*, Bombay 1857, i. 36; Hidāyet, *Riyād al-'Arifin*; Mawlanā Ghulām Sarwār al-Lahawri, *Khasinat al-Afīyā*, Cawnpore 1902, ii.; Hādīdī Mirzā Ma'sūm, *Tarā'ik al-hakā'ik*, ed. Tihārān 1316, ii. 153; Aḥmad al-Rāzī, *Haft iqlīm* (MS. in a private collection); Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 27 (Turk. transl., i. 416); Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, p. 74; Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Ilk müteşavvîşler*, Constantinople 1918, see index of proper names; Khuda Bakhsh, *Saifuddin Bakharsai*, in the Z. D. M. G., 1905, lix. 345—354. (KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)

SAIF AL-DĪN GHĀZĪ. [See GHĀZĪ].

SAIFĪ, Mawlanā, of Bukhārā, is also known as 'Arūḍī, "the Prosodist," from his work *'Arūḍ-i-Saifī*. Little is known of his life, but he lived for many years at Hirāt, at the courts of the Timūrids, Sultān Abū Sa'īd (1459—1469), great-grandson of Timūr and grandfather of Bābur, and Abū 'l-Ghāzī Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā (1473—1506), great-grandson of Timūr's second son, 'Umar **Shaiikh** Mirzā. As a poet he was of little consideration, and his poems are trivial. His fame rests on his work *'Arūḍ-i-Saifī*, ed. Blochmann, Calcutta 1867 ("Saifi's Prosody"), also known as *'Arūḍ-i-Kāfiya* (the amply sufficient Prosody) and *Misāl al-Ashkār* (the Measure of Poems), written, as he tells us, to supply the want of a work on an art which was a favourite subject of discussion between him and his friends. The poet Djāmi had already written on this subject, but Saifi's work is the fuller and more detailed of the two, and is one of the best works on Persian prosody which we have. Saifi died in 1504.

2. Saifi was also the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of

a poet of Nishapur, the encomiast of Takash Khan, Khwarezm Shah.

Bibliography: Dawlatshah, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'ara'*, ed. E. G. Browne (London 1901); Lutf 'Ali b. Akā Khān, *Atashkuda*, MSS.; Hādjdj Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Fluegel, iii. 419; Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Manuscr. in the Brit. Museum*, ii. 525^b. (T. W. HAIG)

SAIHĀN, one of the larger mountain rivers in the south-east of Asia Minor, the Saros of the ancients. It rises on the Koramaz Daghi not far from Kaṣariya (cf. Mehmed Edib, *Manāsik al-Hādjdj*, Stambul 1232, p. 41; also al-Mas'ūdi in the *B.G.A.*, viii. 58, 7 sqq., 183, 7 sqq.: "at the town of Saihān ... not far from Malatya"), enters the Cilician plain of Adana, which lies on its bank, whence it makes straight for the sea, receiving a number of tributaries on its way; it enters the sea by several mouths (the *Capita Sari* of the ancients) below Tarsus. On the course of the river which remained for long uninvestigated see Tchatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, i. 293—299, and C. Ritter, *Kleinasiens*, ii. 133. The name Saihān is most probably, like the name of the neighbouring river Djaihan, an "arbitrary transference" (cf. Nöldeke in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 700), an assimilation to the Muslima names of the two Central Asian rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. The Saihān was considered one of the rivers of Paradise (cf. al-Mas'ūdi, ed. Paris, ii. 358 sq., *B.G.A.*, viii. 295; Yāqūt, i. 179, ii. 82, iv. 558, 579; al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i. 63, 64; Ibn Hawkal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 122; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 165, 166, 168). Under the Umayyads it was one of the rivers on the frontier against the Byzantine empire, at which prisoners taken during the Arab wars of conquest were ransomed. There was a famous bridge over the Saihān between al-Maṣṣīsa and Adana called Djisr al-Walid, which dated from the time of Justinian and was renovated in 125 (743) and again in 225 (840) (cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 131 sq.). See also the article DJAIHAN.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Renaud, p. 50; al-Dimashki, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 107, 214 (important); Ibn Roste, *B.G.A.*, vii. 91, 5 sqq.; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B.G.A.*, vi. 176, 16; al-Hamadhāni, *B.G.A.*, v. 63, 64, 95, 116; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i. 179 (Adana) and iii. 209 sq.; Hādjdj Khalifa, *Djihānnumūnā*, p. 601, 15; Mehmed 'Ashik, *Manāzīr al-'Awālim*, Vienna MS., Mixt. 314, fol. 172 v., 13 sqq. (used by Hādjdj Khalifa) and fol. 70 v. (following Abu 'l-Fidā'); Ewliya Celebi, *Siyāhetnāme*, iii. 41 (more in vol. ix. still in MS.); 'Āli, *Kūnh al-Aḥbār*, i. 109; Cedrenus (ed. Bonn), ii. 362; Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, vol. i. § 17 (ed. Bonn, i. 84); do., *De Aedificiis*, vol. v. § 5 (ed. Bonn, iii. 319); Theophanes (ed. Classen, Bonn 1839—1841, i. 482; *Stadiasm. maris magni* (ed. C. Müller), p. 481; G. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Vienna 1856, i. 376; W. Ainsworth in the *J.R.G.S.*, x. 513; Fr. Beaufort, *Karamania*, London 1818, p. 266, 271 (on the mouth); cf. thereon *Geogr. Journal*, 1903, p. 410; Chesney in the *J.R.G.S.*, 1837, vii. 414, and W. Ainsworth, *ibid.*, viii. 185 sqq.; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, i. 298—299;

Ch. Texier, *Voyages*, ii. 40—44; Ritter, *Kleinasiens*, i. 15, 16, 62, ii. 133 (*Die Erdkunde*, xviii. and xix.); Ern. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Paris 1898, passim *M. F. G. Beyrouth*, iii. (1908), p. 459, v. (1911), p. 285; H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasiens-Expedition*, Leipzig 1911—1912, ii. 105 sqq. and index; do., *Geogr. Charakterbilder*, Leipzig 1909, Nr. 4—44; A. v. Kremer, *Beiträge zur Geographie des nördl. Syrien* 5, Vienna 1852, p. 18 sqq.; F. X. Schaffer, *Cilicia*, Gotha 1903 (Supplem. part Nr. 141 to *Petermann's Mitteilungen*). — On the Saros of the ancients see Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl.*, ii. 3, p. 34 (1921), where the classical references are given. (F. BABINGER)

SAIHŪN. [See SĪR DARYĀ].

SAIMARA. [See SEIMERRE].

ŠĀIN-KALĀ, a little town and district in southern Ādharbaidjān, on the right bank of the Djaghātū. In the south the boundary runs a little over the river Sāruk, a tributary on the right bank of the Djaghātū. In the north it is bounded by the district of Ādjārī, in the east by the province of Khāmse. The name is derived from the Mongol *sain* = good.

Population: The Turkish Afshar tribe, of which a part had to emigrate to Urmia to make room for the Čardawri (Čardowli) tribe of Lūr origin (the district of Čardawr on the Seimerre) whom Fath 'Ali Shah brought from Shirāz at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The chief of the Čardowli lives at Mahmūdjdjik and commands about 5,000 men. The town of Šāin-Kalā has 2,500—3,000 inhabitants and a small bazaar. In 1830 it was destroyed by a Kurdish invasion under Shaikh 'Ubaidallah. Šāin-Kalā, formerly occupied by a Persian garrison, guarded the entrance to Ādharbaidjān through the Djaghātū valley. The caves of Kereftū with a Greek inscription described by Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii. 538—552; Ritter, ix. 816) as well as the site of Takhti Sulaimān (the ancient Gazaka; al-Shīz of the Arabs; cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 108) are in the territory of the Afshars of Šāin-Kalā. The lake of Čamlī Göl (near the village of Bāderli) with a floating island is likewise well known. A section of the Afshars belong to the Ahl-i Haḳḳ sect (cf. the article 'ĀLI ILĀHI) the local chiefs of whom in Bent's time lived at Nazar-bābā and Gendjābād (cf. V. Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Haḳḳ*, *R. M. M.*, 1920, xl.—xli. 19—97; reprint of the *R. M. M.*, 1922, p. 53, 76).

Another fortress of the same name on the river Abhar, east of Sulṭāniya, and mentioned in the fourteenth century by Mustawfi (see Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliph.*, p. 222), should not be confused with this Šāin-Kalā.

Bibliography: H. Rawlinson, *J. R. G. S.*, 1841, x. 40; H. Schindler, *Z. G. E. B.*, 1883, xviii. 327; Th. Bent, *Scotch Geogr. Magazine*, 1890, p. 91; A. F. Stahl in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1905, p. 33 (with a map of the district and indications of its mineral wealth); Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 121 sqq.

(V. MINORSKY)

SA'IR. [See AL-NĀR].

SA'UN (Sē'un, Sēwūn, Seyōn, Sēōn), a town in Ḥaḍramūt in South Arabia on the side of the hill of the same name, four hours' ride from Shibām on the right bank of the Wādī Masila. The town lies in the centre of luxurious vegetation;

far and wide one can see palm-groves and well-tilled fields with *ṭām* and wheat. The town is surrounded by a wall, is densely populated and has about 4,500 inhabitants. The streets are broad and clean. Within the town also there are fields and palm-groves, mainly the endowments of the mosques, of which there are said to be not less than 300 in the town. The most beautiful were built by families of the Saiyids after whom they are named; among them are the mosque of Ḥabīb 'Abdallāh Saḡḡāf with a fine dome and a beautiful carefully whitewashed minaret, a cemetery and a garden of palms and dōm-trees surrounded by a wall. The mosque of Ṭahā is kept in the same way and has also a garden. Of the other mosques the Maṣḥūr with its beautiful pierced minaret and the al-Riyād of Ḥabīb 'Alī al-Ḥabshī Bā 'Alawī are worthy of mention. The saint is very hospitable and is said to feed no less than 6,000 persons once a year. He was the founder of a new centre of Muslim learning here which came to overshadow the old celebrated school of Tarīm. Contributions from all parts, especially from Java and India, came to the support of the school which 'Alī built at his own expense and maintained himself at first. It now enjoys great prestige far and near. The palace of the Sultān lies on an eminence surrounded by a wall with projecting *kūt's* and flanked by round towers, while the roof is crowned by three watch-towers. Immediately adjoining it are the principal mosque and the bazaar.

Bibliography: C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 228; J. R. Wellsted, *Reisen in Arabien*, ii., Halle 1842, p. 338; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii/1., Berlin 1846, p. 618; M. J. de Goeje, *Hadhrāmūt in the Rev. Colon. Intern.*, 1886, ii. 110; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-Land und Hadramūt*, Leiden 1897, p. 211, 212; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i., Leiden 1901, p. 90, 451; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Zur Dichtkunst der Bā' Atwah in Ḥadhrāmūt, Nöldeke-Festschrift*, i. 97, Note.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SAIYID (A., plur. *Sāda*), a prince, lord, chief, or owner: one who is eminent by means of his personal qualities, his possessions, or his birth. In this last sense it is used throughout the Muslim world almost exclusively of the descendants of Muḥammad (see the art. *SHARIF*). It occurs only twice in the *Kur'ān*, where it is used once (iii. 34) of John the Baptist, and once (xii. 25) of the husband of Zulaikḥā. By the Arabs it is applied not only to men, but to the *ḡinn*, to animals, and to inanimate objects. A verse refers to "*ḡinn*, who are aroused by night, summoning their chief (saiyid)", the wild ass is called the saiyyid of his female, and al-Zadjdjādī calls the *Kur'ān Saiyyid al-Kalām*, "the paragon of speech". Of its application to non-Muslims the best known instance is Rodrigo Diaz, "el Cid Campeador". But for Sid, Sidi etc. cf. the art. *SID*.

Bibliography: E. W. Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. (T. W. HAIG)

AL-SAIYID AL-HIMYARĪ, ABU ḤĀSHIM, ISMĀ'ĪL B. MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD B. RABĪ' A. B. MUFARRIGH (according to others Rabī' A. Mufarrigh), born in 105 (723) at Baṣra, an Arab poet, belonged to an Ibādī [q. v.] family, but quite early in life he went over to the Shī'a "by the grace of God", as he prided himself. He became an adherent of

the Kaisāniya sect [q. v.], but not only did he expect with them the return of their Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, but held the doctrine of metempsychosis etc. in both forms, belief in the *radī'a* (return in human form) and the *tanāsukḥ* (change into animal form). He even proclaimed himself the reincarnation of the Prophet Jonah. His attitude on religious and political questions forced him to move from Baṣra to Kūfa, but did not prevent him, after the rise of the 'Abbāsids, from offering them poetical tributes also: he enjoyed the favour of al-Manṣūr in particular. He also placed his art at the service of provincial governors, e. g. Abū Budjair of al-Aḥwāz. Poetical talent was hereditary in his family; his grandfather Yazīd had been dreaded as a satirist, who had lashed the governor Ziyād with his lampoons. He himself was distinguished not only as a prolific composer (over 1,000 *qaṣīda's* by him are said to have been current among the Banū Ḥāshim), but also for the gracefulness of his language. Like Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, he avoided embellishing his poems with strange words, but aimed rather at being generally understood. With the latter and al-Baḥshār, he is considered the most distinguished of the later poets, but the peculiarity of his political and religious views prevented the wider circulation of his poems, of which not even a *Dirwān* has survived. He died in Wasīt in 173 (789).

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(BROCKELMANN)

AL-SĀḲ, the leg, the thigh, is used in several senses in Arab geometry: (1) *Sāḡ* means the perpendicular of a right-angled triangle; (2) the side of an equilateral triangle. Thus we find in al-Bīrūnī for example *al-Ḳānūn al-Maṣ'ūdī*, 3rd Maḳāla, Ch. 1: *muḡallath HBC, al-mutasawwī sāḡai HB, HC*; (3) *Sāḡ* means the foot or the leg of a pair of compasses and is then synonymous with *riḡl* (foot). This is shown by the following text: "And you place the compass's "foot" on the line on the wall which is near the meridian and this span is the curve of the *inḥirāf*. Place this arc in the compasses in such a way that one of its legs stands in one and the other in the other end of the angle (arc) (Muḥ. Sibṭ al-Māridīnī († 1495 Cairo), *On the calculation of tables for the construction of Munḥarifāt (inclining sundials)* (Oxford MS., Bodl. Or. II, N^o. 285, fol. 26, 70). (4) The Western Arab astronomer Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Marrākushī († c. 1260 in Morocco) speaks in his *Djāmī al-Mabādī wa'l-Gḥayāt* (transl. by J. J. Sedillot and published by L. Am. Sedillot under the title: *Traité des instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, Paris 1834—35, p. 446) of a *Sāḡ al-djarāda* (locust-leg) and means by this an hour-line traced in the plane by a cylinder, whose course in the plane has some resemblance to the shape of a locust's leg. (5) In names of constellations we also find the word *Sāḡ* used to name a star, in the leg of an animal (or man), e. g. *Sāḡ*

al-ʿUwā (γ Boötes), *Sāk pāi* = Ophiuchus 20, *Sākū al-Asad* (in Leo = Arcturus and Spica).

(C. SCHOY)

ŠAKĀLIBA, Slavs. The name *Šakāliba* (the singular forms are *šaklab*, *šaklabi* and *šiklabi*, also with initial *s* instead of *š*) is usually applied by the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages to the peoples of various origins who lived in the lands adjoining the territory of the *Khazars*, between Constantinople and the land of the *Bulghars*. See the articles *BULGHĀR*, *KHAZAR*, *SLAVS*.

The Slavs of al-Andalus. In Muslim Spain the word in its plural form is found very early as the generic name of the foreign private bodyguard of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova. Originally, it was applied to all the prisoners brought by German armies back from their expeditions against the Slavs and then sold by them to the Muslims of al-Andalus. But as early as the time of the traveller Ibn Ḥawqāl, the name *Šakāliba* was given in Spain to all the foreign slaves enrolled in the army or appointed to various services in the royal palaces and harems. The geographer tells us that at the time he went through the Iberian Peninsula, the "Slavs" who were there did not come only from the shore of the Black Sea but also from Calabria, Lombardy, the country of the Franks and from Galicia. Indeed, it seems that they were largely supplied by the raids conducted by Maghribi and Andalusian pirates on the European shores of the Mediterranean. Those who were intended to guard the *ḥarīm* were the objects of a special trade in the hands of Jewish merchants who had important "manufactures d'eunuques", to use Dozy's expression, in France and particularly at Verdun. The majority of these prisoners were still young men when they arrived in Andalusia. They very soon began to speak Arabic and became Muslims.

Their number soon became very large. According to al-Maḳkārī, in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, successive censuses of them in the capital gave the figures 3,750, 6,087 and 13,750. In spite of their condition of servitude, we find them at this time holding a considerable position in society. Some attained wealth and even owned vast estates and had slaves of their own. They became cultured through contact with the brilliant Andalusian civilisation; among them were scholars of note, poets and bibliophiles and one of them — if we may believe Ibn al-Abbār and al-Maḳkārī —, Ḥabīb al-Šiklābi, composed in the reign of Hishām II, a whole book devoted to the merits of the literary Slavs or Andalusia; it was called *Kitāb al-istiḡḥār wa'l-mughālabā ʿalā man ankara faḍl al-Šakāliba*.

Like the praetorians in the Roman empire and the ʿAbid at a later date in the Morocco of the Sharīfī dynasties, the Slavs in Spain, in proportion as their numbers increased and they occupied a more important place in Andalusian society, came to play a predominating part in politics. It is in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III that we first find them definitely occupying high civil offices in the state and even military commands. The Caliph used them to counterbalance and combat the influence which the Arab aristocracy had retained in his empire. He thus had no hesitation — in spite of the discontent in his court — in trusting to the Slav Nadjda in 939 the command of the expedition which he sent against the King of Leon — an expedition which, however, ended

disastrously in the catastrophes of Simancas and Alhandega and the pursuit of the Muslim army by the forces of Ramiro II and his allies of the kingdom of Navarre.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's successor, al-Ḥakam II, allowed the *Šakāliba* a no less important role in his empire and his indifference to their more and more arrogant or even insolent conduct did not fail to arouse the wonder of the chroniclers of the reign of this enlightened prince. At his death the Slavs felt themselves masters of the situation. According to the author of *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, there were then in the palace over a thousand eunuchs and at Cordova a body of *Šakāliba* guards was entirely at the disposal of two very important individuals, Faṭḥ al-Nizāmī, grand master of the wardrobe, and piś assistant *Djawdhar*, grand jeweller and grand falconer. These two Slav eunuchs kept the death of al-Ḥakam secret and tried to prevent the proclamation of the heir-presumptive, who was still an infant; but they were opposed by the viziers al-Mušḥaff and Ibn Abī ʿAmir, whose popularity was only increased by punishing them.

Space will not allow me to trace in detail the part played by the Slavs during all the period of the decline of the Umayyad Caliphate of Spain; we find them taking part in all the plots hatched at Cordova, or in the rest of Andalusia, sometimes on the winning side, sometimes on the losing, but showing always the same spirit of initiative, the same ambition and the same despotism; we may mention from among them the eunuch *Khairān* who, at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., was the leader of the Slav party in the capital.

After the end of the Caliphate of Cordova, the Arab historians are much less detailed regarding the political and social role of the Slavs in al-Andalus; but it is probable that the latter, having by now been Muslims for several generations, became absorbed in the rest of the population and lost, along with the memory of their foreign origin, the importance which they had been able to claim in the period of decline of the Umayyads of Spain.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SAKĀRYA (sometimes *Šakārya*), a river in Asia Minor. It rises near Bayāt in the north-east of Āfiyūn Kara Hişār. In its eastward course it enters the wilāyet of Angora through which it runs to a point above Çahmak after receiving on its left bank the Saiyid Ghāzī Sū and several other tributaries on the same side. It then turns northwards describing a curve round Siwri Hişār. Here it receives on the right bank the Engürü Sūyu from Angora and near this confluence the Pursak on the opposite bank. A little to the south of this point is the bridge of the Eski-Shehir-Angora rail-

way. Farther on, towards the north, the Sakārya receives on its right bank the Kirmir Sū and then taking a sudden turn it runs westwards to Lefke, traversing the wilāyets of Kutahia and Khudāwendigār. At Lefke the Sakārya is joined on the left by the Gök Sū from Bursa. After Lefke it turns sharply to the north, entering the sandjak of Izmid near Mekedje, having now run 250 miles. The most flourishing part of its course now begins, and we have fine crops of cotton, wheat, vegetables, besides vineyards and the rearing of silkworms. It now runs in a north-easterly direction through the kaḍā's of Geiwe, Ada Bazār and Kāndere, to enter the Black Sea near İndjirli. The stretch of its course in the sandjak of Izmid is 70 miles; near Ada Bazār it receives the waters of the Mudirni Sū from Kaṣtamūni on the right bank and of the Çarkh Sū from lake Şabandja on the left, 1¼ miles north of Geiwe is a bridge of six arches built by Sultān Bāyazid I and at Lefke Ewliyā Çelebi (iii. 11) also mentions a fine bridge of wood. The train crosses the river four times between Izmid and Biledjik.

The Sakārya is the ancient Sangarius (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzyklopädie*, Ser. 2, i., col. 2269) it has changed its course since the Byzantine period, as is shown by the great bridge built by Justinian over it in 561, which is now two miles from Ada Bazār. This bridge is now called *Besh Köprü* (in classical times Pentegephyra or Pontogephyra; see Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 214, 215), but at the present day the river no longer runs below its arches.

The Sakārya is not navigable; its lower course is only used for transporting to the Black Sea the wood from the thick forests of the neighbourhood. In prehistoric times the river ran westwards into the Sea of Marmora; the lake of Şabandja and the Gulf of Izmid mark the track of its ancient course. In 909 (1503) Sultān Salim I conceived the idea of reestablishing communication between the Sakāria, the lake (the level of which is above that of the river) and the gulf in order to bring more easily to his capital the wood required for the building of his fleet. Being convinced of the feasibility of the project by the report of experts, he gave orders for its execution but the opponents of the scheme were able to frustrate it by the argument of the *riṣḥwet* (Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Djihānnumū*, Constantinople 1145, p. 660).

For a period, in the reign of Osman, the Sakārya formed the frontier of his territory on the west and south and for his conquests he had to cross the river (for example for the capture of Aḳ-Ḥişār in 1308; see 'Ashik Pashazāde, *Ta'riḳh*, Constantinople 1332, p. 12, 24). Since then the Sakāria had not played an important part in Ottoman history until the famous battle on the Sakārya from Aug. 24, to Sept. 10, 1921, when the Greek army was defeated in a last great effort to reach Angora. By the counter-offensive of Sept. 10, the Greeks were thrown back to the west of the Sakārya and forced to take up the line Eski-Şehir-Afyon-Ḳara-Ḥişār. In August, 1922, the Turkish army was victorious for a second time near the Sakāria; this was the beginning of the Turkish offensive which ended in the complete reconquest of Anatolia.

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Description de l'Asie Mineure, Paris 1849, i. 56 sqq.; Berthe Georges Gaulis, *Angora-Constantinople-Londres*, Paris 1922, p. 89—98; for the geographical bibliography see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzyklopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*, series 2, i. col. 2269. (J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-SAKĪNA is a loan-word borrowed from the Hebrew (*shekinā*). There it signifies the presence of God, in the purely spiritual sense, sometimes made clear by a sign like fire, cloud, or light, which can be appreciated by the senses. Muḥammad was apparently not quite clear regarding the true meaning of the word, when he says (Sūra ii. 249) that the *sakina* along with some relics was in the sacred ark of the Israelites. Possibly he associated with this Hebrew loan-word conceptions from pagan demonology; many Qur'anic exegesis at any rate give here quite a djinn-like description of *sakina* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, ii. 385 sq.; it is noteworthy that on this point Wahb b. Munabbih relies on a Jewish source; he also confuses the ark of the covenant with the oracle of the 'Urim W'tummim). Where else the word is found in the Qur'an, it is generally explained by the commentators as the subjective condition of peace of soul and security (see the commentaries on ix. 26, 40, and xlviii. 4, 18, 26). From this a secular meaning of the word gradually develops: *sakina* means the quality of calm and dignity in character (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Bad' at-Ḳhalq*, bāb 15) and then simply: to keep quiet, e.g. at the *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 18) or at the *ifāda* (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, bāb 94). Besides this there is a change of meaning of the word in its religious use as the Jewish meaning of the word gradually penetrates into Islām. Thus the *sakina* is said to come benevolently down when the Qur'an is recited (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Ḳur'ān*, bāb 11 and 15). As among the Jews the Ruah Ḥaḳḳōdesh, which rests on the Prophets, gradually develops out of the *shekinā*, so we find in Islāmic writers also *sakina* occasionally used with the meaning "Holy Ghost" (see Goldziher, p. 149 sq.).

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SAKİZ, the Turkish name of the island of Chios (corrupted from the Greek *εἰς Χίος*) and at the same time the word for mastic (*μαστίχην*) which is only found on this island and is obtained in excellent quality from the *Pistacia Lentiscus* L. and was very popular in the East as a valuable drug in the middle ages and, indeed, still is in modern times. How old the form *sākiz* is, is shown by the occurrence of the word as an appellative in Kuman and Old Turkish (Houtsma, *Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar*, p. 37) and in Persian (Josaphat Barbaro, *Viaggio in Persia* — Anno 1471 —, Venice 1543, p. 59b: Syo è luogo molto nominato ne la Persia, & in tutte quelle parti & è chiamato Seghex, che vuol dir in nostro idioma mastico; Vullers, *Lexicon pers.-lat.*, s. v. sekiz). In Syriac also mastic is called *ḳiyā* i. e. Chios from its place of origin (Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 70). By the reverse process the Arabs have named the island from its best known product "mastic island" (*Djazīrat al-Masṭiki*); Abu'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*,

ed. Reinaud, ii/i. 268 and al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 228, the first Arab geographers to mention it, know it only by this name.

In the middle ages Chios had attained very great importance as a station on the sea-route for pilgrims and merchants to eastern lands (Palestine, Syria and Egypt). On the decline of the Byzantine empire in the second half of the middle ages the rich island became exposed to the raids of the petty Saldjūk princes of the opposite coast of Asia Minor and in 1089 Tzachas, father-in-law of Kılıdji Arslān I and lord of Smyrna, which is not far away, succeeded in establishing a temporary footing there (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, vii. Ch. 8). In 1303 the Emperor entrusted the Catalan mercenaries with the defence of the island against the raids of the Turks (Muntaner, *Chronik*, Ch. 203 and 206; Pachymeres, ed. Bonn, ii. 344, 346). A few years later — in 1307 or 1308 — and after the Genoese Benedetto Zaccaria had usurped rule over Chios (from 1304) 30 "Turkish" ships laid waste the island (Pachymeres ii. 510) and Martino Zaccaria, who had succeeded Benedetto Zaccaria in 1314, had much hard fighting with the Turks; in 1329 he was dispossessed by Andronicus III but by 1346 another Genoese, the Admiral Simone Vignosi had seized the island, which remained till 1566 under the rule of the Giustiniani, the family of the Genoese "Maone" of Chios, as the legal successors of the conquerors called themselves. But in order to maintain their position the latter were forced to pay tribute to the local Turkish dynasts in Asia Minor and later to the Ottoman Sultāns and occasionally to support them with their fleet. They paid the Aidin-oghlu 500 ducats yearly and the same to the Şārukhān-oghlu of Magnesia. The first intercourse with the Ottomans was of a hostile nature: after the overthrow of the petty princes of Aidin, Şārukhān and Menteshē, about the year 1397, Bāyazīd I stopped the export of corn from Asia Minor to the islands of the Archipelago and with 60 ships undertook a campaign against Chios and laid the island waste with fire and sword (Ducas, ch. xiii). After the capture of Smyrna by Timūr (Dec., 1402) the Maonese, like the Frankish lords of Lesbos, did not fail to pay homage to the conqueror (Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta edition ii. 482; Ducas, ch. xvii; *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, Madrid 1782, p. 230). They repeatedly lent their galleys to Sultān Mehemmed I and his successor Murād II for the defeat of Djunaid (1415 and 1421); the yearly tribute was fixed at 4,000 ducats. After the fall of Constantinople the Maonese hastened to pay homage to Mehemmed the Conqueror; the Sultān left them their autonomy but raised the tribute to 6,000 ducats and some years later, as the result of an encounter of the islanders with the admiral of Gallipoli, to 10,000 ducats, with 2,000 in addition to dignitaries of the Porte. The island was able to retain its independence for over 100 years but when it fell two years in arrears with the tribute, this omission and the fact that it served as an asylum for escaped Christian slaves was used as a pretext for sanctions. At Easter 1566 the Admiral Piāle Pasha landed unnoticed on the island and took possession of it without a blow being struck. The churches in Castro were destroyed or turned into mosques and the Genoese dignitaries led away into a miserable captivity. It was said that the Greek population, dissatisfied

with Frankish rule, had called in the Turks. On the intercession of the French Ambassador, the exiles received permission to return a few years later and the island was granted a limited degree of self-government (Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, p. 37^b sq.; Leunclavius, *Annales*, p. 110 sq.; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 50, 123; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reichs*, ii. 900 sqq.). Very serious consequences, especially for the Frankish inhabitants, followed the disastrous attempts of Virginio Orsino, Duca di Bracciano, who landed in April, 1599, with five Tuscan galleys in Castro, but had to begin an ignominious retreat a few hours later. The efforts of the French Ambassador de Brèves secured for the Catholics the preservation of their churches; the skulls of 400 soldiers whom the Tuscan admiral had left in the lurch on the mainland on his retreat, long adorned the battlements of the fort of Castro (Na'imā, *Tārikh*, ed. 1280, i. 212; Sandys, *Travailes*, London 1658, p. 9 sqq.; D[es Hayes de] C[ourmenin], *Voyage de Levant en l'année 1621*, Paris 1632, p. 346 sq.; Sagredo, *Memorie istoriche de Monarchi Ottomanni*, p. 766 sqq.; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv. 297 sq.). In July, 1681, the harbour of Castro was the scene of an encounter between a French squadron and Tripolitanian corsairs, in which many buildings in the town and several mosques were destroyed by the fire of the ships' guns (Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, v. 43; von Hammer, *op. cit.*, vi. 371 sqq.).

During the great war of the allied Austrians and Venetians against Turkey at the end of the xviiith century, the town of Chios was temporarily occupied by the Venetians under Antonio Zeno; the fort of Castro capitulated after a short resistance on Sept. 21, 1694; but after a few months the Venetians were forced to retreat after the unfortunate naval battles at the Spalmadore islands, 9 and 18 Feb., 1625. The Roman Catholic inhabitants were accused by the Orthodox of having brought about the foreign invasion and they lost what remained of their privileges; their churches were closed and handed over to the Greek Orthodox (Rāshid, *Tārikh*, i. 199^a sq., 207^b—209^a; Rycaut, *History of the Turks*, London 1700, p. 518, 525 sq.; Kantemir, *Gesch. d. Osmanischen Reichs*, Hamburg 1745, p. 646 sqq., 661 sqq.; Sathas, *Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ἑλλάς*, Athens 1869, p. 401 sqq., 414 sqq.). But the island was far more seriously affected by the Greek war of independence. On March 22, 1822, Samiote irregulars landed on Chios and besieged the Turkish garrison in the fort of Castro; on April 11, the Kapudan Pasha Naşūh Zāde 'Alī appeared with a strong fleet, relieved the besieged garrison, who had put up a heroic defence under the Muḥāfiẓ Wahīd Pasha, and drove out the Samiotes. The defenceless island was terribly punished and, although only a few natives had joined the Samiotes, it was ravaged like an enemy country with fire and sword. Of the over 100,000 inhabitants which Chios numbered at the beginning of the century, 23,000 are said to have been massacred and 47,000 carried off into slavery. The responsibility for these excesses was assumed by Wahīd Pasha in his report to the Sublime Porte; the Kapudan Pasha, who had in vain opposed them, was blown up by Kánaris in the night of 18/19 June before Česhme with his flagship; Wahīd Pasha was degraded and banished to 'Alāya (Djawardat, *Tārikh*, xii. 40—48; K. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, Leipzig 1870, i. 250 sqq.).

The prosperity of the island was destroyed and to this day it has not recovered from this catastrophe. Chios was visited by a severe earthquake on April 3 and 11, 1881; the number of dead was estimated at 5,000, that of the injured at 1,000 (*S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1881, p. 801 sqq.). As a result of the Balkan War the island was ceded to Greece in 1913.

Under Turkish rule Chios in the older period was under the jurisdiction of the Kapudan Pasha; later it formed a sandjak of the wilāyet of the archipelago (*Diazā'ir Baḥr-i Safīd*); in 1910 its population (almost exclusively Greek, a few Jews) was estimated at 80,000 souls.

The Chiotese have been famous from early times for their intelligence and enterprise; especially as merchants and bankers but also as physicians, apothecaries and skilled gardeners, they were scattered all over the Levant; of their scholars the learned Leon Allatius and the Hellenist Korais have attained a European reputation. The products of their industries (silks, the so-called *khifā'i*, a cotton cloth) were much in demand; among the products of the soil we might mention mastic and southern fruits of all kinds.

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the xvii and xviii century: Carayon, *Relations inédites des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris 1864, p. 18 sqq., 256 sqq.; *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, i., Paris 1715; Émil Varenbergh, *Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol*, Antwerp 1870, p. 58 sqq. On administration, trade and products of Chios in modern times: Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 406—429; of the extensive Greek literature we may mention: Chr. B. Mavropoulos, *Τουρκικά ἑγγραφα ἀφορῶντα τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Χίου*, Athens 1920; cf. *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrbücher*, ii. 491 sqq.; Γεωργίου Ι. Ζολώτα, *Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου* (two vol. so far publ., Athens 1921); map of the island with plan of the town of Chios on the scale 1: 50,000, by Konst. N. Kanellaki, Chios 1903.

(J. H. MORDTMANN)

AL-SAKKĀKĪ, ABŪ BAKR YŪSUF B. ABĪ BAKR B. MUḤAMMAD Sirādj al-Dīn al-Kh̲wārizmī was born in Transoxiana on the 2nd of Djumādā I 555 A. H. He was originally a metal-worker and excelled in engraving dies, from which art he received his *laqab* al-Sakkākī, and making intricate locks. One day he had made an inkstand furnished with a lock, the whole weighing no more than a kīrāt, which he presented to the ruler of his country, whose name is not mentioned by the biographer. He was suitably rewarded, but soon another man came to the audience and great honour was shown to him; this amazed Sakkākī, and upon enquiry, he was told that the man was a person of learning. Seeing that learning was in greater honour than handicraft he decided to become a scholar himself. His first studies were far from successful and his ill success made him lose heart and only when he saw how the perpetual dropping of water had made a hollow in a rock, did he take up his studies again. There is exceedingly little known of his life; the names of neither his teachers nor pupils are known, no doubt on account of the Mongol invasion of his native country towards the end of his life. He is reckoned among the Hanafī lawyers; two of his teachers in that branch, Sadīd al-Kh̲hayātī and Maḥmūd b. Sa'īd b. Maḥmūd al-Hārithī, are mentioned and also one of his pupils, Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī, the author of a Hanafī law-book entitled *al-Kinya*. He died in the village of al-Kindī near the town of Almālīgh (Almālīk of the geographers) in Ferghāna in the year 626 A. H. As a Turk he is credited with some Turkish poetry, but his reputation rests upon his work in Arabic, the "*Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*", which is the most comprehensive book on rhetoric written up to his time. In spite of its great reputation, manuscripts of the book are scarce, as it was early superseded by the abridgement and commentary of the third part of the work written by al-Kāzwinī under the title of *Tulḫīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, which has become the standard work on the subject and has in turn become the subject of numerous commentators. Another reason why the *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* became superseded is, no doubt, its very difficult language which at times is quite obscure on account of long sentences such as are unusual in Arabic, and which might point to Greek influence if such could be assumed. It may be that Sakkākī had also studied the translations of Greek philosophical books, being a contemporary of the celebrated Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and it is perhaps not without signifi-

cance that, sparing as he is in mentioning any authorities, he frequently refers to statements of al-Rummānī who is reported to have indulged in philosophical theories on grammar. The book is fortunately accessible in two printed editions (Cairo 1317 in 4^o and Cairo 1318 in 8^o), which, though printed without points, so necessary for this work, enable us to study it. The original plan of the author was to divide the book into three principal sections: morphology, grammar and rhetoric, to which he has added other branches akin to the subject. The part dealing with morphology is preceded by a chapter on phonology, teaching theoretically the proper pronunciation of the Arabic sounds, while in the part dealing with exposition and rhetoric he embodies chapters on *Badīʿ*. Though he attempts to classify the subjects scientifically, his divisions vary both in their titles and in the numeration. The first book is divided into three *Faṣl*'s, while the second is divided into several *Faṣl*'s and *Bāb*'s, those towards the end not being numbered. The chief portion on Rhetoric is divided into *Kānūn*'s and these again into *Fann*'s. The part dealing with *Bayān* or eloquence has two *Aṣl*'s and five *Faṣl*'s and again several unnumbered chapters. The third *Faṣl* on Metaphorical expressions is divided into six *Ḳism*'s and at the end some additional chapters not numbered. Here the author says, he ought to finish his book, but as what follows really belongs to the art of Rhetoric, he adds long expositions on *Istidlāl* or Reasoning by deduction and a lengthy account of the art of poetry, with the usual details of the metres etc. The work was too extensive and too badly arranged to serve as an easy hand-book; in consequence the abbreviation and commentary of al-Ḳazwīnī under the title of *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* soon superseded this work and the latter with its many commentaries, especially those by al-Taḥṣīnī entitled *al-Muṭawwal* and *al-Mukhtaṣar*, have held sway in Arabic literature till the present day. The *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* has been the subject of numerous commentaries; in addition to those named, among others one by Maḥmūd b. Maṣʿūd al-Shīrāzī (died 726 A. H.), which deals with the third part only; another commentary on the third part is by al-Djurdjānī, who completed it in 803 A. H.

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(F. KREMKOW)

AL-SAKKĀKĪ, an Eastern Turkī poet, born in the last quarter of the eighth century, was celebrated in the first half of the ninth century at the court of the Timūrids in Transoxania. The only information regarding this poet of whom we know neither the date of birth nor of death, is found in the *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis* of al-Nawāʾī. Al-Sakkākī was himself a native of Transoxania and achieved his fame in Samarḳand. He is believed to be buried in the vicinity of this town. Al-Nawāʾī in the *Madjālis* alleges that al-Sakkākī's poems do not justify his fame. In the introduction to his *Khutba-i Dawāwīn*, the same author says that al-Sakkākī composed a complete *Diwān* and is famous in Turkeṣtān. On the other hand, in

his *Muḥākamat al-Lughatain* he says that al-Sakkākī cannot be compared with the Persian poets, although he acknowledges his claims as one who spread Čaghatai literature, like Luṭfi, for example, author of a Turkī *Diwān* and a *Gurwe Naurūs*, also in Turkī. The uncertainty regarding his life and the period in which he lived has led several modern writers to confuse him with the famous scholar Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī (see e.g. Nadjib ʿĀsim and Meḥmed ʿArif, *ʿOṭhmānī Tārīkhī*, Constantinople 1335, p. 275). In the British Museum is an incomplete copy of the *Diwān* of al-Sakkākī; the *ḥaṣida*'s which it contains and which are dedicated to the Timūrid Khalil Sultān (d. in 812/1408), to the great Šūfi Khwādja Pārsā (d. in 822/1418), to Ulugh Beg (814/1410—850/1445) and to the great Amīr Arslān Khwādja Tarkhān, general of Ulugh Beg, apparently the principal patron of the poet and himself the author of several poems in Turkī which still survive (Nadjib ʿĀsim, *Hibat al-ḥaḳāʾiq*, Constantinople 1334, p. 92—94), give us a fairly clear picture of the period and surroundings of the poet. In the various dictionaries of Čaghatai we find passages quoted from al-Sakkākī; in the MS. N^o. 4757 of the Aya Sofia written in Uigur characters, which contains, among other things, the *Hibat al-Ḥaḳāʾiq*, there are three of his *ghazal*'s. The poet, who had not yet been forgotten when al-Nawāʾī visited Samarḳand (870—873 = 1465—1468), played an important part in the history of Čaghatai poetry in spite of the fact that he was not an artist of the power of Luṭfi or Haidar al-Khwārizmī (cf. the art. TURKEY [language and literature]).

Bibliography: al-Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis*, second madjlis (manuscripts); do., Introduction to the *Khutba-i dawāwīn* (MS. of Nūr-i ʿOṭhmānī, N^o. 3880); do., *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, Der-i Saʿadet, Constantinople 1315, p. 64; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 284; Köprülü Zāde Fuʾād, *Ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, Constantinople 1918, p. 198. (KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FUʾAD)

SAKKĀRA, an Egyptian village, 15 miles S. W. of Cairo, Lat. 29° 75', Long. 31° 13', situated near the left bank of the Nile half way between Djize and Dahshūr. It measured 790 feddān (according to Ibn al-Djīʿān, *al-Tuhfa al-saniya*, p. 144; see also de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, p. 675) and its valuation (according to Ibn Duḳmāk, *Kitāb al-Intiqār*, Būlāk 1309, iv. 133) was 10,000 dinārs. Pococke in his travels found it a rather poor village at the foot of the hills, with a mosque and a few clusters of date-palms. The name in Arabic means "falcon's nest"; but it is no doubt a corruption of the name of the old Egyptian god of death, Seker or Sokar (*Socharis*), "the confined one", who presided over the great cemetery on the Western Plateau. The extensive ruins (5 miles in length and 1 mile in width) of this famous necropolis exhibit every conceivable variety of sepulchral monument, notably tombs of the Ancient Empire (described by Mariette, *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, xix. 8 sqq.).

Of the twenty odd pyramids of the Sakkāra group an outstanding one is the so-called Step Pyramid (*al-haram al-mudarradja*), which is in reality a transitional maṣṭaba. This, which is regarded as the oldest extant monument of its kind, was designed, it is believed, by Imhotep ("Imouthes")

the prime minister of King Zoser of the third dynasty (H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (1923), i. 276). It is 197 feet high, and is roughly constructed of small stones quarried in the neighbourhood, and having eleven successive layers of masonry with six steps with sloping sides. It is not oriented (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, London 1891, p. 28 sq.). The interior is a congeries of chambers and branching passages, many of them the work of Arab tomb-robbers. One of such depredators named Aḥmad al-Nadīdjār ("The Carpenter"), c. 820 A. D., has left his name in red ink behind him on the walls of a neighbouring pyramid. The Pyramid of Pepi I is known locally as the Pyramid of *Shaiḥ* Abū Maṣṣūr, while the Pyramid of Teti is believed by the natives to be in the vicinity of the place of Joseph's incarceration, and for that reason is known as the "Prison Pyramid". Another tomb in the same pyramid field is named by the Arabs *Maṣṣabat Fir'awn*, "Pharaoh's Throne".

Regarding the "Prison of Joseph", there is a quotation in al-Makrizī to the effect that it is at Būṣīr (al-Sidr), whose pyramids 'Abd al-Laṭīf describes (see the art. Būṣīr). But De Sacy (*op. cit.*, p. 206) considers that these include the pyramids of Sakāra as known to us (De Sacy mistakenly writes the name as *Sakhara*; although he afterwards corrects this in a foot-note, *ibid.*, p. 675). This would agree with the textual addition (see de Sacy, p. 671, note 6) which states that Sakāra is one of the dependences of Būṣīr. The "Prison of Joseph" was a regular place of pilgrimage. The Faḳīh Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī said: "If a man comes from 'Irāk to visit it I shall not reproach him for undertaking the journey" (al-Makrizī, p. 610). And there is a record in al-Masīḥī's chronicle of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal, 415 A. H. (May 13—June 11, 1024) that the populace of Cairo thronged the streets with drums and trumpets demanding from the merchants money to take them to the "Prison of Joseph". On the merchants' refusing, the matter was laid before the *Khālifa* ('Alī ibn Ḥakīm bi-amrī 'llāh) who ordered the merchants to pay the customary annual sum for the purpose. Thereupon the processional march to the "Prison of Joseph" took place led by the grand *Qāḍī* 'Izz al-Dawla (al-Makrizī, *ibid.*, p. 610 sq.).

Near the Sakāra pyramids are to be seen the remains of the celebrated Serapeum or Apis Mausoleum, where, in the rock-cut tombs below, the mummified carcasses of the sacred Apis-Bulls worshipped at Memphis were enshrined in huge sarcophagi of Assuan granite. The chapels built above the vaults formed the Serapeum proper. Thither a wonderful *Dromos* or Avenue of Sphinxes led. Fresh excavations in 1911—12 revealed the remains of the early Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias (see *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cairo, register). The well-known wooden statue, in Būlāk, of the *Shaiḥ al-Balad* came from Sakāra (see F. B. Zincke, *Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Khedives*, London 1871, chap. ix.).

Bibliography: Besides the works referred to in the text: J. M. Hartmann, *Edrisii Africa* (Gottingae 1796), p. 501; 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Historiae Aegypti Compendium* (Oxford 1800); R. Pococke, *Description of the East* (London 1773), i. 48 sqq.; Norden, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* (London 1762), ii. 13; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Nile* (London 1895), p. 237 sqq.; Baedeker, *Egypt*;

the al-Makrizī references are to the *Description topographique de l'Égypte* in the *Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, vol. ii.; *Travels of Ali Bey* (London 1816), ii. 25.

(J. WALKER)

SAKĀZ, a town and district in Persian Kurdistan, administered sometimes from Senne, sometimes from Tabriz and situated on the upper *Djaghāū* east of Bāne. The inhabitants are Kurds (Mukri). In religion they are *Shāfi'* Sunnis; there are also adepts of the *Naqshbandī* *Shaiḥs*. The family of local *Khāns* is related to that of the *Wālīs* of *Ardilān*. The town has 1200 houses, 2 mosques, a bazaar, etc. The district (with its dependency *Mīrede*) comprises 360 villages. According to the census of 1296 A. H., there were 34,024 people in the district. The government taxes amounted to 6305 *tumāns* a year. Cf. 'Alī Akbar Wakā'i-nigār, *Ḥadīka-i Nāṣiriya* (manuscript history of Persian Kurdistan written in 1309 A. H.).

(V. MINORSKY)

SAKŠİN, a place on the Dnieper (according to Ibn Sa'īd, quoted in Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 205), also located on other rivers e. g. on the Jaik (cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 116) and on the Volga (according to Westberg; cf. Marquart, *Ost-türkische Dialektstudien*, p. 56). It is situated in 67° E. Long. and 53° N. Lat.; a town *ساقسن*, without *yā'*, is said to exist in 162° 30' E. Long. and 40° 50' N. Lat., but this must be another place. East of Sakšīn lies the town of *سوسو* (v. l. *سوسو*)

which belongs to the territory of Sakšīn (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 202). According to Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 670, the fortress of *Manḳashlāgh* is between *Khwārizm* and Sakšīn and the lands of the *Rūs* near the sea of *Tabaristān* (Caspian Sea). Further information is given in *Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī* (cf. *The Geographical Part of the Nuṣḥat al-Qulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Series, xxiii.): Sakšīn and *Bulghār* (this combination is frequent in other authors also) are in 32° = 750 farsangs distant from *Mekka* (text, p. 10; transl., p. 10); the eastern frontier of *Irān*, which begins in *Sindh*, runs to the frontier of Sakšīn and *Bulghār* (p. 21 = 23 of the transl.); *Khwārizm*, Sakšīn and *Bulghār* are east of the *Caspian Sea* (p. 239 and 231); Sakšīn and *Bulghār* are two small towns in the sixth clime; much land belongs to them and they export furs (p. 259 and 252). *Al-Yazdādī* in *Ibn Isfandiyyār* (Gibb Mem. Series, ii. 33 sq.) says that in his time *Āmul* was the market for the wares of Sakšīn. Merchants from the *Irāk*, *Syria*, *Khōrāsān* and *India* came to *Āmul* to purchase there. The voyage by boat from *Āmul* to Sakšīn took three months but the return journey only one week because the former was up stream and the latter down. *Ibn Isfandiyyār* wrote probably at the beginning of the xiiith century. We see that there is no agreement regarding the situation of the place: on the one hand it is said to be on the Dnieper and on the other east of the *Caspian Sea*; while Yāqūt seems to place it among the *Rūs*, al-*Qazwīnī* in *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 402 sq., calls it a town of the *Khazars*; he says it is large (contrary to *Mustawfī*), inhabited by 40 tribes of the *Ghuzz*, with a large number of strangers and merchants in addition. The climate is cold, the inhabitants are Muslims, for the most

part Ḥanafīs, although there are also some Shāf'īs. The houses are covered with roofs of pine-wood. The river of Sakşin is larger than the Tigris and rich in fish of a kind only found there, which are sold at the rate of 100 *mann* for a half *dānaḳ*: these fishes yield train-oil and isinglass. The currency there is lead, of which three Baghdad *mann* = 1 *dīnār*. Sheep cost $\frac{1}{2}$ *dānaḳ* each, rams $\frac{1}{4}$ (*fassūḡī*); there is also much fruit. Al-Ḡharnāṭī relates that the river is frozen in winter and can be crossed on foot. So far al-Ḳazwīnī's account of the place, an excerpt of which is given by al-Bākuwī, a geographer of the fifteenth century (quoted by d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 346, note 1); but al-Bākuwī adds that in his time the town no longer existed (*op. cit.*: "Sacassin est à présent submergée; il n'en reste aucunes traces; mais près de là existe maintenant une autre ville, le Séraï de Barca, résidence du souverain de cette contrée").

In the history of the Mongol period Sakşin is several times mentioned: conquered by Čingiz Khān (*Ta'rikh-i Gusiḍa*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xiv., part i. 572; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 255), it belonged to the territory of Tūshī, his eldest son (*Ta'rikh-i Djahāngushā*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol. xvi., part i. 31; *Ta'rikh-i Gusiḍa*, i. 375). Ögotai shortly after his accession sent an army to Kıpčāk, Sakşin and Bulghār (*Ta'rikh-i Djahāngushā*, i. 150); the *Djānib-i Sakşin wa-Bulghār* is mentioned as Bātū's territory (*ibid.*, i. 205). The descendants of Khān Barkah (d. 1626 A.D.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 205) afterwards lived there. We have already seen that it no longer existed in the fifteenth century. The "Serai of Barca", mentioned in al-Bākuwī in connection with it, is probably called after the reigning family. The combination *Sakşin-i Rūm* is found in a Persian poem, which the rebel Atsız sent to king Sandjar (*Ta'rikh-i Gusiḍa*, i. 488).

The name Sakşin may — at least in European sources — also denote the inhabitants of the place. This is perhaps the case with the *Saxi* in Joannes de Plano Carpini, vii. 3, although the Mongols could not conquer them according to this writer, which is contradictory to the Persian sources. In the passage from a Russian Chronicle which is quoted by Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 21 in the note — here also there is a reference to the Mongol wars — we find *Saksini* alongside of *Polowci* as the name of a people.

Bibliography (besides the Oriental sources already quoted): Ritter, *Erkunde*, viii. 541; Ch. d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, the Hague—Amsterdam 1834—1835, i. 346, 446, ii. 15, 113 (in the last two passages as the name of a people); d'Avezac, *Relation des Mongols ou Tartares par le frère Jean du Plan de Carpin*, Paris 1838, p. 180 sq.; Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 21, 116 sq.; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, London 1888, i. 296, 300, 305; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde etc.*, Pesth 1840, p. 7, 9, 15, 28, 89, 99; do., *Geschichte der Ilchane etc.*, Darmstadt 1842, i. 419, ii. 246 sq. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SĀL (P.), a year, a word also used by the Turks. It is normally the time that elapses between two successive passages of the vernal equinox by the sun, the astronomical year; but the word is also used to designate anniversaries of births, of arrivals, etc. Solar, lunar, astronomical and civil years are distinguished; the civil year is 365

days, the astronomical year 365 days, 5 hours, 49' (Handjéry).

SĀL-NAME (P. and T.), literally: year-book, annual, almanac, calendar; the term *rūs-nāme* from *rūs* "day" is also used; the Arabic word for calendar is *taqwīm*. The Turks make great use of tables whether annual or perpetual; the latter cover a period of 80 to 85 years; they are in the form of little rolls or tiny volumes usually written with great care and in ink of several colours. They give the year in the eras of Alexander, of Christ, of Diocletian and in the Djalālī era, the era of the Saldjūḳ Sultān Malik Shāh, the name of the year in the Turco-Mongol animal cycle, a horoscopic table, the Muslim, Jewish, Christian and Persian feasts, the correspondence with the Syrian months, astronomical and meteorological predictions, the dates at which the principal agricultural operations should be performed, as well as other operations. The *Mu'adhdhins* use tables called *zīj* or *taqwīm* to know the canonical hours and the new moons. M. d'Ohsson quotes a highly esteemed calendar from the xviiith century A.D. made in Turkey by Dārendewī which covered the period 1192—1277 A.H. *Sāl-nāme* is also the name of the official annuals (gazetteers) of the Ottoman Empire.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, vol. ii., Paris 1788, p. 160—162; Carra de Vaux, *Notice sur un Calendrier turc, in A Volume of Oriental studies presented to Professor E. G. Broune*, Cambridge 1922. (CARRA DE VAUX)

SALĀ, in dialect Slā (ethnic *Salāwī*, dial. Slāwī), or, following the official French orthography commonly used, Salé, the English Salé, Saleh or Salee, is a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of and on the north bank of the river Bū Ragrāg. On the other bank just opposite stands Rabāṭ. The estuary of the river serves as the harbour of the two towns. Salé, the less important, has about 20,000 inhabitants of whom 2,000 are Jews.

The name is ancient, but the Punic Sala and the Roman Sala Colonia did not stand on the same site; the remains of the Roman Sala can still be seen near the modern Shāla (Chella), a few miles up the river and on the other bank. It is not till the Idrisid period (ixth century) that the new Salā (Salé) first appears, distinct from old Sala (Chella) then in ruins. At the beginning of the xth century it was the capital of a little Ifrānīd kingdom, which fought with the Barghawāta [q.v.], heretics settled to the south of the Bū Ragrāg. There was already at this time a ribāṭ built against these heretics on the south bank, where Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ was afterwards built (Ibn Hawkal). In the middle of the xith century, Salā, if we may believe al-Idrisī, was a fine and strong town with rich bazaars, a harbour frequented by Spanish ships, which brought oil in exchange for foodstuffs; entrance into the river was already very difficult.

The building of Rabāṭ by the Almoḥads opposite Salé does not seem to have done much harm to the latter. It is from this period that the great mosque dates and Salé remained prosperous while Rabāṭ declined after the death of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. It fell into the power of the Marinids in 649/1251 and after several vicissitudes Ya'qūb b. 'Abd Allāh, a member of the reigning family of the Marinids, declared himself independent there. The

Christians from Spain entered it by surprise in 658/1260. The Sulṭān Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb the Marinid drove them out again after a few days, closed its ramparts and built the Sea-Gate still visible to-day. The Marinid sovereigns on several occasions mobilised on the left bank of the Bū Ragrāg the troops intended for the holy war, had an arsenal at Salé where ships were built, and beautified the town. We may specially note the beautiful madrasa built by Abū 'l-Ḥasan. A little later, Ibn al-Khaṭīb spent several years there and wrote of its charm.

In the course of the great wars waged by the Spaniards and Portuguese in the xvth and xvth centuries, Salé was one of the few points on the Moroccan coast where they could not gain a footing. In the beginning of the seventeenth century when expelled by the edicts of Philip III (1609) the Spanish Moors took Rabāt; Salé, slipping from the rule of the Sherifs, became independent under the Mudjahid al-'Aiyāshī in 1627. It became his base for attacking al-Mamora (al-Madhiya) which was held by the Spaniards. Salé played a part in the feuds which divided the town and ḡaṣba of Rabāt, then fought unsuccessfully against one and the other, until when al-'Aiyāshī was killed and the three towns fell into the hands of the Marabouts of Dila' (1641). Salé recognised the authority of Ḥailān (1660) and after the defeat of the latter by al-Rashid became finally incorporated in the lands of the Filali dynasty in 1666.

This disturbed century was also the age of piracy. The Corsairs of Salé were famous; but under the name of Salé at this period the Europeans comprised the three towns and the pirates in reality almost all came from the Ḡaṣba of Rabāt and from Rabāt. These three towns, strange as it may appear, formed at the same time the principal commercial port of Morocco. Down to the end of the xviiith century this was the usual route by which travellers and merchandise from Europe went to Fās and it was on several occasions the residence of diplomatic representatives of the Christian powers.

As compared with Rabāt, the administrative capital of Morocco, Salé is now a quiet little town where many scholars live. It is also a market for the tribes who live on the north bank of the Bū Ragrāg.

Bibliography: Besides the geographers and Arab historians of Morocco cf. especially P. Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses corsaires*², Paris 1649; *Relation de la Captivité du sieur Mouette*, Paris 1682; Chénier (who was consul at Salé), *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, 3 vols., Paris 1787; and among modern works: *Villes et tribus du Maroc, Rabat et sa région*, part i., Paris 1918; de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (in course of publication), especially *Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays-Bas*, series i., vol. v., Paris 1920, Introduction; L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920; Henri Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella*, Paris 1922; H. Terrasse, *Les Portes de l'arsenal de Salé*, in *Lespérès*, 1922, p. 357—372. (HENRI BASSET)

SALADIN, AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN YŪSUF I, was the son of the Amīr Nadjm al-Dīn Aiyūb (see AIYŪBIDS), born in Takrit in 532 (1138). His father moved shortly — according to others a few years — after his birth to Syria and was

appointed governor of Ba'albek by Zangī [q. v.] and remained on there (with one third of the town and its appanages as a fief) after the Būrid Atābeg Abaḡ [see BŪRIDS] had seized the town. Saladin and his brothers were brought up there. When 17 years old he came with his father to the court of Nūr al-Dīn when the latter had captured Damascus in 549 (1154) (on the occupation of Ba'albek and Damascus see the introduction to *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit* in vol. iii. of *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1899—1905*, Berlin 1925). It is remarkable how little is known regarding Saladin's youth and education; he played no part at the court of Nūr al-Dīn; the Amīr Usāma, who lived there, did not even know him, as we see from his biography. He first came into the public eye when in 559 (1164) "in spite of his reluctance" (as Abū Ṣhāma reports without giving any reasons) Shīrkūh [q. v.] took him with him on his first campaign against Egypt. Shāwar, the vizier of the Caliph al-'Adīd [q. v.], had been displaced by a rival, Dīrghām [q. v.], and had applied for assistance to Nūr al-Dīn, Atābeg of Syria. He promised the latter a third of the revenues of Egypt, while Dīrghām had asked king Amaury I of Jerusalem for support and had promised him a vast tribute. Dīrghām was defeated and slain before Amaury could give him any assistance, and Shāwar restored to the vizierate. As the latter did not fulfil his promises, Shīrkūh, to gain his dues, ordered Saladin to occupy Bilbā'is [see BILBĪS] and the district and collect the taxes there. Fierce fighting was the result. Shāwar, finding himself in a tight corner, called in king Amaury to help him, so that Shīrkūh and Saladin were forced to entrench themselves in Bilbā'is. The town was so well defended by the two that Shāwar and Amaury could not take it. While this was going on, Nūr al-Dīn captured the important fortress of Ḥārim and advanced on Bāniyās so that Amaury was now forced to retire to Syria in order to prevent Nūr al-Dīn from making further captures. He had agreed with Shīrkūh that the latter should withdraw from Egypt and leave Shāwar in possession. Shīrkūh arrived in Syria with Saladin in the beginning of 560 (towards the end of 1164) with his forces intact. The main result of the campaign was that it gave Nūr al-Dīn and his men a clear idea of Egypt, its wealth and relative strength. Shīrkūh was attracted by the idea of conquering the land and settling there but Nūr al-Dīn did not wish to split up his forces in view of the war with the Crusaders. It was only three years later when Shāwar made a new alliance with Amaury that Shīrkūh received orders to begin a second campaign against Egypt and again he took Saladin with him (October 1168) "in spite of his reluctance at first". His first objective was the occupation of the bank of the Nile; after overcoming the difficulties of the march and eluding the Franks he reached the south of Cairo and built a fortified camp near Dītze; very soon afterwards, Amaury arrived with his troops and encamped opposite him at al-Fuṣṭāt. At the same time he concluded an agreement regarding subsidies with the Caliph himself. Amaury then attacked Shīrkūh and forced him to retreat to Upper Egypt. At Babān he forced Shīrkūh to make a stand and the latter, after some hesitation, gave battle on the advice of Saladin and some of the Amīrs; he succeeded in beating Amaury, while

Saladin put to flight the Caliph's troops. *Shīrkūh* was not in a position to follow up this victory; he retired with Saladin to Alexandria and left the latter there with half his army while he himself went to Upper Egypt to collect tribute. This was Saladin's first independent command. Amaury advanced on Alexandria with his own and the Egyptian forces, while the fleet of the Crusaders watched the coast. Saladin had difficulty in holding the town against the Franks, who put up huge siege artillery, and therefore called upon *Shīrkūh* for assistance. The latter returned by forced marches and never pitched his camp until he was before Cairo. He then entered into negotiations with Amaury for peace which was concluded in the middle of *Shawwāl*, 562 (beginning of August, 1167); he bound himself to return to Syria with Saladin, prisoners were exchanged, Saladin was received hospitably in Amaury's camp and the Christians visited Alexandria. Both sides claimed the victory; Amaury left a garrison in Cairo as well as an office for the collection of his tribute. The fear of *Nūr al-Dīn*'s successes may have been the main reason for the conclusion of the treaty. Amaury did not keep the peace. His advisers induced him to invade Egypt only 14 months later and his garrisons in Alexandria and Cairo advised him to take possession of Egypt definitely. He therefore advanced on *Bilbā'īs*, took the town on *Muharram* 29, 564 (Nov. 2, 1168) and had nearly all its inhabitants put to death. This act of barbarity estranged the Egyptians from him. He next marched against Cairo. To protect the town the vizier *Shāwar* had the suburb of *al-Fuṣṭāṭ* (cf. above i. 817 *sqq.*) set on fire. It is said to have burned for 54 days and the smoke which it raised prevented Amaury from besieging Cairo from an advantageous position. The Caliph had with all speed sent messengers for assistance to *Nūr al-Dīn*, while *Shāwar* negotiated with Amaury. *Nūr al-Dīn* sent *Shīrkūh* and with him Saladin, who was still impressed by the sufferings during the siege of Alexandria and only with reluctance decided to go. He was supplied with men, horses and arms. Amaury sought in vain to intercept *Shīrkūh* and on *Rabī' II* 1, 564 (Jan. 2, 1169) he began his retreat; a few days later *Shīrkūh* appeared before Cairo and was hailed as a rescuer; *Shāwar*, however, remained hostile to him and plotted to take him and his Amīrs prisoners on the occasion of a feast. When *Shīrkūh* and his men learned of this treachery, Saladin decided to get rid of him. He seized *Shāwar* when riding in the vicinity of Cairo and had him executed. The Caliph, delighted at being freed from his tyrannical vizier, appointed *Shīrkūh* his successor on *Rabī' II* 17, 564 (Jan. 18, 1169). But *Shīrkūh* died only two months later and the Caliph, who thought that Saladin, owing to his good nature, would be a complacent servant, appointed him vizier with the title "*al-Malik al-Nāṣir*" (March, 26 = *Djumādā II*, 25). In a letter of congratulation *Nūr al-Dīn* recognised him as commander of the Syrian troops. Henceforth the greatness of Saladin is revealed. The power, that had become his through favourable circumstances, found a highly gifted man who knew how to use it. If he had hitherto hesitated to devote his life to warfare, so that *Nūr al-Dīn* had almost to force him to take part in the campaigns against Egypt, if he had hitherto cared for nothing so much as theological discussions and appeared in public as little as

possible, as we saw, and had even indulged in forbidden wine, all this either ceased (like wine-drinking) or (like the theological discussions) was only exercised as a pastime in hours of recreation. His path lay clearly marked before him: to secure power for himself and his family, to put down the *Shīf'a* and to fight the Crusaders to the utmost. He was able to attain these aims to a great degree, because, quite apart from his own ability and valour, the ground was prepared for him. But for the previous work of *Nūr al-Dīn*, and the diplomatic ability of his father *Aiyūb*, but for the decline of the *Fāṭimid* Caliphs and the sluggishness of the Egyptian people, but for the internal feuds of the Crusaders, he could never have achieved the great successes of his life to the same extent, in view of the initial lack of unity among the Muslim rulers. He was a politician rather than a general, amenable to the advice of capable advisers, clever and fortunate in the choice of his colleagues, without ever allowing power to leave his own hands. Two men of learning, *al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil* [q. v.] and later *Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī* [q. v.], both noted for the style and grace of their correspondence, conducted his cabinet as viziers and were in constant correspondence with the highest officials and with rulers who were Saladin's friends. The number of Saladin's letters and the fulness of the political reports contained in them is overwhelming. At a later date, from 584 (1188), the *Qāḍī Ibn Shaddād* [q. v.], his biographer, entered his service as private secretary.

In Egypt, Saladin took a firm grasp of the reins of government and aroused the enmity of the black guards (Nubians and Abyssinians) who had been brought to Cairo as mercenaries, had risen to power under the weak Caliphs and filled influential positions at court and in the government. They were joined by all, who, being ardent *Shīf'īs*, were predisposed to be dissatisfied with Saladin as a *Sunnī*. The Caliph's major-domo sent to king Amaury for help; but as the messenger was captured, the plan fell through. The eunuch was executed and the Caliph's palace placed under the protection of men who could be relied upon. The negro guards thereupon mutinied in Cairo and Saladin to overcome them had their quarters burned down. They escaped to *Djīze* and were there wiped out by Saladin's troops. The Franks, who could not reconcile themselves to his rule, as they with good reason regarded it as a threat to Jerusalem, had sent envoys urgently begging for assistance to France, Germany, England, the Byzantine Emperor and the Pope and had succeeded in getting a fleet with troops sent from Constantinople and an auxiliary force from South Italy. The Byzantines and the Franks decided by mutual agreement to capture *Damietta* [q. v.] first and then to march on Cairo. Saladin sought assistance from *Nūr al-Dīn*, as he had to defend himself on one side against the Franks and Byzantines, on the other possibly against the always turbulent Egyptians. He also asked that the reinforcements should be sent under the command of his father, just as he had already called other members of his family to his side in Cairo. The successes of the Franks and Byzantines would perhaps have been greater if the siege had not been too far prolonged by the energy of the defenders. The Byzantine army began to suffer from shortness of commissariat and Amaury, doubting if he could gain a complete victory, preferred to

negotiate with Saladin and to conclude peace for a considerable sum of money. Envy and fear may have worked together upon him. In the meanwhile Nūr al-Dīn had invaded the Ḥawrān [q. v.] and prepared himself against the counter-attacks of the Franks, but a terrible earthquake in the summer of 565 (1170) which wrought tremendous devastation in the Syrian cities forced Franks and Muslims alike to lay down their arms and take up the task of rebuilding the shattered cities. In the following year (566) Saladin made a raid into Palestine and advanced as far as Ramla and 'Askalān [q. v.], then retired to Egypt to prepare for the taking of the port of Aila [q. v.] on the Red Sea and gradually to secure communications between Egypt and Palestine; in the same year he succeeded in taking Aila. In the next year (567) he fulfilled Nūr al-Dīn's desire by omitting the mention of the Fātimid Caliph in the Friday *ṣalāt* and continuing to name the 'Abbāsīd Caliph. Soon afterwards the Caliph al-'Ādīd died, whether of a natural death is uncertain; Christian writers say that he either committed suicide or was put to death by Saladin's brother, Tūrān Shāh, by the former's orders. Nūr al-Dīn is said to have been very pleased at the end of Fātimid rule. When the news of the extension of his territory was conveyed to the 'Abbāsīd Caliph he sent robes of honour to Nūr al-Dīn but not those befitting the latter's position (as a suzerain), so that, although he did put them on, he immediately sent them on by the Caliph's envoy to Saladin.

The relations between Saladin and Nūr al-Dīn were soon to become clouded. Saladin in Cairo was too independent for him; his father and his brothers were with him so that Nūr al-Dīn had no hostages in his power. When Saladin wanted to take up his scheme for securing the communications between Egypt and Palestine, he proposed to Nūr al-Dīn to besiege Shawbak and Kerak [q. v.] and set out to do so; but when Nūr al-Dīn departed for Kerak Saladin was advised by his Amīrs not to go to him as they feared for his safety. Taking their advice, he turned back and excused himself by pleading the unsettled condition of Egypt. Nūr al-Dīn was furious at this and collected troops against Saladin. When this became known at Saladin's court, a section of his Amīrs advised him to fight, but his father, who feared the great prestige of Nūr al-Dīn, advised him to write a submissive letter so that tolerable conditions were once more restored. But their mutual mistrust was not overcome, so that the two cities mentioned (Kerak and Shawbak) were not captured, nor did Saladin at this time support his suzerain against the Crusaders to the best of his ability. In the next year Saladin went to Kerak, but withdrew again, pleading his father's illness, when Nūr al-Dīn approached. In this difficult situation Saladin resolved to create a position of security for himself and his family in a way which would satisfy Nūr al-Dīn. In 569 (1173/4) he sent his brother Tūrān Shāh against the sectarian 'Abd al-Nabī, who had taken possession of the Yemen. Tūrān Shāh succeeded in driving him out and conquering the Yemen. He had himself mentioned in the *khutba* as ruler next to the Caliph and sent messengers to Saladin, who in turn notified Nūr al-Dīn and the Caliph. Nevertheless Saladin's position was still threatened, especially as he had again to face a rising in the spring of this year. Nūr al-Dīn now decided to take the field against him, especially as it vexed

him that the strength of the Crusaders was increased because Saladin held back. He had already collected an army (see AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ, the Zangid) when he was attacked by a severe illness in Damascus and died in a few days on the 11th of Shawwāl (May 15). Saladin was thus relieved of a great anxiety and was now free to develop his power. He then recognised Nūr al-Dīn's eleven-year-old son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il (see AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ, the Zangid) and devoted himself to fighting the Normans of Sicily, who had appeared before Alexandria with a strong fleet at the end of the year 569 (1173/4). They landed their crews but within three days they were defeated and for the most part killed with the help of troops sent to reinforce the strong garrison. Saladin captured enormous booty. King Amaury also had died shortly before, so that Saladin was left secure in possession of vast power and could devote himself entirely to the object of his life, the struggle with the Crusaders. He began by turning his attention to Syria, to which he was summoned by the Amīrs in Damascus in 570 (1174). He found the position there unsatisfactory in as much as there was no single guiding will among the Muslims. He rightly considered it, as Nūr al-Dīn had done before him in a similar situation (see BŪRIDIS), absolutely necessary to gain the real power in Syria, even if for the time being it was as vassal of Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il, whose guardian he endeavoured to become. Things went against him at first when he took the field against Ismā'il's Amīrs from whom he claimed to be going to liberate Ismā'il. Aleppo itself resisted him as did Ḥamā, Ḥims and Ba'albek. Ismā'il's uncle al-Ghāzī came from Mesopotamia with a large army so that Saladin was ready to make a peace favourable to Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il. As his conditions were not accepted, Saladin found himself forced to fight. He declared himself independent and dropped Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il's name from the *khutba*. The decision was in his favour, for the enemy were completely defeated at Qurūn Ḥamā. Saladin behaved with great moderation: he left Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il, who seemed quite harmless to him, in possession of Aleppo and gave Ḥamā, Ḥims and Ba'albek, which surrendered to him without a blow, to relatives as fiefs. Then, in Dhū 'l-Kā'da, 570 = May, 1175) he was, at his own request, granted by the Caliph rule (*bi 'l-saltāna*) over Egypt, Nubia, the Yemen, the Maghrib from Egypt to Tripolis, Palestine and Central Syria and henceforth considered himself as *Sulṭān*, as Abu 'l-Fidā' expressly mentions, and was also regarded as such by his contemporaries. He did not, however, adopt the title as such; he calls himself *Sulṭān al-Islām wa 'l-Muslīmīn*. A last attempt by the Zangid party to overthrow Saladin ended after several battles and a third siege of Aleppo with a peace towards the end of 571 (end of June, 1176) by which Saladin was finally left in possession of the lands conquered by him. He next besieged in his citadel an ally of Ismā'il's, the so-called Old Man of the Mountain, the Shaikh Sinān of the Assassins [q. v.] in Masayad, who had sent his Assassins against him several times; but he could not take it as the fanatical Assassins defended it vigorously. He raised the siege and received from Sinān a promise that he would not attack him again. This danger also was thus disposed of and Saladin returned to Egypt.

He considered the building of the Citadel, which

he began in this year, a very important task in Cairo (see the art. CAIRO, i. 824 *sqq.*). In Djumādā I, 573 (November, 1177) he suddenly made a rapid march into Palestine and laid waste the country round Gaza and Ascalon. King Baldwin IV opposed him but had to withdraw in face of Saladin's apparent superiority. Saladin's troops thereupon dispersed to plunder the country while Baldwin collected the Templars and many Knights under the leadership of Raynald of Kerak and again appeared upon the scene. Saladin had first of all to collect his numerous forces. The armies met to the south of Ramla. The Knights distinguished themselves by great bravery so that Saladin suffered an annihilating defeat on the 1st of Djumādā II, 573 (1177) in spite of his superiority. The victory was so surprising that the Crusaders ascribed it to a miracle. Saladin himself is said narrowly to have escaped capture; his nephew, other leaders and learned men of his retinue were taken prisoners. A great thanksgiving was held in Jerusalem in honour of the victory. One consequence of this defeat was that in the next year (574 = 1178) King Baldwin built a fortress at the Banāt Ya'qūb bridge over the Jordan, which gave him control over the river Jordan and the plain as far as Bāniyās, without Saladin being able to prevent him. Saladin, who had in vain offered the king an indemnity of 100,000 dīnārs if he would leave off building, had to attack this fortress. He sent his ablest general, 'Izz al-Dīn Farukh-Shāh, his nephew, against Baldwin, who suffered a reverse at the end of 574 (May, 1179). A year later, Saladin succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon him at Mardj 'Ayūn on Muḥarram 2, 575 (June 10, 1179); a large number of distinguished Franks were captured. Two months later Saladin took the fortress at Jacob's Ford and levelled it to the ground. The next year brought no fighting on a large scale. In Muḥarram, 576 (June, 1180) Baldwin concluded a two years' truce with Saladin. Next year Nūr al-Dīn's son, Ismā'īl of Aleppo, died. His successor, in keeping with his dying wish, was his cousin 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, a capable soldier, who, however, exchanged Aleppo for Sindjār with his brother Zangī II to obtain a consolidated dominion. In the meanwhile war had broken out between Saladin and the Franks as a result of the continued raids made by Raynald de Châtillon, prince of Kerak, on caravans going to Egypt. Zangī II, on the other hand, made peace with the Franks. Saladin, however, endeavoured to obtain sole control of the Muslim lands and used the next few years to conquer the rest of Syria (Aleppo), in Šafar, 579 (June, 1183), and to gain the suzerainty of Mesopotamia by occupying the most important towns and restoring them as fiefs. While there was no lasting peace with the Crusaders, fighting on a large scale was avoided by both sides and in the same year a four years' peace was concluded between Baldwin V, guardian of Raymond III of Tripolis, and Saladin. Soon afterwards Baldwin V died and his successor, Guy de Lusignan, ascended the throne in the following year in spite of Raymond's objections. Peace was again disturbed by Raynald de Châtillon, who from Kerak fell upon a large caravan and refused to give any satisfaction or compensation. Saladin was exceedingly angry and at the end of 582 (Feb., 1187) invaded the region of Kerak and

summoned his Egyptian troops to protect the pilgrims returning from Mekka, while his Syrian troops concentrated at Hārim. The Crusaders recognised the terrible danger. Guy made peace with Raymond, troops arrived from all sides so that Guy was able to collect an army of 20,000 men and take up a position in Šaffūriya. On Rabi' II 17, 583 (June 26, 1187) Saladin arrived south of Lake Genezareth and captured the town of Tiberias after six days' siege; the citadel alone held out. Raymond in vain warned the Crusaders against leaving their well sheltered position with its ample water supply during the frightful heat. His enemies, who believed that he had come to an arrangement with Saladin, advised the king to attack the Sultān. He ordered an advance to be made towards Tiberias and encamped the night at Ḥaṭṭīn [q. v.] where the army did not even find sufficient water. In spite of very great bravery the Crusaders were completely defeated, the king and a considerable number of his Knights captured. While Saladin gave the king a friendly reception, he slew with his own hand Raynald, the disturber of the peace, and had all the Templars and Knights of St. John executed by his Amirs and Kādīs. Just as the battle of Qurūn Ḥamā had secured him rule over Syria, the decisive battle of Ḥaṭṭīn gave him Palestine with Jerusalem. The fortress of Tiberias, Nazareth, Samaria, Sidon, Beirut, Batrūn, 'Akkā [q. v.], Ramla, Gaza and Hebron fell. He then advanced on Jerusalem and took Bethlehem, Bethania and the Mount of Olives in Raddj, 583 (Sept., 1187). Saladin first of all encamped to the west of the town, the inhabitants of which defended themselves bravely; but when he attacked the city from a more favourable position in the north and used the catapults and ballistas it had to capitulate at the end of the month. People of means were able to ransom themselves; those who could not pay were sold into slavery but several thousands were released on the intercession of Muslim and Christian persons of standing as were a large number of the poor by Saladin himself. Only a few sick people were allowed to stay as well as those who pledged themselves to pay a poll-tax. Everything associated with the Christian religion was destroyed, the Kubbāt al-Šakhra (Dome of the Rock) and the Aḳṣā mosque were restored and hospitals and schools built in memory of the great event; numerous Aiyūbid princes increased the splendour of these days by their presence and their rich foundations. It may be said that the whole of Islām joined in celebrating the capture of Jerusalem, which had been so ardently desired. The consequence of this victory was that Saladin gained possession of the cities and fortresses still Christian by force or by capitulation; only Antioch, Tripolis, Tyre and a number of smaller towns and castles remained in possession of the Christians. The remainder of the year was unfortunate for Saladin; he made the mistake of giving his weak, overtired army no time to recuperate but went on to besiege Tyre. Here he suffered a severe reverse owing to the brave defence of the garrison and his mishaps at sea. 'Akkā was rebuilt and fortified for him after long consultations by his Amīr Qarakūsh [q. v.], who had already proved his worth by building the citadel of Cairo. Saladin, after a futile attempt to take Kawkab, then went to Damascus and in Rabi' II, 584 (June, 1188) he summoned the

Muslim princes of Syria and Mesopotamia with their troops for a new campaign. In the course of the fighting that followed Lādhiqiya, Djabala [q. v.], Şahyūn, Sarmīn and Burziya were captured and a seven months' truce was concluded with Bohemund III of Antioch. Saladin on the 1st of Ramadān of the same year returned to Damascus and dismissed his allies from Mesopotamia but kept his own forces under arms in order to conquer Şafad [q. v.], Kawkāb, Kerak and Shawbak. This campaign was long but successful and ended on the 1st of Dhu 'l-Ka'da, 585 (Dec. 11, 1189) with the capture of all these places.

On learning of the capture of Jerusalem Gregory VIII proclaimed a Crusade and after his death Clement III continued his efforts. All hostilities between European rulers ceased and steps were taken to secure a rapprochement between Philip II of France and Richard I of England. The first reinforcement sent by the new Crusaders was a fleet despatched by William of Sicily, which relieved Tripolis and henceforth formed a support for the Palestine seaports. Gradually larger and smaller bodies set out from Europe for the Holy Land and all landed in Tyre. The Emperor Frederick I undertook a Crusade with numerous, well equipped troops; he went via Constantinople after he had in vain challenged Saladin to hand over Jerusalem. The Emperor Isaac of Constantinople, who had made an alliance with Saladin which proved ineffective, could not prevent his passage. The Franks, reinforced by the continued new arrivals, began the siege of 'Akkā on Radjab 14, 585 (Aug. 28, 1189), which is considered one of the greatest military operations of the Middle Ages. King Guy de Lusignan and the Count of Montferrat, who had been taken prisoners at the taking of Jerusalem, had been released by Saladin at the request of Queen Sibyl as early as Djumādā I, 584 (July, 1188) on pledging themselves not to fight again against him; after having been released from their oath by the patriarch, they began the siege of 'Akkā relying on the help of Frederick I of Germany, Richard I of England and Philip II of France and supported at first by continual arrivals of Crusaders from many countries of Europe. Saladin's energy was now revealed in its fullest development and in this several years' struggle the Crusaders learned to know and appreciate the great Sultān.

King Guy led the Franks up to 'Akkā after two months' preparations and Saladin arrived next day. The struggle for the city was waged by land and sea. The Crusaders had the advantage that the garrison was almost always cut off from the sea and suffered from lack of food. Besides, although the Crusaders at 'Akkā were joined by only very few German Knights owing to the death of Frederick I, they were given a decided superiority over the Saracens by the arrival of the army of Philip and more particularly that of Richard I and by the regular arrivals of ships with food and soldiers. They also had very fine siege artillery while the Muslims on their side had very clever artificers to make their fire-bombs. Saladin had the advantage of the single command, although his army was weakened by the long years of war so that even the relief of the garrison in 'Akkā could not be of much avail to him and his own army finally mutinied. The Crusaders were hampered by their quarrels with one another and the rivalries

of King Guy and the Count of Montferrat as well as those of Richard and Philip. The succeeding years were full of fighting by land and sea. Saladin in vain endeavoured to get new forces from the East through the intervention of the Caliph. On the 7th of Djumādā II, 587 (July 12, 1191) the garrison capitulated of its own accord without waiting for Saladin's decision. The fortress and all the prisoners in it were to be handed over and the garrison released on payment of 200,000 pieces of gold. When the money had not been paid at the end of a month, Richard had 3,000 prisoners put to death. This cruel deed, which was condemned by Christian chroniclers also, resulted in all the Christian prisoners in the hands of the Muslims being slaughtered. Richard soon afterwards captured Kaisāriya [q. v.] and fortified Jaffa, while Saladin destroyed the fortress of Ramla. Negotiations for peace henceforth went on almost without interruption between the two combatant parties; the principal agent in them was Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-'Adil. The principal demands were the cession of Jerusalem and the surrender of the Holy Cross; Richard, who was full of romantic ideas, afterwards proposed that his sister should marry 'Adil, who was to rule over Jerusalem; he followed a policy of reconciliation which gradually led to peace. He knighted al-Malik al-Kāmil [q. v.], 'Adil's son. After several more battles peace was concluded on Sha'bān 23, 588 (Nov. 2, 1192). Lydda and Ramla were divided, Ascalon razed to the ground and the Crusaders allowed to make pilgrimage to the Holy Places unarmed. The main cause of the conclusion of peace on Richard's side was his illness and his desire to return to England, as well as the cessation of reinforcements from Europe. In spite of the exertions of the whole of Europe the greater part of Palestine had become Muslim under Saladin, except for the strip along the coast, and communication between Palestine and Egypt secured; Saladin was on friendly terms with Bohemund of Antioch. Saladin was able to enjoy peace during the few months that he still had to live; he strengthened Jerusalem, then went leisurely to Damascus, where he was welcomed with rejoicings by the people towards the end of Dhu 'l-Ka'da (end of November). He spent the winter there with his family; he fell ill in Şafar, 589 (February, 1193) and died 14 days later at the age of 55. His eldest son received Damascus, his second Aleppo, another Egypt and his brother 'Adil North Arabia and Mesopotamia. The unity of his dominion disappeared within a few years after his death. It is not likely that, even if he had lived longer, he could have induced his family to come to an intelligent arrangement. During his lifetime, however, he hardly ever had to fight against one of his own family. His authority, based on his ability, kindness and piety, could not be assailed. Covetousness was remote from his character; twice — at the death of the Fātimid Caliph al-'Āqid and at the death of the Atābeg Nūr al-Dīn — he had an opportunity to acquire great wealth. He distributed the Caliph's treasures to his troops and retainers and did not touch Nūr al-Dīn's wealth but gave it to his son. He was fanatical against the Crusaders as a body but not as individuals and not against the subjected Christians of his empire, although when he came to the throne he at first enforced more strictly the regulations regarding dress for Christians and Jews. He followed

the same course as Nūr al-Dīn and may (see the art. AİYŪBIDS) be claimed as a champion of the Sunnī reaction against Shī'ī (Persian) fashion in architecture, style and writing of official documents. In the last years of his reign the personal relations between Muslims and Christians were good; it appears that some Muslims were actually knighted by Richard, e.g. al-Malik al-Kāmil, son of al-Malik al-'Adil. Saladin was beloved and respected by his people and with Sultān Baibars [q. v.] and Hārūn al-Rashīd [q. v.] is to this day the most popular figure in the East. In Europe he is considered the pattern of chivalry and, as a matter of fact, he never was unnecessarily cruel but was often magnanimous in releasing prisoners and bestowing gifts (e.g. the citadel of 'Azāz to the young sister of al-Shāh Ismā'īl, several villages to Bohemund of Antioch after the peace with Richard I). The Arabs have with only one exception (a chapter in the romance of Baibars) not given Saladin a place in ballad or romance, whereas very soon after his death he touched the fancy of English minstrels in connection with Richard, although they depicted him in an unfavourable light; in the poetry of the French and Italians he is described more favourably. Modern novelists like Scott in his *Talisman* and Lessing in his *Nathan der Weise* have introduced him into their works; to the former he is a vigorous Oriental ruler while the latter depicts him with as fine feelings as a European. He was a friend of theological learning, a patron of scholars and a builder on a grand scale as he showed in the Citadel of Cairo and in the restoration of the buildings in Jerusalem.

The epigraphical materials concerning S. have been treated in a detailed study by G. Wiet, *Les Inscriptions de Saladin* (Syria, iii. 307—328).

Bibliography: The still unprinted manuscript sources are quoted by Blochet in the introduction (p. 1—55) to his translation of al-Makrizī's *Sulūk* (period of the Aiyūbids, Paris 1908) in most commendable fashion; numerous extracts from the *Mufarriḡ al-Karūb* of Ibn Wāsil and from the "History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria" are also given there in notes in French translation; the printed literature down to 1889 is given in Derenbourg, *Ousāma Ibn Mounqidh* in the *P.E.L.O.*, xii/i, Paris 1889. — Contemporary Arabic and European sources are to be found in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, i.—v., Paris 1872—1906, and *Historiens occidentaux*, i.—vi., Paris 1844—1886, and in Reinaud's *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux guerres des Croisades* and in other parts of Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, Paris 1829. — The best and most thorough utilisation of early sources is that of Röhrich in his *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck 1898, where Röhrich's other works and many bibliographical references are also quoted. Cf. also van Berchem, *Notes sur les Croisades* in the *Journ. As.*, series 9, 1902, vol. xix. 385 sqq. Of bibliographical works in addition to Derenbourg's edition of the *Ousāma* there are the biographies by Ibn Khallikān and Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (both also in the *Recueil des hist. orient.*, vol. iii.); the last named in English as *The Life of Saladin* by Behā' ed-Dīn, ed. by C. W. Wilson, London

1897; by Von Hammer-Purgstall in the *Gemäldeaal der Lebensbeschreibungen grosser moslimischer Herrscher*, vol. v., Leipzig 1838, now obsolete, and by Stanley Lane-Poole's brilliant and lucid *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Heroes of the Nations Series*, London 1898. On the siege of 'Akkā etc. see Kate Norgate, *Richard Lion-Heart*, London 1924, Index, s.v. *Acre* and *Saladin*. On the European legends relating to Saladin see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, ch. xxiii. 377 sqq., where the pertinent passage in the romance of Baibars as well as Scott's and Lessing's characters of Saladin are fully discussed (Lane Poole was not aware that the passage quoted by him belongs to the Baibars romance). On European legends of Saladin see Gaston Paris, *La Légende de Saladin* in the *Journal des Savants*, 1893, and the reprint; cf. also Röhrich in his *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 351, note 1. (SOBERNHEIM)

SALAF (A.) or **SALAM** (A.) is regarded by law as a permissible purchase (*bai'*). The purchaser in this case has to pay the purchase money in advance while the seller, on the other hand, is only required to deliver the article purchased after the expiry of a definite period. That which is sold must be a thing which can be replaced, not simply mentioned by kind but accurately described in the contract. The place where delivery is to be made must also be exactly defined. According to the Shāfi' school it is not necessary to define the date of delivery expressly in the contract; if this has not been done, delivery can be demanded immediately. In the view of the other Fiqh-schools, however, it is absolutely essential to state a short period at least for delivery. The *faqīh*'s in the Ḥidjāz usually called this kind of purchase *salām* but in the 'Irāk the name *salaf* was usual.

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(TH. W. JUVNBOLL)

SALĀM (A.), verbal noun from *salama*, "to be well, uninjured", used as substantive in the meaning of "peace, health, salutation, greeting"; on the statements of the older Arab lexicographers see the *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv. 181—183, *passim*.

The word is of frequent occurrence in the Kor'ān, especially in the Sūras, which are attributed to the second and third Mekkan periods. The oldest passage that contains *salām* is Sūra xcvi. 5, where it is said of the *Lailat al-Kadr*: "It is peace until the coming of the dawn". *Salām* is also to be taken in this meaning in Kor'ān l. 33, xv. 46, xxi. 69, xi. 50. *Salām* means peace in this world as well as in the next. In the latter meaning we find it used in the expression *Dār al-Salām*, "the abode of bliss" for Paradise (Sūra x. 26, vi. 127). In the Medīna verse v. 18 which is addressed to the *Ahl al-Kitāb* we find the expression *Subul al-Salām*, the paths of bliss (cf. Isaiah, lix. 8: *Dārūk Shālōm*).

But *salām* is most frequently used in the Kor'ān as a form of salutation. Thus in Sūra lvi. 90 (first Mekkan period) the people of the right hand are greeted by their companions in bliss with *Salām laka* "Peace be upon thee" (according to al-Baidāwī;

for other explanations see the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 184, 8 sqq.; and the art. ALLĀH). *Salām* (Sūra xxxvi. 58, xiv. 28, x. 10, xxxiii. 43) or *Salām ʿalaikum* (xvi. 34, xxxix. 73, xlii. 24) is the greeting which is given the blessed in Paradise or on entering Paradise (cf. also xxv. 75); *Salāman salāman* in Sūra lvi. 25 (other reading *Salāmū salāmū*; cf. xix. 63) is presumably also intended as an auspicious exclamation (other interpretations in al-Baiḍāwī). Those on the Aʿraf [q. v.] call to the dwellers in Paradise *salām ʿalaikum* (vii. 44). *Salām* is also the greeting of the guests of Ibrāhīm and his reply (li. 25, xi. 72; cf. xv. 52). Ibrāhīm takes leave with *Salām ʿalaika* (xix. 48) from his father, who threatens him. In Sūra xx. 49 Mūsā in his address to Firʿawn is made to use the expression *al-salām ʿala man ittabaʿa ʿl-Hudū* "peace be upon him who follows the right guidance". According to the first explanation in al-Baiḍāwī, *al-salām* here means the greeting of the angels and guardians of Paradise; but as these words are not at the beginning of the speech, an other interpretation prefers to consider it as an affirmative sentence and to take *salām* as "security from Allāh's wrath and punishment" (cf. al-Baiḍāwī on the passage and the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 183, 7 sq.). *Salām ʿalaikum* "peace be upon you" is found in Sūra vi. 54 at the beginning of the message which the Prophet has to deliver to the believers and in Sūra xxvii. 60 a *salām* is uttered over Allāh's chosen servants. As a benediction *salām* is also used repeatedly in Sūra xxxvii., where at the end of the mention of each prophet a *salām* is uttered over him (verses 77, 109, 120, 130, 181; cf. also xix. 15, 34). *Salām* may be used in an ironical sense in Sūra xliii. 89 at parting from the unbelievers and *salām ʿalaikum* in Sūra xxviii. 55 (other interpretations in al-Baiḍāwī). This might perhaps hold of *salāman*, Sūra xxv. 64, also, with which the servants of the Merciful reply to the ignorant (*djāhilān*), but the commentators take it in the sense of *tasalluman* or *barʿatan*. In Sūra lix. 23 (Medinese) *al-salām* occurs as one of the names of Allāh, which al-Baiḍāwī interprets as *maṣḍar* used as *ṣifa* in the meaning of "the Faultless" (for other explanations cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, 7 sqq., 20 sqq.). *Al-Salām* in the expressions *Dār al-Salām* and *Subul al-Salām* is therefore also interpreted as a name of Allāh (cf. al-Baiḍāwī on Sūra vi. 127, x. 26, v. 18; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, 2 sq.). The word has even been taken to mean Allāh in the formula *al-salām ʿalaikum* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib* on Sūra vi. 54, Cairo 1278, iii. 54, 21 sq.; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, 8 sq.). It is improbable that the greeting is intended in *al-kā ʿl-salāma* in Sūra iv. 96; another reading is *al-salama* as in the similar expression in iv. 92, 93, xvi. 30, 89.

The denominative verb *sallama* is first found in the Medina chapters, namely Sūra xxxiii. 56, where it is recommended to utter *ṣalāt* [q. v.] and *salām* over the Prophet, and in xxiv. 27, 61 (see below).

At quite an early period the view became established among the Muslims that the *salām* greeting was an Islamic institution. This is, however, only correct in so far as the Ḳorʾān recommends the use of this greeting in a late Mekkan passage and in two Medīna passages: in vi. 54 it is commanded to the Prophet: "If those come to you who believe in Our signs say: "Peace be upon you" (*Salāmū ʿalaikum*). Your Lord hath

laid down a law of mercy for himself"; and in xxiv. 27: "O ye believers, enter not into dwellings" which are not your own before ye have asked leave and said *salām* (*wa-tusallimū*) on its inhabitants etc.; similarly xxiv. 61: "If ye enter dwellings, say *salām* upon one another (*fasallimū*) etc. (cf. a similar prescription Matth., x. 12, Luk., x. 5); iv. 88, where the more general expression for greeting (*ḥayyā*) is used, is also referred to the *salām* salutation. But Goldziher has pointed out (*Z. D. M. G.*, xvi. 22 sq.) and quoted passages from poets in support of the view that *salām* was already in use as a greeting before Islām. The corresponding Hebrew and Aramaic expressions *Shālām lekā*, *Shelām lak* (*lekōn*), *Shelāmā ʿolāk*, which go back to Old Testament usage (cf. Judges, xix. 20, 2 Sam., xviii. 28, Dan., x. 19, 1 Chr., xii. 19), were also in use as greetings among the Jews and Christians (cf. Dalman, *Gramm. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*², Leipzig 1905, p. 244); according to *Talmūd Yerushalmī*, *Shebiʿit*, iv. 35^b, *Shālām ʿalē-kām* was Israel's greeting. Cf. also Peshitta Mt., x. 12, xxvi. 49, Luk., x. 5, xxiv. 36, Joh., ix. 19, 21, 26, and Payne Smith, *Thes. Syriacus*, col. 4189 sq.). A very great number of Nabataean inscriptions further show the use of *sh-l-m* to express good wishes in North-west Arabia and the Sinai Peninsula (*C. I. S.*, II, *Inscriptiones Aramaeae*, i. N^o. 288 sqq., twice repeated in N^o. 244, 339, thrice repeated in N^o. 302) and the Arabic *s-l-m* frequently occurs in the Sāfaite inscriptions as a benedictive term. Cf. E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der Sāfa-Inschriften*, Leipzig 1901, p. 47, 52 sq., 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 70; do., *Semitic Inscriptions*, New York-London 1905, Sāfaite Inscriptions, N^o. 5, 8, 12, 15, 69, 128, 134.

If the line *salāmaka rabbanā fī kulli fadjrin* quoted in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 183, 5 from below, were genuine and really by Umayyā b. Abi ʿl-Salt, one might perhaps conclude from it that there was a benedictory use of the *salām* formula in the morning service in certain monotheistic circles of North Arabia. Presumably the usage, influenced by Christian and Jewish views, had given the word a special significance in the region of Aramaic culture. Lidzbarski's suggestion (*Ztschr. für Semitistik*, i. 85 sqq.) that *salām* reproduces the idea expressed by *σωρυπία* need not be discussed here but his explanation of *Islām* as the infinitive of a denominative verb *aslama* formed from *salām-sowrypiā* ("to enter into the state . . . of *salām*"), cannot be reconciled with such expressions frequent in the Ḳorʾān as *aslama wadihahu li ʿl-lāh-aslama li-Rabb al-ʿālamīn* etc.

Muḥammad must have placed a high religious value on the *salām* formula as he considered it the greeting given by the angels to the blessed and used it as an auspicious salutation on the prophets who had preceded him. A *salām*, like that in the *tashahhud* (see below) or like the salutation of peace which closes the *ṣalāt* and has its parallel in the Jewish *shillā* (cf. E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islam. Gebets u. Kultus* in the *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, ph.-h. Kl., 1913, N^o. 2, p. 18), may have been from the first an essential feature of the ritual of divine service. According to a tradition (al-Bukhārī, *al-Isṭiḍhān*, bāb 3, *al-Adhān*, bāb 148, 150), originally they uttered the *salām* at the close of the *ṣalāt* on Allāh, on Djibril, Mikāʾil and other angels. With the

remark that Allāh is himself the *salām* (cf. *Qurʾān*, lix. 23) the Prophet disapproved of this and laid down what should be said in the *taṣḥḥud* [q.v.]; the *salām* utterance belongs to it in the form given below. On varying traditions regarding the *taṣḥḥud* see al-Shāfiʿī, *Kit. al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i. 103 sqq.; cf. also Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien* etc. in the *Z.D.M.G.*, i. 102).

In the ritual of the *ṣalāt* as legally prescribed the benediction on Allāh and the *salām* on the Prophet, on the worshipper and those present and on Allāh's pious servants precede the confession of faith in the *taṣḥḥud* (*al-salāmu ʿalaika, ayyuhā ʿl-nabiyyu, wa-raḥmatu ʿllāhi wa-barakātuhu; al-salāmu ʿalainā wa-ʿalā ʿibādī ʿllāhi ʿl-ṣāliḥīna*). Among the compulsory ceremonies of the *ṣalāt* there is also at the end of it the *taslīmat al-ūlā*, the fuller form of which consists in the worshipper in a sitting position turning his head to right and left and saying each time *al-salāmu ʿalaikum wa-raḥmatu ʿllāh*. Cf. al-Badʿūrī, *Ḥaṣṣiya ʿalā sharḥ Ibn Kāsim al-Qḥaṣṣī ʿalā matn Abī Shudjāʿ*, Cairo 1321, i. 168, 170;

The preference of the *Qurʾān* for the *salām* formula and its liturgical use may have contributed considerably to the fact that it soon became considered an exclusively Muslim greeting (*taḥiyat al-islām*). As already mentioned above, the *Qurʾān* prescribes the *salām* on the Prophet to follow the *taṣḥḥud*. Tradition reports that the latter endeavoured to introduce it. When ʿUmar b. al-Waḥb was brought before him and gave him the pagan greeting (*anʿimū ṣabāḥan*), the Prophet said: "Allāh has given us a better greeting than thine, namely *al-salām*, the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 472 *infra* sq.; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1353, 10 sqq.) Those around him are also said to have been eager to introduce this greeting. Al-Wāḳidī relates that ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd, who immediately after his conversion wanted to convert his own townsmen in Ṭāʾif to Islām, called the attention of the Ṭḥakīf, who saluted in the heathen fashion, to the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise, *al-Salām* (Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, v. 369; Sprenger, *Das Leben . . . des Muḥammad*, iii. 482; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i. 264). According to Ibn Ishāq, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba instructed the deputation to Muḥammad from the Ṭḥakīf how they were to salute the Prophet, but they would only use the greeting of the *Djāhiliya* (Ibn Hishām, p. 916, 5 sqq.; al-Ṭabarī, i. 1290, 9 sqq.; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii. 485; Goldziher, *loc. cit.*). The Jews are said to have distorted this greeting with respect to Muḥammad to *al-sām ʿalaika* "death to you", whereupon the Prophet answered *wa-ʿalaikum* "and to you" (al-Bukhārī, *al-Istīʿdhān*, bāb 22; *al-Adab*, b. 38; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 206). According to Ibn Saʿd (*op. cit.*, iv/i. 163, 15), Abū Dharr was the first to greet the Prophet with the Muslim greeting. In the same author (*op. cit.*, iv/i. 82, 2) we find *salām ʿalaikum* at the beginning of a letter from Muʿāwiya to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

The expressions which could be used were *salām* or *salām ʿalaikum* (-ka) or *al-salām ʿalaikum*. Umm Aiman is said to have used simply (*al*-)*salām* to the Prophet (Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, viii. 163, 7 sq., 9 sq.). In the *Qurʾān* the use of *salām ʿalaikum* preponderates. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī endeavours to explain that the indefinite form is preferable and expresses the conception of perfect greeting (*op. cit.*, ii. 500, 35 sqq., iii. 512, 11 sqq.). Following

him al-Shāfiʿī is said to have preferred *salāmun ʿalaika* in the *taṣḥḥud* (*op. cit.*, iii. 512, 35); but the Shāfiʿī school also allows the definite form here (al-Badʿūrī, *op. cit.*, i. 168; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, 12 sq.). The formula *al-salām ʿalaikum* was, however, much used as a greeting. This undetermined form is expressly prescribed in the *taslīma* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 501, 5; al-Badʿūrī, *op. cit.*, i. 170; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, 13 sqq.). As a return greeting *wa-ʿalaikum al-salām* became usual (for further details on this inversion see Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 500, 29 sqq., iii. 512, 21 sqq.). According to Ibn Saʿd (*op. cit.*, iv/i. 115, 19 sq.), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar replied with *salām ʿalaikum*.

According to some traditions, Muḥammad had described the expression *ʿalaika ʿl-salām* as the salutation to the dead and insisted on being greeted with *al-salām ʿalaika* (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2395; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī Ḡharīb al-Ḥadīth waʿl-Athar*, Cairo 1311, ii. 176 below). The first named form of the greeting is actually found in elegiac verses (*op. cit.*, ii. 177; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182). But there are also traditions in which the Prophet greets the dead in the cemetery with an expression beginning with (*al*-)*salām* (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2402, 10 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *loc. cit.*). ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar also on returning from a journey is said to have saluted the graves of the Prophet, of Abū Bakr and of his father with *al-salām ʿalaika* (Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, iv/i. 115, 5 sqq.).

The *salām* formula was very early extended by the addition of the words *wa-raḥmatu ʿllāhi* or *wa-raḥmatu ʿllāhi wa-barakātuhu*. The first extension became used in the *taslīma* and the second in the *taṣḥḥud* (cf. above). Applying the *Qurʾānic* commandment (iv. 88: "when ye are saluted with a salutation, salute the person with a better than his or at least return it") it is recommended (*sunna*) in the return greeting to add the wish of blessing and benediction or occasionally, when replying to a simple *salām*, only the former (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Istīʿdhān*, bāb 16, 18, 19). If anyone is saluted with the threefold formula, he must reply with the same (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on Sūra iv. 88, *op. cit.*, ii. 502, 14 sqq.). According to Lane (*Manners and Customs*, i. 229, note), the threefold formula was very common as a return greeting in Egypt; cf. also Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*², Milan 1913, p. 121. In Mekka it is comparatively rarely used; the reply usual there is *weʿaleikum es-salām war-rahma* (*we-raḥmatu ʿllāh* or *wal-ikrām*); cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter u. Redensarten*, The Hague 1886, p. 118. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii. 788, note) thinks that the longer form recalls the priest's blessing in Num., vi. 24—26. The application of *ʿalaikum* to a single person is explained by saying that the plural suffix includes the two accompanying angels or the spirits attached to him (i. e. the person; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 501, 19 sqq.; cf. iii. 513, 17 sqq.).

At the conclusion of a letter the expression *wal-salāma* (*ʿalaika, -kum*) is often used, e. g. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, i./ii. 27, 17, 27, 28, 2, 5, 23, 29, 13, 21. Al-Ḥarīrī (*Durrat al-Ḡhawwās*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 208, 9 sqq.) disapproves of the use here of the indefinite form (*salāmun*), which, according to the more correct use, should only be used at the beginning. — *Wal-salām* has occasionally the meaning of "and that is the end of it" (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 92).

In keeping with *Korān* xx. 48, it became usual to use the form *al-salām* 'alā man ittaba'a 'l-hudā to non-Muslims when necessary (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 501, 26 sqq., iv. 706, 19 sq.). It is found, for example, in letters ascribed to Muḥammad (al-Bukhārī, *al-Istīdhān*, bāb 24; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, i/ii. 28, 10 sq.; cf. line 6 there at the beginning of the letter: *salāmun* 'alā man āmana). Papyri of the year 91 (710) bear early testimony to its use (*Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i., ed. by C. H. Becker, Heidelberg 1906, i. N^o. 29, ii. 40 sq., iii. 87 sq., x. 11, xi. 7, xviii. 9). A letter from Muḥammad to the Jews of Maḡnā concludes, however, with *wa 'l-salām* (Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, i/ii. 28, 23); similarly a letter to the Christians in Aila (*ibid.*, p. 29, 12 sq.). In Ḥadīth also a tendency is noticeable not to deny the *salām* greeting, at least as a reply, to unbelievers and the *Ahl al-Kiṭāb* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *al-Taḥṣīn*², v. 111 sq.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *loc. cit.*).

On the rules and limitations regarding salutation cf. the article *TASLIM*.

Salām means also a *ṣalawāt* litany, which is pronounced from the minarets every Friday about half an hour before the beginning of the midday service before the *adhān*. This part of the liturgy is repeated inside the mosque before the beginning of the regular ceremonies by several people with good voices standing on a *dikka* (Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien*, etc. in the *Z.D.M.G.*, l. 103 sq.; cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, i. 117). The same name is given to the benedictions on the Prophet which are sung during the month of Ramaḡān about half an hour after midnight from the minarets (Lane, *op. cit.*, ii. 264).

The auspicious formula '*alaihi 'l-salām*', which, according to the strictly orthodox opinion, like the *taṣliya*, should only follow the names of Prophets, but was more freely used in the earlier literature (cf. also al-Bukhārī, *al-Istīdhān*, bāb 43: *Fāṭima 'alaiha 'l-salām*), was used by the *Shi'a* without limitation of 'Alī and his descendants also (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. 121 sqq.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iii. 511 sqq.).

The Sunnī of British India make a magical use of the so-called seven *salām*'s which refer to Sūra xxxvi. 58, xxxvii. 77, 109, 120, 130; xxxix. 73, xcvi. 5. In the morning of the festival of *Ākhir-i Čāhār-shamba* (see *ĀKHIR*) they write the seven *salām*'s or have them written with saffron-water, ink, or rosewater on the leaf of a mango-tree or a sacred fig-tree, or of a plantain. They then wash off the writing in water and drink it in the hope that they may enjoy peace and happiness (*Djāfar Sharīf—Herklots. Islam in India or the Qānūn-i Islām*, new ed. by W. Crooke, London 1921, p. 186 sq.).

On coins *salām* (sometimes abbreviated to *s*) means "of full weight, complete" (cf. J. G. Stickel, *Das gross-hers. Orient. Münzkabinett zu Jena (Handb. d. Morgenl. Münzkunde)*, Leipzig 1845, i. 43 sq.; O. Codrington, *A Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, London 1904, p. 10).

Bibliography: In addition to that mentioned in the article: Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iqd al-farīd*, Būlak 1293, i. 276 sq.; Lane, *op. cit.*, i. 298 sqq.; Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leiden 1905—1913, ii. 776—781, 786—789. (C. VAN ARENDONK)

SALAMA B. RADJĀ, governor of Egypt from Dhū 'l-Hiddja 161 (August 30 to September 27, 778) until Muḡarram 162 (October 778).

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 492, 493; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, vi. 38, 39; *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, iii. Series Arabica, ed. A. Grohmann, i/ii. 119, 120. (A. GROHMANN)

SALĀMA B. DJANDAL, a poet of pre-Islamic times, was a member of the clan al-Ḥārith, which belonged to the large division Sa'd al-Fizr of the tribe Tamīm. He is numbered among the excellent poets of the *Djāhiliya* of whom only few poems are preserved. He must have flourished during the second half of the sixth century of our era, as the most prominent event in his life recorded is about his brother Aḡmar (sometimes misspelled Aḡmad). When 'Amr b. Kulthūm, the chief of the tribe of Taghlib, made his raid south, Aḡmar was made a prisoner by 'Amr, but released without ransom upon the petition of Salāma (*Diwān* of 'Amr, Introduction to poem N^o. 2; *Aḡḡānī*, ix. 183, 18). Whether there is an error on the part of Arab tradition is not certain, but in the *Diwān* of Salāma we are told in the notes on poem N^o. 8 (edition Cheikhō) the same thing happened to Aḡmar with a certain Ṣaṣ'a b. Maḡmūd b. 'Amr b. Marḡad. The latter probably belonged to the Kaṣī clan of 'Amr who resided as allies (*ḡulafā'*) among the tribe of Shaibān, or he may have belonged to the celebrated Yamanite family of Marḡad. In his longest poem Salāma refers to the death of al-Nu'mān, king of al-Ḥira, who was trampled to death by elephants at the order of the Persian king Parwēz (*Diwān*, N^o. 3, v. 39; *Asma'iyyāt*, N^o. 53, v. 39). Further the *Naḡā'id* of Djārīr and Farazdaq give two poems by Salāma, not in the *Diwān*, in which he celebrates the victory of Djadūd, in which the clan of Minkar, also a division of Sa'd al-Fizr, defeated the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il. These two events place the life-time of Salāma towards the end of the sixth century. The time of his death cannot be fixed; he did not live to the time of Islām and none of his descendants appear to be named in the biographies of early Muslims.

Cheikhō is mistaken when he assumes that Salāma is identical with the renowned chief Salmā b. Djandal b. Naḡshal, the latter being of the clan Naḡshal b. Dārim and related to Muḡjāshī', the ancestor of the poet al-Farazdaq. Salāma is reputed to excel in the description of horses. His collected poems have come down to us in two old manuscripts, which were edited by Cheikhō in 1920. This *Diwān* contains only nine poems or fragments of such, 135 verses in all, to which the editor has added a further 36 verses collected from various sources and to which I can add only one verse quoted in the *Kitāb al-'Ain* (ed. Baghdād), p. 108. We have no reason to doubt the genuineness of most of the verses. The poet speaks in them of departed youth which unfortunately is no guide to his age, as such statements belong to the ordinary phraseology of such poems. That he mentions Allāh (N^o. 1, v. 12) I should not take as a sign of later interpolation, as I believe that before Muḡammad some form of monotheism through the influence of Christianity and Judaism was widespread in Arabia, though the form al-Ilāh is probably the correct form in earlier times. He mentions swords of Buṣrā and al-Mada'in, which are seldom or never mentioned in verses of later times, as swords were no longer obtained from there. That he mentions writing or even inkstands and parchment (N^o.

3, v. 2) is not at all strange as these things were more widely known than is generally admitted. His poetry has otherwise the stamp of what is called Bedouin poetry, a rather unfortunate designation as it gives a wrong impression (cf. the art. *SHĀ'IR*). The text of the *Diwān* is a combination of the Baṣrian (*Aṣma'i*) and the Kūfic (Abū 'Amr al-Shaibānī) school, of whom the latter will generally be found more reliable, but unfortunately the recensions are not kept apart in this case to discern any differences. It would be wrong to assume that they collected the poems; their work was the commenting of the text which they found handed down by earlier scholars. The edition by Cl. Huart (*J. A.*, 1910) is superseded by that of Cheikho (Beyrouth 1920), which contains all that is known about Salāma.

Bibliography: *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, No. 22, text and translation; ed. Cairo, i. 54; ed. Thorbecke, No. 20; *Aṣma'iyyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, No. 53; Muḥammad b. Sallām, ed. Hel- (Leiden 1916), p. 36; *Naḩā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 147—148; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 147; Poètes Chrétiens, ed. Cheikho, p. 486—491. Verses of Salāma are cited in most books dealing with ancient Arabic poetry e.g. in the *Lisān al-'Arab* 40 times.

(F. KRENKOW)

SALAMANCA, the capital of the Spanish province of Salamanca, on the right bank of the river Tormes, 172 miles by rail N.W. of Madrid, with a population of 25,690 (1900). In the Roman period the city was constituted a military station, being the ninth on the Via Lata, which was the great highway of Spain, running from Merida to Saragossa. Trajan built a magnificent bridge there, the original piers of which still exist. Like the rest of Spain the city suffered from the Gothic invasion.

It was a greater change for the city, when Mūsā, the governor of Africa, appeared with 18,000 picked men in Southern Spain (712), and began a methodical campaign in the Peninsula. Capturing Seville, Carmona and Merida, he covered the road that many a Roman legion had tramped before him, until he came before Salamanca. The city, which once had all the dignity and defiance of a Roman fort, offered but a poor resistance to the Muslim warriors. But although the district was now in the hands of foreigners, the inhabitants found their masters not impossible tyrants. If they paid their tax, and followed their faith, without unduly propagating it, their lives and their property were safe. Indeed, they soon found that a new intellectual life had come to the city, and they had to bow before the classical and oriental learning of the invaders. It is by no mere chance that Salamanca boasts of the oldest and largest university in Spain. Its foundations were laid by the unpromising pioneers of Islām.

Ibn al-Athīr states that in May 757 A.D. (24 A.H.) King Alphonso opened an attack on the Moors, and drove them out of Salamanca, but this does not seem to have been anything more than a predatory raid. The city, however, was never a Muslim possession in the sense that Cordova or Seville was. It certainly was considered an admirable piece of work of Ibn Abī 'Amr, when in Sept. 977 he succeeded in capturing the suburbs of the city from the Christians, for he was rewarded with the title of *Dhu 'l-Wizārain* and a

princely salary. So the fate of Salamanca wavered from decade to decade, until finally through internal disunion, and the more determined hostility of the Spanish Christians, Moorish pride and power were swept from the city in 1055, never more to be re-instated.

The University, founded officially in 1220 by Alphonso IX of Leon, was in itself sufficient to give distinction to Salamanca, through all the succeeding centuries, until the great battle of 1812, when Wellington settled the fate of the French in the Peninsula.

Bibliography: — Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, index; Villar y Macias, *Historia de Salamanca*, 3 vols., Salamanca 1887; H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., London 1895; Lapunya, *La Universidad de Salamanca y la cultura española en el siglo XIII*, Paris 1900; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leiden 1861; al-Makkari, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, transl. P. de Gayangos, O. T. F., London 1840.

(T. CROUTHER GORDON)

SALAMĪYA, a small town in Syria in the district east of the Orontes, about twenty-five miles S.E. of Hamā and thirty-five (a day's journey) N.E. of Hims (for the exact situation cf. Kiepert's map in Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i. and part ii. 401). It lies in a fertile plain 1500 feet above sea level, south of the Djabal al-A'lā and on the margin of the Syrian steppe. The older and more correct pronunciation was Salāmya (al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i. 61; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B.G.A.*, v. 110) but the form Salamīya is also found very early (al-Muḩaddasi, *B.G.A.*, iii. 190; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B.G.A.*, vi. 76, 98) and it is now the form almost universally in use (cf. also Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 123, and Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 169 sq.). The *nisba* from the name is Salami. The town seems to be the ancient Salamias or Salaminias, which flourished in the Christian period, but the references of the classical authors to this place are uncertain. Yāqūt (iii. 123) gives a popular etymology. The town, he says, was originally called *Salam-mī'a*, after the hundred surviving inhabitants of the destroyed town of al-Mu'tafika.

The situation of the town was important as an outpost of Syria, where main routes from the steppe (Palmyra) and 'Irāk joined; but it was never of any great military importance. It was conquered by the Arabs in the year 15 A.H. and became one of the towns of the Djund of Hims; it was only after 1500 in the Mamlūk period that it was placed in the district of Hamā for administrative purposes. In the second century of the Hidjra, after the victory of the 'Abbāsids, the descendants of the 'Abbāsīd Ṣāliḩ b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās settled in Salamīya. The town is said to be most indebted to Ṣāliḩ's son, 'Abd Allāh, who rebuilt it and made arrangements for the irrigation of the neighbourhood. This 'Abd Allāh was held in high esteem by his cousins, the Caliphs. He married the sister of al-Mahdi and became governor of the 'Irāk. This Caliph visited him in Salamīya and was astonished at 'Abd Allāh's dwelling there (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 500). There are also other references to the fact that many "Hāshimīs" lived in Salamīya.

Almost nothing has survived of this period. There is the foundation inscription of a mosque

on a stone (not *in situ*) at the entrance to the citadel. It is probable that this inscription is dated 150 (767) and that it belonged to a mosque founded by those Hashimis, which may have been destroyed about 290 (902/3) by the Qarmatians. Still another inscription dating from an 'Abbāsid has been found in the citadel; according to Littmann's probable suggestion, it belongs with two other inscriptions to the period from 280 (893) (or, for another view, see M. Hartmann in the *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv. 55). The fact that Salamiya was the centre of an important branch of the Hāshimis and the isolated position of the town perhaps account for the fact that about 250 (864) it became the secret centre of Ismā'īlī propaganda. It is difficult to ascertain who was the first Grand Master of the Ismā'īliya to settle in Salamiya; in any case it does not seem to have been so early as 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn himself (as de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, *Introd.*, p. 71, 166 supposes), for the latter, as de Goeje (*Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*, Leiden 1886, p. 19) makes probable, was probably never in Salamiya. The first leader to be sent here was apparently Husain b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn (de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 21), whose son, Sa'īd 'Ubaid Allāh, destined to become the first Fātimid Caliph, was born in Salamiya in 259 or 260 (873/74) (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 365); according to a biased statement in Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 22), 'Ubaid Allāh was the son of a smith in Salamiya whose widow afterwards married Husain. When Husain died about 270 (883/4) his brother Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn, also known as Ibn Shalaghlagh, became Grand Master and guardian of his nephew 'Ubaid Allāh, till his death (about 280 = 893/4). 'Ubaid Allāh continued to reside in Salamiya till 289 (902) when he set out on his successful journey to North Africa (de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 64). In the next year the town was practically wiped out by the Qarmatians from 'Irāk under their leader Husain, who had assumed the title of Mahdi. Of all towns in Syria, Salamiya, as home of the former companions in faith and later bitter enemies of the Qarmatians, was treated the worst (de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 50). Soon afterwards, however, the Syrian towns were reconquered by the Caliph. It is not impossible that the quadrangular citadel in the centre of the town goes back to the Ismā'īlī period; according to van Berchem, it belongs to an early period architecturally.

In the fourth (xth) century, Salamiya must have been in an area inhabited by Beduins (Saif al-Dawla's campaign; cf. Hartmann in the *Z.D.P.V.*, xxii. 175, 176). At the end of the fifth (xith) century, it was included in the possessions of the brigand chief Khalaf b. Mulā'ab (M. Hartmann reads Malā'ib), who acknowledged Fātimid suzerainty. There is evidence of this in an inscription in Kūfic characters on the door beam of the mosque of 481 (1088). According to Ibn al-Athīr (x. 184), Khalaf took Salamiya in 476 (1083); he was then already master of Ḥims. But in 485 he lost Ḥims and the lands that went with it to the Saljūq Ṭuṭush, brother of Malik Shāh. In the inscription Khalaf says that he has erected a *maṣhad* on the tomb of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Djarū, whose servant (*ṣānī*) he calls himself (Khalaf is very fully dealt with by M. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv. 58—65).

During the Crusades Salamiya is never mentioned

as a fortress but frequently as a meeting-place for the Muslim armies. Politically it has always shared the fate of Ḥims [q.v.]. Thus it passed to Ridwān, son of Ṭuṭush, in 496 (1102/3). In 532 (1137/8) the Atābeg Zangī, who was then besieging Ḥims, set out from Salamiya on his campaign against the Greeks at Shaizar (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 36 sq.) and in 570 (1174/75) Saladin obtained the town together with Ḥims and Ḥamā from the Amir Fakhr al-Dīn al-Za'farānī (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 276). In 626 (1229) we find al-Malik al-Kāmil in Salamiya as a starting point for 'Irāk; the lord of Ḥamā came there to submit to him. Two years later, al-Kāmil gave the town to Asad al-Dīn Shirkūh, who rebuilt the fortress of Shumaimish north of it on one of the peaks of the Djabal al-A'lā (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 318, 329) which had been destroyed by the earthquake of 1157 (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Histoire d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, Paris 1900, p. 21).

In 1299, the Egyptian army was defeated at Salamiya by the Mongols under Ghāzān; the battle was followed by the brief Mongol occupation of the city of Damascus.

In the eighth (xivth) century, Salamiya was part of the important frontier lands (called al-Sharqiya) of the *mamlaka* of Damascus. Abu 'l-Fidā', in whose territory as lord of Ḥamā the town lay during the Mamlūk period, mentions an aqueduct between Salamiya and Ḥamā. In 726 (1326) he went with his troops to clear out this channel (autobiography of Abu 'l-Fidā' in the *Rec. des Hist. des Crois.*, *Hist. Orient.*, i. 168, 185). This aqueduct no longer exists. Perhaps it is the same as is mentioned by al-Dimashqī (p. 207) as in existence between Ḥims and Salamiya and built by the 'Abbāsid 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ. At this time Yāqūt (iii. 123) speaks of seven prayer-niches near Salamiya below which some *ṭabī'un* were buried; he also mentions the tomb of al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr, the companion of the Prophet.

Under Turkish rule, the town ceased to be of importance. In the middle of the nineteenth century it was entirely deserted, probably on account of the lack of adequate protection against the Beduins. But an Ismā'īlī Shaikh from the Nuṣairi mountains settled there and succeeded in settling the place with his followers. The Shaikh, whom van Berchem met in 1895, was a young man who traced his descent from 'Abd Allāh b. Maimūn. These Ismā'īlīs in a short time made the town very prosperous, which induced the Turkish government (in 1892) to create a special *qaḍā* of Salamiya in the sandjak of Ḥamā in the wilāyet of Bairūt. The population of the *qaḍā* is given by Cuinet (1896) as 53,084, of whom the smaller half are Muslims and the larger Christians. The town itself is said by the same authority to have 6,000 inhabitants, in addition to the Druzes (by whom he probably means the Ismā'īliya). The irrigation is excellent; the crops of the district consist mainly of corn and legumes.

On the fortress of Shumaimish see van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, i. 171, 173.

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Moslems, London 1890, p. 510, 528; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 66; M. Hartmann, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der syrischen Steppe*, Z.D.P.V., xxii. 151 sqq., xxiii. 108 sqq.; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, i., Cairo 1914, p. 167—171; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, iii. 298 (Ibn Shaddād), 546 (*Mir'āt al-Zamān*), 592 (Kamāl al-Dīn), v. 180 sq. (Abū Shāma); M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i., Berlin 1899, p. 124 sq., 305; V. Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris 1896, p. 436, 453 sq.; Sāmī, *Kāmus al-A'lām*, iv. 2609. On the inscriptions cf. Rey, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique accomplie en 1864—1865 dans le Nord de la Syrie* (*Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, second series, iii. 345; M. Hartmann, *Die arabischen Inschriften in Samaria*, Z.D.P.V., xxiv. 49—68; E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, New York 1905, p. 169—178; M. v. Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften* (*Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, gesamm. v. M. von Oppenheim, i. = *Beitr. z. Ass. u. sem. Sprachw.*, vii./i., Leipzig 1909, p. 32—34).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SALĀMLIK (A.-T.) (Turkish pronunciation: Selamlık),

1) Reception-room in Turkish houses of the upper classes, derived from *salām*, greeting, welcome. In the general plan of this type of house (*konağ*) there is an ante-room or court behind the main door, at one side of which a stair-case leads up to the *selamlık*, *mā-bain* [q. v.] and to the corridor (*sofa*), which together form the part of the house allotted to the males. On the other side of the court is the entrance to the harem [q. v.]; there also is the swivel-box (*dolab*) through which the women communicate with the harem kitchen. Although *Selamlık* originally meant only the room in which the guests are welcomed, the word has come to receive the wider general meaning of the whole of the men's apartments as opposed to the harem or haremlik. It thus coincides more or less with the *ἀνδρῶν* or *ἀνδρονόριον* of the Greeks. Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Turc.-Français*, Paris 1886, mentions a room called *Harem-selamlık* which is situated between the two parts of the house and cannot be entered by strangers; it is therefore probably another name for the *mā-bain*.

In Turkish houses of the lower classes it seems that strangers were not admitted at all (Hans Dernschwam's *Tagebuch*, ed. Babinger, 1923, p. 134); there was therefore no *selamlık* there.

In northern Mesopotamia where wood is scarce the rooms of the houses are hollowed out of sandstone and a kind of dome of stone and clay put over them. Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, Berlin 1893, p. 242, describes this type of house where one of these domed rooms is *selamlık*, another *harem*, another a stable, etc.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, ii. 199 sq.; Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople, Domestic Manners of the Turks*, 3 vols., London 1845, iii. 173—175.

2) A ceremony in Constantinople on the occasion of the ceremonial visit of the Sultān to a mosque for the Friday service.

That the Ottoman Sultāns were accustomed to pay a ceremonial visit to a mosque on Friday is often mentioned by travellers. Every Friday they

visited one or other of the so-called Sultān's mosques (*djāwāmi-i Salāṭin*) where they had their boxes or stalls. While at an earlier period the high officers of state used to accompany the Sultān, etiquette since the time of Ibrāhīm I has only expected the court officials to go. The streets through which the procession went were usually guarded by Janissaries and the reception in the mosque by the Aga of the Janissaries and the administrator of the mosque was very ceremonious. In winter it was usually the Aya Şofya, as the mosque nearest the palace, that was visited.

D'Ohsson assumes a connection between the Sultān's visit to the mosque and his dignity of *Imām* in his capacity as caliph at the *ṣalātu 'l-djum'a* but adds that the Sultān never himself appears as *Imām*. This view is quite in agreement with d'Ohsson's ideas on the caliphate, but perhaps this ceremonial visit to the mosque should rather be regarded as an imitation of similar ceremonies at the Imperial Byzantine court.

Down to the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sultān always appeared on horseback on this occasion (picture of the year 1788 in Jouannin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, Paris 1840). Only a very few Sultāns omitted the ceremony, as their non-appearance would have aroused resentment among the populace. From the time of Maḥmūd II it was the custom for the Sultān to drive in a carriage (cf. von Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, Berlin 1893, p. lxx).

The name *selamlık* for this ceremony seems only to date from the second half of the sixteenth century. The word has presumably nothing to do with the meaning "reception room" but is rather to be connected with the expression *selam durmağ* "to present arms"; it belongs therefore to military terminology. Aḥmad Wāfiḳ Pashā in his *Leḥze-i 'Othmāni* (1306 = 1889) paraphrases it as *binish djum'a ālayi*.

The ceremony became particularly important in the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. The Sultān was surrounded by a brilliant body-guard, of which his faithful Albanians in their costly uniforms formed the centre, along with the Ertoghul regiment mounted on white horses. From the time he lived in the Yıldız palace the *Selamlık* was usually held in the Ḥamidiye mosque. Formal audiences were held after it, to which great political importance was attached, while the display of pomp and splendour was intended to impress the foreigners invited. The holding of the ceremony was announced on each occasion in the official gazette *Taḳwīm-i Weḳā'i*.

It became less important after the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and after the abolition of the sultānate by the General National Assembly in November, 1922, in Angora, 'Abd al-Madjīd, who now retained only the dignity of Caliph, retained the *selamlık* ceremony, which fact is of significance for the character given to it since d'Ohsson's day. The last *selamlık* took place on Febr. 29, 1924 (1342) in the mosque of Dolma Baghçe and was little more than a parody of its former splendour. There was not even music and the carriage was drawn by only two horses (the *Waṭan* newspaper of March 1, 1924).

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1787—1820, i. 205, iii. 328.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SĀLĀR (P.), commander. From the older Pahlavi *sardār* there arose as early as the Sāsānid period the form *sālār* with the well-known change of *rd* to *l* and compensatory lengthening of the *a* (cf. *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, i. 267, 274). The synonymous word in modern Persian (*serdār*) is not a survival of the ancient *sardār*, but is a modern formation; indeed, the elements from which the ancient word was composed still exist in the modern language. The old Armenian took over the Pahlavi *sālār* in the form *salār*; the form *sardār* which would give **sardar* in Armenian is not found in the latter language. A latter, probably modern Persian loan-word in Armenian is (*spa*) *salār* with *l* instead of *l*. On this and on other late Armenian forms cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, i. 235 and 239. In the first of these two references the Pahlavi combinations of the word are also given. On the etymology cf. also Horn, *Grundriss der neu-p. Etymologie*, p. 153; Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 72; Junker, *Die Frahang i Pahlavik* (1912), p. 37 and 79.

The term which is primarily military (cf. *sipāh-sālār*, commander of an army; *sālār-i dīang*) is transferred to several court offices, e. g. *sālār-i khwān* (and *khwān-sālār*), Steward; *sālār-i bār*, Marshal; *ākhūrsālār*, Master of Horse. We need not trouble here with what else the native Persian lexicographers say about the word (cf. Vullers, *Lex.*, s. v.); it may be noted, however, that expressions like *dīahān sālār* for "king" belong to the language of poetry and the meaning "old" (*kahun u sāl-khwarda*) (which, as far as I know, has not yet been found anywhere) is perhaps based on an incorrect etymology which connects the word with *sāl* (year). (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SĀLĀR DJANG is the title by which Mīr Turāb 'Alī, a Sayyid of Persian descent and one of the greatest of modern Indian statesmen, was best known. He was born at Haidarābād in the Dakan on January 2, 1829, and, his father having died not long after his birth, was educated by his uncle, Nawwāb Sirājī ul-Mulk, Minister of the Haidarābād State. He received an administrative appointment in 1848, at the age of 19, and on his uncle's death in 1853 succeeded him as Minister of the State. He was engaged in reforming the administration until 1857, the year of the Sepoy mutiny, when the Nizām, Nāṣir al-Dawla, died and was succeeded by his son Afḍal al-Dawla. The news of the seizure of Dihli by the mutineers greatly excited the populace, and the British Residency was attacked by a turbulent mob, aided by some irregular troops, but throughout the darkest days of the rebellion Sālār Dīang not only remained true to the British, but strengthened the hands of his master and suppressed disorder. The services of the State were recognized by the rendition of three of the districts assigned in 1853 on account of debts due to the Company, and by the cession of the territory of the rebellious Rājā of Shorāpūr. In 1860 and again in 1867 plots to estrange the great Minister from his master and to ensure his dismissal were frustrated by two successive British Residents, and Sālār Dīang remained in office. In 1868 an attempt was made to assassinate him but the assassin was arrested and executed, despite Sālār Dīang's efforts to obtain a commutation of the sentence. On the death of Afḍal al-Dawla in 1869 Sālār Dīang became one of the two co-regents of

the State during the minority of his son and successor, Mīr Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān, and on January 5, 1871, he was invested at Calcutta with the insignia of the G. C. S. I. In November, 1875, he and other nobles represented the young Nizām at Bombay on the occasion of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to India, and in April, 1876, he visited England and was presented to Queen Victoria. He received the honorary degree of D. C. L. from the University of Oxford and the Freedom of the City of London. In January, 1883, he was engaged in making preparations for the contemplated visit of the Nizām to Europe, but on February 7, after entertaining Duke John of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was visiting Haidarābād, on the Mīr 'Ālam Lake, he was attacked by cholera, and died on the following morning, regretted by all. Though always known by his first title, Sālār Dīang, he bore the higher titles *Shudjā' al-Dawla* and *Mukhtār al-Mulk*.

Bibliography: Syed Hossain Bilgrami, *Memoir of Sir Sālār Jang, Shujā' ud-Dawla, Mukhtār ul-Mulk, G. C. S. I.* (Bombay 1883); Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C. Wilmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizām's Dominions* (Bombay 1883).

(T. W. HAIG)

ŠALĀT, the usual name in Arabic for the ritual prayer or divine service. The translation "prayer" simply is not accurate; the Arabic word *du'ā'* corresponds to the conception prayer (Snouck Hurgronje has several times drawn attention to this distinction; *Verspreide Geschriften*, i. 213 sq., ii. 90, iv/i. 56, 63 sq., etc.). The word does not seem to occur in the pre-Ḳorānic literature. Muḥammad took it, like the ceremony, from the Jews and Christians in Arabia. In many Kūfic copies of the Ḳorān and often in later literature also in connection with the sacred book it is written *صلوة*. It is very often assumed that this orthography represents a dialectic pronunciation (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 255; Wright-de Goeje, *Arabic Grammar*, i. 12 A; Brockelmann, *Arabishe Grammatik*⁶, p. 7). The writing of a *wāw* in place of the *alif* which one would expect is found, it is true, in several other words belonging to the language of the Ḳorān; but with the exception of *ribā* (ربوا) only in the termination *āt* (or *ōl*), so frequent in Aramaic. The view that in forms like *صلوة*, *ركوة*, etc. Aramaic influence has been at work should therefore always be borne in mind (Fränkel, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, p. 21).

The etymology of the Aramaic word *šlōfā* is quite transparent. The root *š-l-* in Aramaic means to bow, to bend, to stretch. The substantive *šlōfā* is the *nomen actionis* from this and means the act of bowing, etc. It is used in several Aramaic dialects for ritual prayer, although it can also mean spontaneous individual prayer, which in Syriac at least is usually called *bā'ūfā*. Muḥammad took over the word *šalāt* in this sense from his neighbours and the Muslim *šalāt* shows in its composition a great similarity to the Jewish and Christian services, as will be shown in greater detail below. — The verb *šallā* is a denominative derived from the substantive *šalāt* with the meaning "to perform the šalāt".

It is clear that at first Muḥammad had not the material available in ample measure for the ritual. The texts which were recited and sung in the solemn litanies of the Christians and Jews in their services were lacking to him. This fact may still be deduced from the celebrated tradition regarding the revelation of Sūra xcvi., according to the common view, the first that was revealed to him. To the command of the angel urging him to recite he replied: "I have nothing to recite". The divine part of this dialogue, which so troubled Muḥammad, is then said to have at once become the first text for recitation, and it was followed by others with longer or shorter pauses.

Although the ṣalāt is nowhere described or exactly regulated in the Qorʾān, it can be assumed that its characteristic features have not changed in the course of development of the worship. The indications in the Qorʾān of its various component parts lead us to believe this. The standing position is everywhere presupposed in the ṣalāt, alternating with inclinations (*rukūʿ*) and prostrations (*sudjūd*). How closely the ṣalāt was bound up even in the Mekkan period with the recitation of the Qorʾān is seen from the fact that in Sūra xvii. 80 the morning ṣalāt is called *Qorʾān al-Faḍīr*. On the other hand we find the recitation of the Qorʾān by itself also associated with prostration (Sūra lxxiv. 21).

That at this period praises already constituted a very considerable part of the ṣalāt is clear from Qorʾānic passages like Sūra xx. 130 and xxiv. 41, where *taḥmīd* and *tasbiḥ* are mentioned in the closest connection with the ṣalāt.

From the mention of the *ṣalāt* and the verb *ṣallā* in the oldest Sūra's (e.g. lxxv. 31, lxx. 23, cvii. 5, lxxiv. 44, cviii. 2) it may be further seen that we can assert that this rite was an accompaniment of Islām from the earliest times and that Caetani's sceptical reflexions and hypotheses do not give sufficient weight to the Qorʾānic evidence (cf. *Annali, Introduzione*, 219 note — in part in connection with similar views of Grimme). How much Muḥammad disturbed the Mekkan with his new religion may be seen from Sūra xvii. 110, where he is recommended by Allāh not to perform the ṣalāt too loudly, which is interpreted by tradition — and, no doubt, rightly — to mean that his unbelieving fellow-citizens molested him for holding his services too noisily. This is in agreement with the fact that in the period during which Muḥammad is continually advised to imitate the example of the earlier prophets and model himself on their patience, attention is regularly called to their also having summoned those around them to hold the ṣalāt (e.g. Sūra xxi. 73, xix. 32, xiv. 40, xix. 56, xx. 132).

In the Qorʾān the ṣalāt is very frequently mentioned along with the *ṣakāt*; the two are obviously considered the manifestations of piety most loved by Allāh (e.g. Sūra ii. 77, 104, 172, 277, iv. 79, 160, v. 15, 60 etc.). In Sūra ii. 42, 148 the believers are exhorted to seek help in *ṣalāt* and *ṣabr*. *Ṣabr* [q.v.] is interpreted in this connection as fasting. There is further in the Qorʾān no trace so far of the five "pillars" which later attained such an important position. The *ṣalāt* is an expression of humility (Sūra xxiii. 2) which latter was considered throughout the Hellenistic world as the attitude to the deity most befitting man. Punctual observance (*muḥāfaẓa*) of the ṣalāt is

repeatedly enjoined (vi. 92, xxiii. 9, lxx. 34; cf. lxx. 22) and neglect (*sahw*) is censured (cvii. 5). In Sūra iv. 104 a similar injunction is given the following justification: "for the ṣalāt is a *kitāb mawḥūl*" i.e. "a regulated ordinance of religion". It is blamed in the Munāfiḳūn [q.v.] that they perform the ṣalāt without zeal and with eye-service only (Sūra iv. 141). The limitation and later interdiction of the use of wine owed its origin to the fact that over-indulgence disturbed order at divine service (Sūra iv. 46).

As has already been observed, we may assume that the essential features of the later ṣalāt were in existence from the very beginning. We know only very little about peculiarities of the ṣalāt and its accompanying phenomena in the oldest period of Islām. A ritual ablution (cf. the articles *GHUṢL*, *TAHĀRA*, *WUḌŪʿ*) before the ṣalāt is prescribed in Sūra v. 8; the *nidaʾ* for the ṣalāt is mentioned in v. 63 and in lxii. 9 for the Friday ṣalāt. A special ṣalāt in case of imminent danger is described in Sūra iv. 103 (see below under *Ṣalāt al-Khawf*). Praises of Muḥammad and the *Tastīm* form the conclusion of the later ṣalāt. This practice can be justified by Sūra xxxiii. 56, where it is written: "Allāh and his angels bless the Prophet; ye who believe, bless him and bring him salutations of peace". The Friday ṣalāt is mentioned in lxii. 9 in the words: "O believers, when the call to the ṣalāt occurs on Fridays, haste ye to the invocation (*dhikr*) of Allāh and quit trafficking. This is better for ye when ye know."

In these circumstances it is intelligible that Muḥammad laid great stress on those who showed themselves ready to adopt Islām being at once initiated into the practice of the ṣalāt. Tradition thus reports that he sent Asʿad b. Zurāra or Muṣʿab b. ʿUmar to the Medinese for this express purpose and that the latter was the first to hold the Friday service with them (see A. J. Wensinck, *Muḥammad en de Joden te Medina*, p. 111 sqq., and C. H. Becker in *Der Islam*, iii. 378 sq.). In Muḥammad's messages to the tribes of Arabia the ṣalāt is frequently inculcated as a Muslim duty (see J. Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muhammads an die Stämme Arabiens in the M.S.O.S. As.*, xix., reprint, p. 16, 19, 38, 58, 77 etc.). According to Muslim tradition, the establishment of the number five in the daily ṣalāt dates back to the beginnings of Islām. It is connected with Muḥammad's ascension to heaven (see the article *ISRĀʾ*). When Muḥammad is taken up to the highest heaven fifty ṣalāts daily are imposed on his community by Allāh. Muḥammad leaves the presence of Allāh with this commission; on his way back he meets Mūsā who asks him what Allāh has imposed on his community. When Mūsā hears the orders he says: "Return to thy Lord for the community is not able to bear this." Allāh then alters the fifty to twenty-five. On his way back Muḥammad tells Mūsā of the alteration and receives the same reply. The same processes are repeated until finally the number remains at five (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 259, 263; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳīt al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 45; al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; Ibn Mādjā, *Iḳāma*, bāb 194; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 315 (ter), iii. 148 sq., 161; cf. Ibn Saʿd, I/i. 143 etc.). The scene bears some similarity to Genesis, xviii. 23 sqq., where Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorra is described. — On the other hand, in a widely disseminated tradition we are told that

Gabriel came down five times in one day and performed the ṣalāt in Muḥammad's presence and the latter on each occasion imitated the angel (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Masāḍid*, trad. 166, 167; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 2; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 1; al-Nasā'ī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 1, 10, 17; Ibn Mādjā, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 2; Malik, *Wuḥūṭ*, trad. 1; etc.). This idea cannot, however, survive literary and historical criticism. In a short but searching study Houtsma has come to the following conclusions (*Iets over den dagelijkschen ṣalat der Mohammedanen in the Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1890, xxiv. 127 sqq.). How the Mekkan practice was regulated is seen from Sūra xi. 116: "And hold the ṣalāt at the two ends of the day as well as at the ends (?) of the night". With this Sūra xvii. 80 agrees, where a morning ṣalāt, a ṣalāt when the sun declines and the night ṣalāt (*tahajjud*) are prescribed; cf. Sūra xxiv. 57, where the ṣalāt al-*faḍr* and the ṣalāt al-*ishā'* are mentioned. Then we find appearing suddenly in the Medina Sūra iii. 239 the "middle ṣalāt" (al-*wuṣṭā*). This must therefore have been added in Medina to the two usual ṣalāts and probably after the example of the Jews, who also performed their *sevilla* three times a day.

We thus arrive at three daily ṣalāts in Muḥammad's life-time. The question how the number five came to be fixed upon is answered by Houtsma, who says that the two midday ṣalāts (*zuhr* and *ʿaṣr*) and the two evening ṣalāts (*maghrib* and *ishā'*) are duplications of the *wuṣṭā* and *ishā'* respectively, duplications which are easily explained from the lack of accurate means of defining the times for the ṣalāt as in Muḥammad's life-time (cf. E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, Abh. Pr. Ak. W., 1913, No. 2, p. 10 sqq.). Goldziher, on the contrary (*Islamisme et Parsisme in the R.H.R.*, 1901, xliii. 15), assumes Persian influence in settling the number at five. Caetani called attention to the fact that the number five was not yet firmly established in 'Umar II's time (*Annali, Introduzione*, § 219 note, with reference to Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 20, 29). Thereon it should be noted that 'Umar's admonition to 'Urwa to be careful was not concerned with the number five but with the exact fixing of times. The latter, as a matter of fact, is also a subject of discussion in canonical Tradition, which deserves a separate investigation. When the theory of the five obligatory daily ṣalāts became firmly established cannot be exactly settled as yet. According to Ibn 'Abbās, Muḥammad "combined" in Medina several ṣalāts, e.g. the *zuhr* and *ʿaṣr* ṣalāt on the one hand and the *maghrib* and *ishā'* ṣalāt on the other, without his being on a journey or threatened by danger (Muslim, *Musāfirin*, trad. 49). Asked for Muḥammad's presumed reason, Ibn 'Abbās replied that he did not wish to expose any members of his community to (the danger of) sinning (by overburdening them) (*ibid.*, trad. 50; cf. 54, 55). In another version of the same ḥadīth we read: "We were wont in Muḥammad's life-time to combine ṣalāts in twos (*ibid.*, trad. 58). Al-Nawawī's commentary on the passages quoted (ed. Cairo 1282 A. H., ii. 196 sq.) is instructive for the difficulties which these traditions prepared for the 'Ulamā' and how they were able to overcome them. To us, such traditions are an indication that the

number of daily ṣalāts had not yet been fixed at five in Muḥammad's lifetime.

In the canonical Ḥadīth the number five is found in numerous traditions. In the schools of law there is no difference of opinion on this point. We shall therefore have to place the origin of this theory before the end of the seventh century.

The five compulsory ṣalāts are named as follows, according to the time of day at which they are observed (see the article *MIKĀT*): *Ṣalāt al-Ṣubḥ*, often also called *Ṣalāt al-Faḍr*; *Ṣalāt al-Zuḥr*; *Ṣalāt al-ʿAṣr*; *Ṣalāt al-Maghrib*; *Ṣalāt al-ʿIshā'*, often also called *Ṣalāt al-ʿAtama*, but the latter name is often condemned as unfit (Muslim, *Masāḍid*, trad. 228, 229; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 78; al-Nasā'ī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 23; etc.).

II

Every Muslim who has attained his majority and is *compos mentis* is bound to observe the five daily ṣalāts (al-*maktūba*, in contrast to the voluntary ṣalāts, which are called *nāfila* or *ṣalāt al-taṭawwu'*). The obligation is suspended for the sick. Ṣalāts omitted must be made up (*kaḍā'*). The theories of the Shāfi' school on this point are given in al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim, *Musāfirin*, trad. 309—316 (ii. 178 sqq.). According to the strict theory (which in Islām has in very many cases little or nothing to do with practice), any one who deliberately omits the ṣalāt because he does not recognise it as a legal duty is to be regarded as *kāfir*. Even deliberate neglect without any such theoretical basis makes him liable to the death penalty [cf. KATL] (see al-Nawawī, *Minḥāḍi al-Talibin*, ed. v. d. Berg, i. 202; cf. Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī, *K. al-Tanbīh fi 'l-Fiqh*, ed. Juynboll, p. 15).

Several preliminary conditions must be fulfilled for the performance of a valid ṣalāt.

The requisite ritual purity must be restored, if necessary, by *wuḍū'* [q. v.], *ghusl* [q. v.] or *ta-yammum* [q. v.]. The dress worn should fulfil the legal regulations which aim at the "covering of the privy parts" (*satr al-ʿawra*). This means that in men the body must be covered from the navel to the knees, in free women the whole body except the face and hands. The latter regulation is remarkable, because it is in striking contrast to the popular European opinion regarding the compulsory veiling of Muslim women (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire dwalingen in the Verspreide Geschriften*, i. 295 sqq.). In the Ḥadīth the question of dress, like so many others, has not yet reached a uniform formulation. Sometimes only the covering of the privy parts is mentioned (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 10), and sometimes the saying is ascribed to Muḥammad that the shoulders also should be covered (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 175); sometimes the use of the scanty *ṣammā'* is expressly mentioned in this connection (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 322 etc.) and at the same time we are told that the ṣalāt in one *ṭhawb* is permitted or even quite common (e.g. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 77, 80—82); on the other hand it is said that one who owns two *ṭhawb* should put them on at the ṣalāt (e.g. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 82; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 148).

The ṣalāt need not be held in a mosque but may be celebrated in a dwelling-house and any other place; the authority given for this is the saying of Muḥammad that he was granted

the privilege that for him the earth was *masdjid wa-ḥakūr* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Şalāt*, bāb 56). Tombs are excepted (e.g. Muslim, *Şalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 208, 209) and unclean places, like slaughter-places etc. (e.g. al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṣ al-Şalāt*, bāb 141).

The place where the şalāt is performed is marked off in some way from the surrounding area by a *sutra*; on this cf. the article SUTRA. A *saḍjdjāda* [q. v.] is used as a rule. Attention has also to be paid to the direction of Mekka; cf. the article KIBLA.

The şalāt proper consists of the following elements, our description of which is based on the Şāfi'ī practice.

The *niya* (= intention, q. v.) is pronounced aloud or in a low voice, with an announcement of the şalāt which one intends to perform: it corresponds to the Jewish *kawwānā* (cf. Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 16; A. J. Wensinck, *De intentie in recht, ethiek en mystiek der semietische volken in de V. M. A. W.*, series 5, vol. iv.). Then are pronounced the words *Allāhu akbar*, the *takbīrat al-ihṛām*, which begins the consecrated state (cf. the article İHRĀM). Mittwoch has compared this formula with the benedictions of the Jewish *tefilla* (*op. cit.*, p. 16 sq.). The şalāt is performed standing. Mittwoch points out that the Jewish *tefilla* is called *'amidā* (*op. cit.*, p. 16). It is sunna to utter a *du'ā'* or a *ta'awwudh* after the *takbīra* (see *Minkhādī*, i. 78). Then follows the recitation which usually consists of the *fātiha*. In the Ḥadīth the importance of this *ḥirā'a* is expressed in the maxim: *lā şalāt liman lam yaḥṣa' bi-fātiḥati 'l-kitāb* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 95; Muslim, *Şalāt*, trad. 34—36, 42). In a congregational şalāt it is the custom for only the *fātiha* to be recited along with the Imām; if the latter begins with the second *ḥirā'a*, those present have to listen (cf. *Minkhādī*, i. 80). In the Ḥadīth are numerous statements as to whether recitation should be loud or low; e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Kusūf*, bāb 19; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 89; al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ*, bāb 27—29, 80, 81 etc.; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 96, 97, 108; Muslim, *Şalāt*, trad. 47—49; al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ*, bāb 27, 28, 80 etc.

Next comes the *rukū'* which consists in bending the back till the palms of the hands are on a level with the knees (the Jewish *kerī'a*; see Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 17 sq.; cf. also the pictures of the various attitudes in the şalāt in Lane's *Manners and Customs* in the chapter on *Religion and Laws* and in Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 76). The upright position is then resumed (*ʾiʿtidāl*); as soon as the head is raised after the *rukū'*, the hands are uplifted and the worshipper pronounces the words: "Allāh heeds him who praises him." This is found quite early, even in Ḥadīth (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 52, 74, 82; Muslim, *Şalāt*, trad. 25, 28, 55, 62—64 etc.).

There have been differences of opinion regarding the raising of the hands in *şalāt* and *du'ā'*. Some say that Muḥammad used to lift up his hands at the şalāt (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 83—86; Muslim, *Şalāt*, trad. 21—26; Abū Dā'ūd, *Şalāt*, bāb 114—126; al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ*, bāb 1—6, 85—87; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 93, 255, 289 etc.). Importance is attached (as may be seen in the passages just quoted) to giving the height to which it is permitted to raise the hands. Besides raising the hands the spreading out of them also occurs (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 130). It is also evident from

the passages of Ḥadīth quoted that the raising of the hands took place not only after the *rukū'* but also in other parts of the şalāt. This ritual gesture was made with special preference at the şalāt for rain (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ḍiym'a*, bāb 34, 35; Muslim, *Istisḥā'*, trad. 5—7; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 104, 153, 181 etc.). Occasionally the *raj' al-yadain* is declared permitted for no *du'ā'* except the *istisḥā'* (e.g. al-Nasā'ī, *Kiyām al-Lail*, bāb 52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 243). What value was given this rite may be seen, for example, from the fact that Muḥammad is made to perform the *wuḍū'* before raising the hands in the *du'ā'* (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 55). This all becomes quite clear when we reflect that the raising of the hands is as it were a measure of coercion used by man towards the Deity, as Goldziher has shown in his *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet* (Nöldeke-Festschrift, i. 320). The Sunna further associates with the *rukū'* the *ḥunūt* [q. v.], which in parts falls into the same category as the raising of the hands, as Goldziher has also shown in the essay just mentioned.

The next "pillar" of the şalāt in order is the prostration (*sudjūd*), which was also one of the rites of the Jewish (Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 17 sq., *hishtakawāyā*) and of the Christian service (Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 104 sq.); for further details see the article SUDJŪD. Next the worshipper assumes the half-kneeling, half-sitting position, which in Arabic terminology is usually called *djulus* (cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 76, fig. 7). Then comes another *sudjūd*.

The ceremonies from the recitation of the *fātiha* to the second *sudjūd* inclusive constitute a *rak'a*. It is to be noted that in the Ḥadīth literature at least this terminology still varies a good deal. Sometimes *rak'a* seems to be used in the same sense as *saḍjida*, sometimes (and this is the regular usage later) *rak'a* is the more comprehensive term, applied to the middle part just described of the whole *şalāt*. Only the history of the Muslim ritual, which has still to be written, will make clear the exact state of affairs. The most usual (in Ḥadīth also) terminology gives the number of *rak'a*'s for each şalāt, viz. for the *şalāt al-faḍīr*, 2; for the *şalāt al-ḡuhr*, 4; for the *şalāt al-aṣr*, 4; for the *şalāt al-maghrib*, 3; for the *şalāt al-ʾiṣḥā'*, 4. Muslim tradition even says that the şalāt originally consisted of two *rak'a*'s, that this number was retained for the şalāt on journeys, but four was fixed for the normal şalāt (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Şalāt*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Şalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 1—3, etc.). Mittwoch (*op. cit.*, p. 18 sq.) assumes Jewish influence on the original choice of two *rak'a*'s.

The statement that this or that şalāt consists of so many *rak'a*'s means that the introductory rites which precede the first *ḥirā'a* and those which follow the second *sudjūd* (see below) need only occur once in the şalāt in question while, on the other hand, the ceremonies in between are repeated so many times.

The rites which follow the second *sudjūd* are the *tashahhud*, the profession of faith, which is pronounced sitting. That the rule just mentioned for the repetition of certain parts of the şalāt only developed gradually is evident from a tradition which ascribes to Muḥammad the pronouncement that the *tashahhud* should be repeated at every two *rak'a*'s (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 211).

Then comes the şalāt on the prophet which

consists of eulogies in which occurs the much discussed formula *Ṣallā 'llāhu 'alaihi wa-sallama*. These formulae are pronounced sitting. The worshipper remains seated for the concluding ceremony, the *salām* or *taslīmāt al-taḥlīl*, which ends the consecrated state. The fullest version of it is, according to al-Nawawī (*op. cit.*, p. 91 sq.): *al-salām 'alaikum wa-rahmatu 'llāhi*; but it may also be abbreviated. It is pronounced twice, once looking to the right and a second time to the left. It is considered a salutation to the believers; but it is also referred to the guardian angels present (cf. Sūra xvii. 80). On analogies in the Jewish service see Mittwoch, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

The different ceremonies of the ṣalāt are classified according to their importance or their obligatory or sunna character. Al-Nawawī (*op. cit.*, p. 74 sqq.) numbers the following among the *arkān al-ṣalāt*: *niya*, *takbīrāt al-ihrām*, *ḳiyām*, *ḳirā'a*, *rukū'*, *'itidāl*, *sudjūd*, *djulus*, *tashahhud*, *ḳu'ūd*, *al-ṣalāt 'ala 'l-Nabi*, *salām* and (13) the correct order of succession (*tartīb*). The other ceremonies — some of which are mentioned above — are considered sunna by him. Cf. Abū Ishāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, p. 25.

It is the many sunna ceremonies which, according as they are abbreviated or carried through in great detail, give each ṣalāt its peculiar character and in particular affect its length. This is true especially of the eulogies interspersed (see Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī, *The Holy Qur'ān*, 2nd ed., Lahore 1920, p. II) and of the *ḳirā'a*; for the recitation of the *fātiḥa* may be followed by the recitation of further chapters from the *Qur'ān*. The *Ḥadīth* has much to say on this subject. It appears that the great zeal of many imāms in this respect has often been a burden to the faithful. Complaints on the subject are said to have been made to Muḥammad and he is said to have readily admitted their justice. "Reflect", he is said to have warned the Imāms, "that there are weak and old men among you" (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Im*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 179—190; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 122, 123 etc.). We even find him quoted as describing the Imām concerned as a *fattān* (tempter) (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 60; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 308). Praise is also given to Muḥammad because no one went through the ṣalāt more completely and in a shorter time than he did (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 279, 282 and many other passages).

It is natural that the correct order of the ceremonies in the ṣalāt is considered one of its pillars by the faḳīhs. But we are justified in supposing that there was still considerable variation in this long after Muḥammad's death. Such unintentional deviations from the usual number and order of the ceremonies are discussed in the *Fīḥ* and *Ḥadīth* — the *enfant terrible* of the *Fīḥ* — supplies the historical background for them. Both say that these unintentional deviations in minor points are made good by the performance of additional *rak'a's* or *saḳida's*. With what painful accuracy the *Fīḥ* deals with this subject may be seen, for example, from al-Nawawī (*op. cit.*, p. 90 sqq.). *Ḥadīth*, on the other hand, is content, as a rule, to say that Muḥammad, who was later also credited with such deviations, in these cases used to perform two additional *saḳida's*, which are called *saḳidatū 'l-saḥw* (e. g. Muslim, *Masāḳid*, trad. 85; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 12, 37, 42;

al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 88; *Saḥw*, bāb 4 etc.). Al-Bukhārī in the heading to bāb 32 of the chapter *Ṣalāt* preserves the memory of less minutely regulated conditions.

The *Fīḥ* also defines quite minutely what actions and contingent states of body destroy the validity of the ṣalāt (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 103 sqq.; Abū Ishāḳ al-Shīrāzī, p. 28 sq.). The *Ḥadīth* records that at first the believers used to talk freely with each other during the ṣalāt and greeted Muḥammad and one another, but that the Prophet put an end to this licence (al-Bukhārī, *al-Amāl fī 'l-Ṣalāt*, bāb 2—4). The old state of affairs is strikingly illuminated in the oft told story of how Muḥammad performed the ṣalāt with Zainab's little daughter hanging round his neck; when he came to the *sudjūd* he, it is said, put down the child and took her up again when he arose (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 106; Muslim, *Masāḳid*, trad. 41—44; al-Nasā'ī, *Masāḳid*, bāb 19). In another tradition it is related how Ḥasan and Ḥusain jumped on Muḥammad's back during his *sudjūd* (e. g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 513). These were the good old days which the faḳīhs clearly did not wish back again.

III

Besides the five daily ṣalāts there are some that are not compulsory; al-Ghazālī divides them into three categories: *sunna*, *mustaḥabb* and *taṭawwū'* (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1302, i. 174); some of them may have come into use after Muḥammad's death and were therefore never given legal force, others had already fallen somewhat into desuetude in Muḥammad's lifetime.

The latter is true of the night-ṣalāt (*ṣalāt al-lail*). This name is the most usual in the *Ḥadīth*, while in the *Qur'ān* *tahajjud* (Sūra xvii. 80) is used. The etymology (the "waking") of this word suggests a close connection with the Christian vigils and especially with the custom of keeping awake (Syriac *shahrā*), which was much cultivated among ascetics and mystics of Western Asia. We have quite a minute knowledge of this rite from Syriac ascetic literature; in it the keeping awake is in itself a very meritorious work; it is usually combined with the reading of scripture, meditation and ritual prayer. We must imagine the *tahajjud* to have been something similar. In the description of the nightly exercises in the *Lailat al-Ḳadr*, and in the nights of Ramaḍān in general, the name *ḳiyām* is preferably used, which shows that great value was put upon standing and waking in themselves.

That such nightly exercises were zealously carried through in the oldest Muslim community is clear from the *Ḥadīth*. For further details see the article *TAHAJJUD*. Here we shall only say that even in Muḥammad's lifetime these exercises has been deprived of their obligatory character (Abū Dā'ūd, *Taṭawwū'*, bāb 17, 26; al-Nasā'ī, *ḳiyām al-Lail*, bāb 2; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 165).

The night-ṣalāt is closely connected with the *witr*. This word means "uneven" and the rite really consists in the addition of one *rak'a* to the even number of *rak'a's* in the night-ṣalāt. For further information see the article *WITR*. How varying the practice was in the oldest community with regard to the daily ṣalāts may be seen from the statements regarding the *ṣalāt al-duḥā*, the only one in the forenoon. In Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal,

i. 147, the time is fixed in the following way: Muḥammad used to perform the *ḡuḡā* when the sun had risen the same distance from its starting point as it is distant from its place of setting at the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*. Some make Muḥammad recommend the *ṣalāt al-ḡuḡā* (al-Nasāʿī, *Ḳiyām al-Lail*, bāb 28; *Ṣiyām*, bāb 81; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 151; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 175, 265 bis, 271, etc.) and perform it regularly (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 89, ii. 38); it is even said that it was *farīḡa* for him and *sunna* for the Muslims (do., i. 231, 232, 317 bis). Others again say that Muḥammad only performed this *ṣalāt* once or that the authority in question only saw him do it once (al-Bukhārī, *Adḡān*, bāb 41; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 80, 81; Abū Dāʿūd, *Taʿāwunūʿ*, bāb 12; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 156); or that Muḥammad only performed it on returning from a journey (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 75, 76). Such statements are supported by the traditions which say that the great authorities like Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and Ibn ʿUmar did not perform the *ṣalāt al-ḡuḡā* (al-Bukhārī, *Tahādīdjūd*, bāb 31; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 152). The last named goes so far as to call it a *bidʿa* (= innovation; a strong word) (Muslim, *Ḥaḡḡīdī*, trad. 220; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 128 sq., 155).

The *ṣalāts* before and after the obligatory ones, usually consisting of two *rakʿa*'s, are very numerous. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-Faḡr*: al-Bukhārī, *Adḡān*, bāb 15; Abū Dāʿūd, *Taʿāwunūʿ*, bāb 6. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-Zuḡr*: al-Bukhārī, *Tahādīdjūd*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 105, 106. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-ʿAṣr*, but care should be taken to avoid coinciding with the sunset (see the article *MĪḲĀT*): Abū Dāʿūd, *Taʿāwunūʿ*, bāb 8; al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḡit*, bāb 53; cf. *Maḡḡāzī*, bāb 69. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-Maḡrib*: al-Bukhārī, *Tahādīdjūd*, bāb 35, 25 (six *Rakʿa*'s after the *Ṣalāt al-Maḡrib*: al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḡit*, bāb 203). After the *Ṣalāt al-Iṣḡāʿ*: al-Bukhārī, *Tahādīdjūd*, bāb 25. But it is reported even of Muḥammad that he did not observe all these voluntary *ṣalāts* every day; the number is usually fixed at 16 or 12 (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 111, 142, 143, 146, 147 sq.). In addition there are such *ṣalāts* on different days of the week and month (see al-Ḡhazālī, *Iḡyāʿ*, i. 174 sqq. in bāb 7 of the chapter *Ṣalāt*) and on different occasions, such as on entering a mosque, returning from a journey (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 60; Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, trad. 74).

IV

One may perform the daily *ṣalāt* by oneself; but it is recommended to perform it with the community (on differences of opinion on this question see al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, i. 126 sq.). In any case, according to al-Nawawī, there is no obligation on women; it is even not recommended for them. In the Ḥadīth the advantages of the congregational *ṣalāt* are strongly emphasised (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Adḡān*, bāb 29—31, 34; Muslim, *Masāḡīd*, trad. 245—259, 271—282; al-Nasāʿī, *Aʿimma*, bāb 42, 45, 48—50, 52). The mosque is at the same time recommended as the place of assembly, although not obligatory, nor does the validity depend on a certain number of participants being present. In Abū Ishāḡ al-Šīrāzī (*Tanbīḡ*, p. 31; cf. Ibn Māḡja, *Iḡāma*, bāb 5) it is said that two persons can hold a *ḡamaʿa*. Very often *ṣalāts* performed by three individuals are described (e. g. Muslim, *Masāḡīd*, trad. 269).

One is recommended to go quietly to the *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *Adḡān*, bāb 20, 21, 23; Muslim, *Masāḡīd*, trad. 151—155). It is also considered particularly meritorious to take one's place some time before the commencement of the *ṣalāt* and to wait some time after its conclusion (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 266, 277, 289 sq., 301). If anyone comes so late that he can only take part in one *rakʿa* he has nevertheless "achieved the *ṣalāt*" (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḡit*, bāb 29; Muslim, *Masāḡīd*, trad. 161—165 etc.; the opposite view is held by Mālik, *Wuḡūl*, trad. 16). Even if one enters the mosque after already performing the *ṣalāt* concerned by oneself, one should take part in the *ṣalāt* with the congregation (Abū Dāʿūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 56; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḡit*, bāb 49). The opposite view, however, has also its supporters (Abū Dāʿūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 57). The frequently mentioned rule is that one should make up in private for what one has missed in the *ḡamaʿa* (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 237, 238, 239, 270, etc.).

The worshippers arrange themselves in rows (*ṣaff*) on the closed and good order of which much stress is laid (al-Bukhārī, *Adḡān*, bāb 71, 72, 74—76, 114; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 122—128; Abū Dāʿūd, bāb 93—100; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 3, 112 sq., 114, 122, etc.). The places in the front row have special advantages (al-Bukhārī, *Adḡān*, bāb 9, 73; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 129—132); within this row again the places on the right of the *Imām* are especially recommended (Ibn Māḡja, *Iḡāma*, bāb 34). This, however, is true only of men; women are advised to take their places in the last row (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 247, 336, 354, 370). The *ṣalāt al-ḡamaʿa* is conducted by an *imām* who takes up a position before the front row, or, if there are only two individuals present besides him, between the two or so that one is on his right and the other behind him (Abū Dāʿūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 98; al-Nasāʿī, *Taḡbīḡ*, bāb 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 451).

It is laid down that one should copy the *Imām* exactly (al-Bukhārī, *Adḡān*, bāb 51—53, 74, 82 etc.). Anyone who neglects this rule exposes himself to punishment from God (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 425; Mālik, *Nidāʿ*, bāb 57).

Mittwoch (*op. cit.*, p. 22; cf. thereon Becker in *Der Islam*, iii. 386 sqq.) has pointed out that the *Imām* corresponds to the *sheliḡḡ haṣ-ṣibbūr* at the Jewish service. At the latter as in *Islām* the duties can be carried through by any member of the community qualified to do so. In Muḥammad's lifetime the position in Medina was that it only happened exceptionally that the Prophet did not conduct the *ṣalāt*. During his last illness and also on other occasions when he was absent Abū Bakr is said to have usually represented him. The Ḥadīth loves to expand itself on this point; in this we have probably to consider many things as reflections of the events after Muḥammad's death. The conducting of the *ṣalāt* was then of tremendous importance as is clear from the manifold meanings of the word *Imām*. The leader of the *ḡamaʿa* in the mosque of the Prophet was naturally also the leader of the community in political matters. Gradually there came about a separation of the functions but the Caliph and the leader of the smallest village *ḡamaʿa* alike retain the title of *imām*.

While the *Imām* — at least in the days of the early Caliphs — was appointed to the mosque

of the Prophet, in the provinces an alternation in the exercise of the duties was more to be expected. In the canonical Ḥadīth we look in vain for a regular usage in the provinces. Perhaps it may be concluded from this that in the first century of the Hidjra no regular usage had yet developed. If a number of persons assemble for the *djamā'a*, sometimes it is said that the oldest (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 17, 18, 35, 49, 140; *Djihād*, bāb 42; al-Nasā'ī, *Adhān*, bāb 7 etc.), sometimes the one with the best knowledge of the Qur'an should conduct the ṣalāt (Muslim, *Masādjīd*, trad. 289—291; al-Nasā'ī, *Adhān*, bāb 8; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 24, 34, 36 etc.). Slaves and freedmen could perform the duties (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 54). In a Zaidī tradition there is even a mention of women as Imām ("Corpus Juris" di Zaid ibn 'Alī, ed. Griffini, N^o 189). The question behind whom one may perform the ṣalāt is also discussed in the Fikḥ books and in the collections of traditions (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 131 sqq.; al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 56; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 63).

The responsibility of the Imām (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 232, 284, 377 sq., etc.) as well as his heavenly reward are laid stress upon (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 58; Ibn Mādjā, *Iḥāmā*, bāb 47). One should retire if some one is there who has greater authority in religious matters (al-Nasā'ī, *A'imma*, bāb 3, 6). No one should thrust himself on the people (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 62; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṣ*, bāb 149). The Imām is not to be a stranger but a local man (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 65; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṣ*, bāb 147; Mālik, *Ṣalāt al-Djamā'a*, bāb 15).

The direction of the *djamā'a* gradually developed into a more or less definite office. In Egypt the Imām is often a small tradesman or a school-master (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 96 sq.). In the larger mosques there are two imāms appointed who are paid out of the funds of the mosque. In Mekka we find the most distinguished scholars and quite insignificant individuals alike acting as Imām (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 234, note). In the Dutch East Indies the duties are often performed by the *panghulu*, who also holds juridical offices (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 116 sq., 177; *De Atjehers*, i. 89). See further the article MASJID.

Besides the five daily ṣalāts there are special services to be held by the community on certain occasions. The first place among these is occupied by the Friday ṣalāt; for a description of which see the article DJUM'Ā. For the ṣalāt on the two feasts see the article 'ID, for the ṣalāt for rain see ISTISKĀ' and for the *Ṣalāt al-Kusūf* see KUSUF. Here we shall only say that much ancient and popular matter has survived in these divine services.

Of quite another kind, i.e. special or short forms of the true Muslim ṣalāt, is the ṣalāt on journeys, which consists of two rak'a's. The jurists naturally devote much attention to the question of what is meant by a journey. Another alleviation on journeys consists in the combination of two or more ṣalāts into one (*djam'*). The Ḥadīth has much information on the subject (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Takbir al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 6, 13—19; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 42—58 etc.). As mentioned in section I, it is said that Muḥammad combined several ṣalāts in Medina; on the significance of such statements cf. what is

said there and also al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 159 sq.

A special ṣalāt, already described in the Qur'an, is that which is held when danger threatens from the enemy (Sūra iv. 102—104). The deviation from the usual ritual consists mainly in the fact that the believers are arranged in two rows of which one keeps watch with weapon in hand during the *sudjūd* of the other; they repeat this in turn until all have performed the *sudjūd*. The *tashahhud* is then recited by them all together. If the enemy is to be expected from another direction than that of the *qibla*, the ritual is modified as conditions demand (for further information see e.g. al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 181 sqq.). In this case also the ṣalāt may be abbreviated (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirin*, trad. 4, 5; al-Nasā'ī, *Ṣalāt al-Khawf*, bāb 4, 7, 23, 24, 26, 27). There is even mention of a *Ṣalāt al-Khawf* of only one rak'a (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 237, 243).

In conclusion we must here deal briefly with the ṣalāt for the dead (*al-ṣalāt 'ala 'l-mayyit*, *ṣalāt al-djinnāsa*). It is a common duty (*fard al-kifāya*) which can only be omitted in exceptional cases (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, i. 138, note 3). In some traditions the ṣalāt is ordered for every dead Muslim (Ibn Mādjā, *Djannā'is*, bāb 31; al-Nasā'ī, *Djannā'is*, bāb 57). In the Ḥadīth (al-Bukhārī, *Djannā'is*, bāb 23, 85; *Tafsir*, Sūra 9, bāb 12, 13; Muslim, *Faḍl al-Ṣahāba*, Trad. 25 etc.) it is related how Muḥammad held the ṣalāt for the dead 'Abd Allāh b. Ubaiy, the arch-munāfiq, and was reproved by 'Umar for doing so. Therefore Sūra ix. 85 was revealed: "and never perform the ṣalāt for one of them who dies and stand not at his grave, for they are unbelievers against Allāh and His Messenger and they die as *fāsiq*" (on the legal definition of the conception of *fāsiq* see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii. 97).

In the Ḥadīth it is further related that Muḥammad omitted the ṣalāt in cases where the deceased had committed suicide (Muslim, *Djannā'is*, trad. 107; Abū Dā'ūd, *Kharāḍī*, bāb 46). Al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 225, says, however, that no exception was made in this case. The Ḥadīth also tells us that Muḥammad refused to hold this ṣalāt unless the debts of the deceased had already been paid (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥawālāt*, bāb 3; Abū Dā'ūd, *Buyū'*, bāb 9; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 290, 399). In law therefore the mourners are recommended to settle this matter quickly (al-Nawawī, i. 221). In the Ḥadīth we find contradictory statements regarding the question whether Muḥammad held the *ṣalāt al-djinnāsa* on behalf of those who had been legally executed (Abū Dā'ūd, *Djannā'is*, bāb 47; al-Nasā'ī, *Djannā'is*, bāb 63, 64). We shall hardly be wrong if we suppose that this ṣalāt also retained certain pre-Muḥammadan customs (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion in the Verh. A.W.*, New Series, vol. xviii, N^o 1, Chap. 2 and 3). According to Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī (ed. Juynboll, p. 47 sq.), the following is the order of the ṣalāt for the dead: the Imām stands at the top of the bier in the case of a man, at the bottom in the case of a woman (this is the old tradition; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Djannā'is*, bāb 63; Muslim, *Djannā'is*, trad. 87, 88 etc.); he pronounces the *niya* and utters four *takbir*'s with hands raised; at the first he recites the *fātiha*, at the second he utters the eulogy on Muḥammad, at the third he pronounces the *du'a*

for the dead man, at the fourth a *du'ā* for those who take part in the service; the two *taslimā's* conclude the ceremony.

Difference of opinion prevails regarding the place where the *ṣalāt al-djānā'iz* should be held. There are indications that in the ancient Medina the *muṣallā* [q. v.] was used, for example in the case of the service for Nadjāshī [q. v.], who died in Abyssinia (al-Bukhārī, *Djānā'iz*, bāb 4; Muslim, *Djānā'iz*, trad. 63, 64). In Ibn Sa'd, I/ii. 14, it is said that the *ṣalāt* was held by Muḥammad in the home of the deceased. People therefore thought it an innovation when the body of Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās was brought into the mosque at the request, it is said, of 'Ā'isha or of the widows of the Prophet. 'Ā'isha is said to have replied to the complaints that were made: "How short is the memory of the people. Muḥammad was indeed wont to hold this *ṣalāt* in the mosque" (Muslim, *Djānā'iz*, trad. 99—101). Muslim's commentator, al-Nawawī, gives on this passage (as al-Zurkānī does on Mālik, *Djānā'iz*, trad. 22) the points of view of the different schools with reference to the legal category in which they place the holding of this *ṣalāt* in the mosque (on the question cf. also *Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, p. 2—4). In any case it is the custom in various parts of the Muslim world to-day to perform this *ṣalāt* in a mosque (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 526; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 189). In Atjeh, on the other hand, as is usually also the case on Java, it takes place in the front part of the enclosure before the house of the deceased (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 423; do., *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv. 1 242). This is at least permitted by the law although not recommended (it depends on the *madhhab*).

The body is not necessarily present at the *ṣalāt*. In Mekka it is the custom to hold the *ṣalāt al-djānā'iz* for residents who have died away from home (*Mekka*, ii. 189). Justification may be claimed for this practice in the widespread tradition according to which Muḥammad held a service in Medina for the dead Nadjāshī (cf. above).

V

The question of the significance of the *ṣalāt* is usually approached in a one-sided fashion by European critics. They like, it must be admitted, to follow Ranke in placing a high value on the *ṣalāt* as a disciplinary measure and certainly it is difficult to appreciate this too highly. A considerable part of the life of the community must have centred in and around the *ṣalāt* in Medina in Muḥammad's life-time and through it the transformation of the old Arab mind into the Muslim must have taken place. The same phenomenon was afterwards repeated in the provinces of the Caliphate. The *ṣalāt* must have been one of the most effective formative elements in the communities.

The European, on the other hand, usually forms his judgment of the *ṣalāt* from his own point of view; the Protestant misses the intensification, the Roman Catholic the imposing ceremonial.

Both attitudes are wrong from scientific standpoint. Whoever wishes to gain a clear idea of the significance of the *ṣalāt* must ask the question: "what does it mean to the Muslim?"

This question may be partly answered by observing the enthusiasm for the *ṣalāt* displayed by Muslims in different countries. The results of such

observations almost everywhere go to suggest that there are few Muslims who regularly observe the five daily *ṣalāts* (Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i. 8, 16). In the Dutch East Indies the Achehnese so prominent in the *Djihād* [q. v.] only take part in small numbers in the congregational *ṣalāt*; in Banten (Java), in Palembang (Sumatra) and in isolated parts of the Archipelago on the other hand we find it much more religiously observed (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/ii. 343 sq.; *De Atjehers*, i. 89 sq.).

Lane's remarks regarding the *ṣalāt* in Egypt (*Manners and Customs*, p. 98) are important: "The utmost solemnity and decorum are observed in the public worship of the Muslims. Their looks and behaviour in the mosque are not those of enthusiastic devotion, but of calm and modest piety. Never are they guilty of a designedly irregular word or action during their prayers. The pride and fanaticism which they exhibit in common life, in intercourse with persons of their own or of a different faith, seem to be dropped on their entering the mosque, and they appear wholly absorbed in the adoration of their Creator — humble and downcast, yet without affected humility or a forced expression of countenance".

A rich source for the study of the significance of the *ṣalāt* in the religious life is to be found in the literature. For the first two centuries it is mainly the Ḥadīth that we have to use. In the enumeration of the five pillars of Islām the *ṣalāt* always appears in the second place (al-Bukhārī, *Imān*, bāb 2; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 19—22; in passing it may be noted that the first pillar is variously given). In the so frequently recurring story of the untutored Beduin who suddenly asks Muḥammad the question: "How shall I be saved?" the latter answers with a list of the duties imposed by Islām upon the believers, viz.: five *ṣalāts* daily, fasting in Ramaḍān and zakāt (al-Bukhārī, *Imān*, bāb 34; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 8). In other traditions also, which enumerate the obligations of a Muslim, as, for example, in the commission given to Mu'adh b. Djabal when he was sent by Muḥammad to Yemen, we find mentioned besides the *tawḥīd* or the service of Allāh the five *ṣalāts* and the zakāt (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 29—31). Here the ḥajj and the fasting in Ramaḍān are omitted. In the scale of the most meritorious works the *ṣalāt* often appears in the first place (al-Bukhārī, *Mawākīt*, bāb 5; cf. Ibn Mādjā, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 4; al-Dārimī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 2). The strict observation of the five daily *ṣalāts* secures admission into Paradise (al-Nasā'ī, *Iḳāma*, bāb 6; Mālik, *Ṣalāt al-Lail*, trad. 14 etc.). The omission of the *ṣalāt* is a bridge to unbelief and heathenism: "between man and polytheism and unbelief lies the neglect of the *ṣalāt*" (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 134; cf. al-Nasā'ī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 8).

The cleansing power of the *ṣalāt* is allegorically described in Tradition: "The *ṣalāt* is like a stream of sweet water which flows past the door of each one of ye; into it he plunges five times a day; do ye think that anything remains of his uncleanness after that?" (Mālik, *Ḳaṣr al-Ṣalāt fī 'l-Safar*, bāb 91; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 71 sq., 177, ii. 375, 426, 441, iii. 305, 317 etc.). It is described without allegory in the equally well-known tradition: "an obligatory *ṣalāt* is a cleansing for the sins which are committed between it and the

following one" (*op. cit.*, ii. 229; as is well known grievous sins are usually excluded from the cleansing effect of pious exercises (*op. cit.*, ii. 359).

We have just quoted the tradition according to which the observation of the daily ṣalāts secures entrance into Paradise. The following utterance goes still further: "He who knows that the ṣalāt is a compulsory duty will enter Paradise" (*op. cit.*, i. 60). At the final reckoning on the Day of Kesurrection the more or less faithful observance of the ṣalāt will be a consideration of the first importance: "The first thing to be dealt with is the ṣalāt; if this point is in order, the man has attained bliss; if not then he is lost (cf. al-Nasā'ī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 9; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḍiʿ*, bāb 188; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 161 sq., 171, ii. 290 etc.).

The ṣalāt should be performed devoutly with concentrated attention. It is often related how Muḥammad put away one of his garments because figures woven on it distracted his attention at the ṣalāt (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 14; al-Nasā'ī, *Ḳibla*, bāb 20; cf. bāb 12).

That the ṣalāt does not, as is sometimes said, imply only the performance of a duty but that the heart is in it too is seen from the following tradition: Muḥammad said: "Of wordly things women and perfume are dearest to me and the ṣalāt is the comfort of my eyes" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 128 bis, 285). Weeping at the ṣalāt is also sometimes mentioned (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 156; al-Nasā'ī, *Sahw*, bāb 18; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 188, iv. 25 bis, cf. 26).

By far the most significant characteristic of the ṣalāt is the one which we find in two different settings, namely that the ṣalāt is intimate conversation with Allāh. On the one hand it is found in the *Ḥadiṭh*, in which spitting in the direction of the *Ḳibla* during the ṣalāt is forbidden, the reason given being that the ṣalāt is intimate conversation with Allāh (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 39; *Mawāḍiʿ*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Masāʿid*, trad. 54; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 34 sq., 144, iii. 176, 188, 199 sq., 234, 273, 278, 291 etc.). On the other hand we find it expressed in the following form: "If one of ye performs the ṣalāt he is in confidential converse with his Lord; at that time he ought to know exactly what he says in this way with his Lord; therefore no one should drown the voice of another at the recitation" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 36, 67, 129). An illustration to this utterance is given in the following *Ḥadiṭh qudsī*: Allāh says: "I have divided the ṣalāt into two halves between Myself and My servant, one of which belongs to Me while the other is for My servant and My servant obtains what he asks". The Messenger of God said: "recite! when the servant says: 'Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds!', Allāh says: 'My servant hath praised Me'; when the servant says: 'to the Merciful and Compassionate', Allāh says: 'My servant hath glorified Me'; when the servant says: 'to the Lord of the Day of Judgment', Allāh says: 'My servant hath praised Me'; when my servant says: 'Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help', Allāh says: 'this verse is between Me and My servant and he receives what he has prayed for'; when the servant says: 'lead us the right way, the way of those whom Thou favourest, with whom Thou art not angry and who do not err', Allāh says: 'This belongs to My servant

and he receives what he has prayed for" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 460).

That the ṣalāt was also used as a means of healing is not remarkable in view of similar phenomena in other religions (Ibn Mādjā, *Ṭibb*, bāb 10; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 390, 403). At the same time we may mention the *Ṣalāt al-Ḥādja*, which is observed to secure the attainment of some ardently desired object (al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, bāb 17), and the *Ṣalāt al-Istikhāra* [see *ISTIKHĀRA*] before a more or less important decision (al-Bukhārī, *Tahadjud*, bāb 25; Abū Dā'ūd, *Witr*, bāb 31; al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, bāb 18; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 344 etc.).

The description of the ṣalāt as *munāḍjāt* is characteristic of the meditative tendency found even in the oldest Islām (on this see especially L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922); it has certainly been one of the main avenues by which mysticism entered Islām from without.

One of the oldest Muslim mystics, al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243 = 857), wrote a tractate on the significance of the ṣalāt (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 259, note 1) and the philosopher al-Tirmidhī (d. 285 = 898) expounded the mystical side of the ṣalāt in 42 aphorisms (quoted in Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 259). Among the more modern mystics the ṣalāt gives place in importance to *Dhikr* and *Wird*. Al-Ḳushairī does not devote a separate chapter to it in his *Risāla*. In al-Hudjwiri it appears as especially suitable for novices, who are to recognise in it to some extent a reflection of the whole mystic way. To them the *ṭahāra* represents the conversion, the *ḳibla* the dependence on spiritual leadership, the recitation the *dhikr*, the *rukūʿ* humility, the prostration self-knowledge, the *tashahhud* the *uns*, the *taslīm* renunciation of the world. Of the real mystics everyone sees something different in the ṣalāt: to one it is a means to *ḥuḍūr* with God, to another to *ghaiba* (al-Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Mahdūb*, transl. Nicholson, *Gibb Mem. Ser.*, xvii. 301 sqq.). Al-Hudjwiri, however, also emphasises the affection of various Ṣūfis for the ṣalāt.

Of the philosophers, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) is only to be mentioned here, who wrote a short treatise on the ṣalāt (*Fi 'l-Kashf 'an māhiyat al-Ṣalāt wa-ḥikma Taḥrīrīhā* in *Djāmiʿ al-Badā'īʿ*, Cairo 1335 (1917), p. 2—14). According to him, the essence of the ṣalāt is the recognition of God in His existence and necessity of it. It is exoteric or esoteric according to the character of the believer who performs it. The law-giver knew that not all men can ascend the steps of the spirit. Such men therefore require corporal discipline and compulsory mortification, to keep their natural impulses in check. This is the exoteric side of the ṣalāt. Its true esoteric significance is the *mushāhadat al-Ḥaḳḳ* with pure heart and a soul which is liberated and purified from desires (*amānī*). Ibn Sīnā then proceeds to deal with the saying that a man at prayer is in intimate converse with his Lord (see above). This can, he says, only happen outside of the material world. Those who are in this state of mind are spiritually in the presence of God and they gaze upon the deity (*al-Ilāh*) in a real vision. The ṣalāt is therefore a real *mushāhada* and a pure worship, i.e. the real divine love and spiritual vision.

Al-Ḡhazālī's chapter *Ṣalāt* has in the *Iḥyāʾ* in the *Rubʿ al-ʿIbādāt* a position between *Ṭahāra*

and *Zakāt* (as in the *Fikḥ*). As with the other *ʿibādāt* it should be observed in this case also with what painful accuracy he describes the legal regulations (ed. Cairo 1302, i. 140 *sqq.*) and how on the other hand he raises the ṣalāt to an ethico-mystical level which sufficiently meets all the demands of intensification. After what has been said above in II and III, we need only briefly survey here the latter side of his exposition. The inward *maʿānī* which bring the life of the ṣalāt to perfection are the six following: the presence of the heart (*ḥuḍūr al-qalb*), understanding, respect (*taʿṣīm*), reverence (*ḥaiḇa*), hope and humility (*ḥayāʾ*).

Particularly significant are his remarks on the presence of the heart (p. 145). The *fakīḥs* demand the presence of the heart only at the *takbīr*; according to the *Fukahāʾ al-mutawarrriʿūn* and the *ʿUlamāʾ al-Aḥkira*, on the other hand, the heart should be present at the whole ṣalāt. But only very few succeed in achieving this. The ideal ṣalāt is that of Ḥatīm al-Aṣamm, who said: "When the time for the ṣalāt arrives, I perform a copious *wuḍʿūʾ* and go to the place where I want to perform the ṣalāt. There I sit till my limbs are rested, then I stand up, the *Kaʿba* straight in front of me, the *ṣirāṭ* under my feet, Paradise on my right, Hell on my left and the Angel of Death behind me; and I think that this ṣalāt is my last. I then stand wavering between hope and fear, join in the *Takbīr* and *Taḥkīk*, recite with *Tartīl*, perform the *Rukʿ* in submission and the *Suḍūd* in humility, sit on my left thigh, spread out the upper part of the left foot and fix the right one on the great toe and accompany this with *Iḥklās*. Then I do not know whether my ṣalāt has been graciously accepted by Allāh or not (p. 139, 7 *sqq.*).

Al-Ḥazālī lays down his ethical point of view in the sentence: If his ṣalāt does not restrain a man from evil and wrong-doing, he only obtains estrangement from God by it (cf. *Sūra* xvi. 9).

In the chapter on "the useful remedies for securing the *ḥuḍūr al-qalb*" distracting thoughts are given as the principal obstacles which divert attention at the ṣalāt. These enemies are to be overcome by fighting their causes. These are of two kinds, external and internal. The external causes of distraction (*ghafla*, in the Syriac mystics *fehṣā*) come from the organs of sense. One therefore ought to prevent these from being distracted. The *mutaʿabbidūn* therefore perform the ṣalāt in a dark cell with only sufficient room for the *suḍūd*. Ibn ʿUmar is said not to have allowed a single object in this cell. The internal causes of distraction exercise a much stronger effect. They have their root in earthly cares, thoughts and occupations. But desires have the most powerful influence. They are to be fought by meditation on the future world. All preparations for the ṣalāt and all its parts should be connected with the *Aḥkira*. At the *adhān* one should think of the *nidaʾ* on the Day of the Resurrection. At the covering of the *ʿawra* one should enquire whether there is no internal *ʿawra* etc.

The highest goal of the ṣalāt is complete absorption in the Deity by humiliating oneself. Sufyān al-Thawrī is reputed to have said: "If a man does not know humility, his ṣalāt is invalid". This is laid down in two special sections (*Bayān Ishtirāʾ al-Khushūʿ wa-Ḥuḍūr al-Qalb*, p. 145 *sq.*, and *Hikāyāt wa-Aḥbār fī Ṣalāt al-*

Khāshīʿin, p. 157 *sq.*). In the latter he shows by several examples how much the great leaders used to be absorbed in their ṣalāt.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SALGHURIDS, one of the dynasties known as Atābaks, or Regents, which arose on the ruins of the empire of the Saldjūks. Salghur was the chief of a band of Turkmāns who migrated into Khurāsān and attached themselves to Tughril Beg [q. v.], the first of the Great Saldjūks. Būzāba [q. v.], one of Salghur's descendants, was killed in battle by Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd, the fourth of the Saldjūk kings of ʿIrāk and Kurdistan, and his nephew, Sunkur b. Mawdūd, rose against the Saldjūk and in 1148 established his independence in Fārs, where he founded a dynasty which ruled for more than 120 years but seldom enjoyed complete sovereignty, being tributary first to the Saldjūks of ʿIrāk, then to the Shāhs of Khwārizm, and lastly to the Mongols. Sunkur died in 1161 and was succeeded by his brother, Zangī b. Mawdūd, who was molested at the beginning of his reign by his cousins, the Atābaks of Syria, who claimed the throne of Fārs. After overcoming them he did homage to Arslān b. Tughril I, Saldjūk of ʿIrāk, who confirmed him as ruler of Fārs. On his death in 1175 he was succeeded by his elder son, Takla, who remained tributary to the Saldjūks of ʿIrāk and reigned for twenty years. On his death in 1194 the throne was claimed both by his cousin Tughril, the son of Sunkur, founder of the dynasty, and by his younger brother, Saʿd b. Zangī [q. v.]. Tughril first gained possession of the capital and assumed the royal title, but Saʿd maintained the contest for eight years, during which period the kingdom was devastated and depopulated. In 1203 Saʿd captured Tughril and ascended the throne. During the early part of his reign he was occupied in restoring prosperity to his country, which had been wasted by famine and pestilence. Meanwhile the Saldjūks of ʿIrāk had been overcome by the Shāhs of Khwārizm, who in 1194 had annexed their country. Saʿd attacked ʿAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārizm Shāh, but was defeated and taken prisoner by him, and as a condition of his release was obliged to cede Iṣṭakhr and Ushkunwān, and to agree to pay the tribute which had formerly been paid to the Saldjūks. He is famous as the ruler from whom the great poet Saʿdī took his *takhalluṣ* or pen-name. He reigned for twenty-eight years, and on his death in 1231 [but cf. SAʿD B. ZANGI] he was succeeded by his son Abū Bakr, who had attempted to usurp the throne during his father's captivity and had been for this offence condemned to imprisonment, from which he was released at the instance of Djalāl al-Dīn Mangobartī, Shāh of Khwārizm. He extended the boundaries of his kingdom, but was obliged to pay homage and tribute first to Ogotāi Khān, supreme Khān of the Mongols as son and successor of Cingiz Khān, and afterwards, in 1256, to Hulāgū, the Mongol Il-Khān of Persia. Ogotāi Khān conferred on him the title of Kutluḡ Khān. Abū Bakr died in 1260, and was succeeded by his son, Saʿd II, who reigned for no more than twelve days, when he died and was succeeded by his infant son, Muḥammad, whose nominal reign was ended by his death in October, 1262. The child was succeeded by his cousin, Muḥammad Shāh, son of Salghur, the younger son of Saʿd I. Muḥammad Shāh was overthrown and put to death on July 18, 1263, and

was succeeded by his younger brother, Saldjūk Shāh b. Salghur, who was defeated and slain by the Mongols in December, 1264. Fārs had been tributary to the Mongol Il-Khān of Persia since 1256, but Saldjūk's cousin Ābish Khātūn, daughter of Sa'd II, was raised to the throne and permitted to reign alone for a year, at the end of which time Mangū Timūr, the fourth son of Hulāgū, married her, and ruled her kingdom in her name, and it was not until her death, in 1284, that the dynasty came to an end.

Bibliography: Hamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Kāzwinī, *Ta'rikh-i-Gusida* (Gibb Memorial Series); Mir Khwānd, *Rawdat al-Safā* (Tihārān lithogr. ed.); cf. *The History of the Atābegs of Syria and Persia* by Mihrchōnd, ed. by W. H. Morley, London 1848, p. 23 sqq.; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjucides*, indices. (T. W. HAIG)

SALḤĪN, SILḤĪN, the residence of the Sabaeen kings in Mārib in South Arabia, the capital of the kingdom of Saba'. The name of this castle is already mentioned in the ancient South Arabian inscriptions. In the foundation inscription Glaser 482/3, which is placed on the temple of Almaḳah (called Haram Bilḳis by later generations and lying due S.S.E. 50 minutes from the modern village of Mārib), King Kariba'il Wātir Yuhan'im of Saba' and Hālik'amar, son of Kariba'il, speaks of renovations in this temple which were undertaken for the good of the castle of Salḥīn (*Slhn*) and of the city of Mārib (*Maryab*). The inscription Osiander 31, 3 speaks of a dedication in favour of the donors of the inscription, who are obviously to be regarded as lords of the castle, and of the castle of Salḥīn. In the inscription of king Ilīsharāḥ Yaḥḍīb (*Bibl. Nat.*, N^o. 2) Salḥīn is mentioned along with the ancient castles of Ḥumḍān and Širwāḥ. The Sabaeen inscriptions Glaser 828—30, 12, 870—872, 5, 1076, 13 sq., 1082, 13 are very interesting. They record a treaty of friendship concluded between the Sabaeen king 'Alhān Nahfān and his sons on the one side and king Gadarat of Ḥabashāt on the other. The passage in question runs: "and that Salḥīn and Zurarān and 'Alhān and Gadarat shall be like brothers in truth and fidelity". D. H. Müller (*Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien*, p. 76; *Südarab. Altertümer*, p. 9) has rightly pointed out — against J. H. Mordtmann and M. Hartmann — that this juxtaposition is to be interpreted to mean that Salḥīn and Zurarān represent the ancient residence of the kings of Saba' and Ḥabashāt. The suggestion put forward by M. Hartmann (*Die Arabische Frage*, p. 158) that Salḥīn is the modern Ḥaram Bilḳis is further disposed of by the fact that the latter has been proved to be the ancient temple of Almaḳah and is called 'Awm in the inscriptions (N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 7) and has therefore nothing to do with Salḥīn.

The importance of this ancient royal palace of the Sabaeen kings is also shown by the fact that the Ethiopian king 'Ezānā (*Alḥanawā*, about 350 A.D.) in the great inscriptions of Aksūm (N^o. 4, 3, 6, 2, 7, 2, 8, 3, 9, 2, 10, 3/4, 11, 3) bears the name of the castle of Salḥīn among his official titles, just as the Emperors of Austria used to call themselves Counts of Habsburg. The name Salḥīn appears there in the Greek text as Σιλην (Σιλην), in the Ethiopian as *Salḥēn*, in Sabaeen *Slhn* and *Slh*. There was therefore a twofold pronunciation, Silḥīn

and Salḥīn, even in ancient times. E. Osiander, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1856, x. 26, shrewdly connected the former name with that of the town שִׁלְחָן

in the tribe of Judah (Joshua, xv. 32). The form *Slh* is of interest because the same name is also found in the great inscription of Širwāḥ (Glaser 1000 B, 5g) which is perfectly preserved and contains over 1,000 words (*baithu slhm*) and presumably indicates likewise the royal castle of Mārib.

Poetry and folklore have woven their legends round the ancient castle as round many others. To the successors of the ancient Sabaeen it seemed the work of demons or devils, who built it in 70 years by Solomon's command for the Ḥamdanid king Dhū Bata', when Solomon married Bilḳis. This is, however, only one story. According to others, Salḥīn was built in 80 years by order of one of the Himyar rulers (*Tubba's*). Others again say that a castle was built in the royal residence of Salḥīn in Mārib, which belonged to the kings of the Himyars; it was built by order of Bilḳis, queen of Saba', daughter of Ḥadḥād, and in it her wonderful throne stood which is mentioned in the Ḳor'ān, Sūra xxvii. 23. It was also said that Solomon built the palace for Bilḳis. It should be mentioned that al-Ḥamdānī as well as Naṣḥwān al-Himyarī expressly describe Salḥīn as a royal residence or capital of Mārib.

There was no longer anything left of this castle in the Muslim period. The waves of the Ethiopian conquest (525 A.D.) no doubt swept over this ancient royal residence, which had already lost most of its former importance with the transference of the capital of the kingdom from Mārib to Zaḥār. Salḥīn, as well as Bainūn, Ibn Hishām tells us, was destroyed by the Ethiopian general Aryāt.

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i., Munich 1889, p. 35, 36, 88, 89, 95; ii., Berlin 1890, p. 500—502; do., *Bemerkungen sur Geschichte Alt-Abyssiniens*, Graz 1894, p. 21, 23; do., *Reise nach Märib* (Collection Eduard Glaser, i., ed. by D. H. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913), p. 138, 139; *M.V.A.G.*, 1923, xxviii. 97, 98; C. Conti Rossini, *Sugli Habašāt*, *R.R.A.L.*, 1906, xv. 49; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient, II, Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 149, 158; F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, ii. 654, 666 and note i.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-ŠALĪB (A., plural *Šalūb*, *Šalbān*), the cross. This general meaning occurs in several special applications, e. g. to the *wasṣm* branded in the skin of camels in the form of a cross etc. In the sense of the chief Christian symbol the word may have been taken over from Aramaic where it has the same form. It does not occur in the *Qurʾān*. In *Ḥadīth* it is used in eschatological descriptions. *ʿĪsā* (Jesus) will reappear in the last days, combat the Antichrist (al-Dajjāl), kill the swine and break the cross into pieces (al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 49; Muslim, *Imām*, Trad. 242, 243; Ibn Mādjā, *Fitan*, bāb 33; Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 240, 272 etc.). On Doomsday all religious communities will appear before Allāh with their symbols or idols. The Christians will follow the cross and, on their confession that they did worship the *Masīḥ* ibn Maryam, be thrown into Hell (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 24).

Further al-Bukhārī speaks of a *ṭhawb muṣallab*, a garment or cloth into which the form of the cross was woven, and which *ʿĀʾisha* removed on Muḥammad's order, because it distracted his attention from the *ṣalāt* (*Ṣalāt*, bāb 15).

Lexicographers call the cross the *ḫilba* of the Christians; apparently they were acquainted with the Christian custom of praying before the crucifix.

In *ʿUmar*'s treaties with the inhabitants of several towns of Palestine a special *amān* for their churches and crosses was granted them (al-Ṭabarī, i. 2405 sqq.). A document belonging to a late period of tradition and of doubtful authenticity prohibits the public use of the cross as a Christian symbol (Hamaker, *Incerti auctoris liber*, p. 165 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate*, p. 137; cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Anno 17, § 174 sq.).

In the debate between Christian and Muslim doctors at the court of al-Ma'mūn the Christian worship of the cross is one of the controversial points between the combatants (cf. A. Guillaume, *A Debate between Christian and Moslem Doctors in the Centenary Supplement to the J.R.A.S.*, October 1924, p. 242).

In the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 583 (1187) the Muslims captured the *Ṣalīb al-ḡalabūt* "the cross of the crucifixion", a cross in which a piece of the true cross was incorporated (*Historiens des Croisades, Historiens orientaux*, i. 685). See further the articles *ʿĪSĀ* and *NAṢĀRĀ*. In Christian Arabic literature the Christian legends concerning the cross, its recovery etc. have found their place. The verb *ṣalaba* denotes the Oriental form of crucifixion as a capital punishment.

On the diminutive form *Šulaib* cf. this article.

Bibliography: The lexica s. v.; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Anno 17, § 174 sq., vol. III/ii. 957 sq.; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, new ed. by T. H.

Weir, Edinburgh 1924, p. 137; A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i. 103; H. A. Hamaker, *Incerti auctoris liber de expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriae*, Leiden 1825, translation, p. 165 sq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

ŠĀLIḤ, a prophet who was sent to the Arab people *Thamūd*. He is, as usual, depicted as a sign and a warning in the style of Muḥammad; he demanded that his countrymen should turn to him and pray to Allāh alone (*Sūra* 7, 71, 11, 64, 26, 141); he called their attention to the benefits received from God (7, 72, 51, 43) and prided himself on seeking for no reward from them (26, 145). But they rejected him abruptly, called him bewitched (26, 153), a man like themselves, who could make no claim to revelations (54, 24); they could not surrender the religion of their fathers (11, 65) and scorned the idea of a day of judgment (69, 4). His appearance produced a schism in the people (27, 46) for only the weak believed in him, while the strong scoffed at him (7, 73). The only new feature was that they had placed their hope in him before he irritated them by his preaching (11, 64), which, if based on some corresponding incident, would be an interesting contribution to the history of Muḥammad. Then follows the special story of this prophet. Allāh sent them as a sign a she-camel (17, 61) and Šālīḥ begged them to allow it to feed unharmed and to share water with it (7, 71, 26, 155, 54, 28). But they lamed it and killed it (7, 75, 11, 68, 26, 157) through the hand of a particularly godless individual among them (91, 12, 54, 29) and scornfully asked Šālīḥ to inflict the threatened punishment (7, 75). He told them to hide three days in their houses (11, 68); then a tremendous storm broke out (11, 70, 51, 44; according to 7, 76 an earthquake; cf. also 54, 31, 69, 5) and on the following morning they lay dead in their houses. In the later Muslim stories of prophets these brief features are elaborated in various ways.

This story has a certain amount of foundation in fact in as much as the *Thamūd*, according to 7, 72 the successors of the *ʿĀdīs*, were an ancient Arab tribe known also from other sources (see the art. *THAMŪD*). The dwellings which the *Thamūd* had hewn out of the rocks (89, 8, 7, 72, 26, 149), often mentioned in the texts, the remains of which were still visible (29, 37), are undoubtedly the tombs, containing remains of human bones, hewn in the rocks of al-ʿŪla (see *AL-ḤIDJR*), which has led Philippe Berger to the further supposition that the word *kafrā* (tomb) found in the inscriptions there may have been explained as *kufr* (unbelief). But whence Muḥammad got the name Šālīḥ and the story of the camel cannot be ascertained. It is further remarkable that the stories of Šālīḥ and Hūd [q. v.] are in contradiction to the usual teaching of Muḥammad in the Mekkan period to the effect that no prophet had been sent to the Arabs before him (28, 46, 32, 2, 34, 43, 36, 5). The stories of these two prophets are found in the earliest Mekkan *Sūras* e. g. 53, 51 sq., 85, 17 sq., 89, 8, 91, 11 sqq., and frequently recur in the following sections; on the other hand they disappear in the *Medina* revelations except for the brief enumeration in 9, 71.

Bibliography: the *Qurʾān* commentaries on *Sūra* 7; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (Paris, 1861—1877), iii. 85—90; al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*

al-Anbiyā' or *Arā'is al-Maǧālīs*, Cairo 1290, p. 58 sqq.; Grimme, *Mohammed*, Münster 1892—95, ii. 80; Philippe Berger, *L'Arabie avant Mahomet d'après les inscriptions*, Paris 1885; The Qur'ān, transl. Palmer (*Sacred Books of the East*) i. 147 sq.; Caetani, *Andalī delf' Islām*, ii/i. A. H. 9 § 34; cf. Register. (FR. BUHL)

AL-MALIK AL-ŠĀLIḤ 'IMĀD AL-DĪN ISMĀ'IL, son of Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, son of Aiyūb, was born in the year 598 (1202). He is not mentioned in connection with the division of the lands which his father made among his brothers. He is mentioned for the first time in 623 (1226) as a partisan of his brother al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿIsā; he is described as lord of Boṣrā. After Muʿazzam's death he attached himself to his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāʿūd, by whose side we often find him fighting. He was with him in the battle at Damascus in 626 (1229) and when Dāʿūd was forced to capitulate, he was left in possession of his fief Boṣrā. In the next year, we find him in the service of his brother al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf Mūsā, who sent him to the siege of Baʿalbek, which he was to take from al-Malik al-Amǧjad Bahrām Shāh; Ismāʿil forced the latter to surrender after a long siege. On the death of his brother Mūsā in 635 (1237), he inherited Damascus and he began to play a more important if afterwards despicable part. As he had good reason to fear his brother al-Malik al-Kāmil, Sulṭān of Egypt, he concluded an alliance with the Aiyūbid princes of Syria (except with the prince of Ḥamā). He then prepared to stand a siege as he had already news of the advance of al-Kāmil and his nephew Dāʿūd. His resistance availed him little; he had soon to surrender Damascus and received in compensation Baʿalbek and al-Bikāʿ, while Boṣrā also remained to him.

The remaining part of his life is so closely associated with the careers of his nephews al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nāǧm al-Dīn Aiyūb and Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II, that the reader may be referred to their biographies. Ismāʿil was killed in Cairo in the year 648 (1250) when fighting with Sulṭān Yūsuf in the battle of ʿAbbāsa against the Egyptians. He repeatedly allied himself with the Khwārizmīs and the Franks out of selfish ambition and love of power to the detriment of his subjects and fellow-Muslims.

Bibliography: See the article AL-MALIK AL-ŠĀLIḤ NĀǦM AL-DĪN AIYŪB. (SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ŠĀLIḤ 'IMĀD AL-DĪN ISMĀ'IL, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir [q.v.] of the line of Kalāʿūn, was chosen Sulṭān at the age of 17 after the deposition of his brother Aḥmad (743 = 1342) whose cruelty had aroused the fury of the Amīrs. He was considered a virtuous and pious young man, but later fell under the destructive influence of his harem. After making new appointments to the principal administrative posts in the provinces, his next task was to put an end to the intrigues of his brother Ramaḍān, who was soon captured and executed. He then proceeded to fight his brother Aḥmad in Kerak, which cost great efforts and expenditure in troops. He tried to gain the Beduins of the neighbourhood to his side to make it difficult for Aḥmad to get supplies, but the latter's watchfulness foiled the attempt. On the other hand Ismāʿil feared he would lose support as even his vizier was in secret negotiation with Aḥmad. In the beginning of 744 (1344) he appointed another Amīr vizier and sent an expedition to Kerak, by

which he finally captured the town and took the citadel also, when reinforcements arrived in the beginning of 745. Aḥmad was taken prisoner. A few days later he was strangled in prison. The struggle with Aḥmad had occupied all Ismāʿil's time and means, so that he had neglected everything else. He is a typical example of the decline of Oriental dynasties. His time and strength were entirely absorbed in wars against his brothers and in excesses. As a result of the great expenditure at court, the revenues of the state declined and often the requisite money was not available for necessary military expeditions. His weakness was taken advantage of by the regular enemies of the Mamlūk kingdom, the Amīr of Mekka and of the Yemen, the dynasts of Asia Minor and the Beduin chiefs of Northern Syria, who rebelled against the governors in their lands under the Sulṭān's suzerainty. On the other hand the authority of the Caliph and of the Sulṭān remained unbroken in the remoter East and in India. Muḥammad b. Tuḡlak of Dehli sent the Caliph an embassy to ask for investiture and declared himself vassal of the Sulṭān; he also asked for some people learned in the law to be sent to him to enable his subjects to become better acquainted with the principles of Islām. His requests were readily acceded to. Sulṭān Ismāʿil was so deeply affected by the struggle with Aḥmad and his execution that he could not recover; he died in 746 (1345) after two months' illness when still only 20.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte d. Chalifen*, iv. 452—461; *al-Manhal al-Šāfi*, Paris MS. Ar. 2068—2073 under AL-MALIK AL-ŠĀLIḤ ISMĀ'IL. (SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ŠĀLIḤ NĀǦM AL-DĪN AIYŪB, the eldest son of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, son of Aiyūb, was born in 603 (1207). His father designated him successor in 625 (1228) and made him his representative in Egypt, while he was away on his campaigns in Syria. At this time (Rabīʿ I, 626 = February, 1229) al-Kāmil ceded Jerusalem to the Emperor Frederick for ten years. The relations between Aiyūb and his father were disturbed in 628 (1231) by the slanders of one of al-Kāmil's wives who wanted to get the succession in Egypt for her son al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr. She accused Aiyūb in a letter of trying for the throne while his father was still alive, as he had enlisted over 1,000 Mamluks of his own. Al-Kāmil, secured by the peace with the Emperor, returned to Cairo to take the reins of power into his own hands again. In 629 (1232) political conditions (the advance of the Tatars and of the Khwārizmīs up to the frontiers of the Empire) caused him to go to Syria and he gave the command of the army to Aiyūb in order to get him out of Egypt in this way.

Al-Kāmil achieved his object on this campaign of getting Mesopotamia into his own hands, as a strong bulwark against the Tatars and Khwārizmīs, and granted his son Aiyūb Ḥiṣn Kaifā as a fief and later, in 633 (1236), the towns of al-Ruhā (Edessa) and Ḥarrān conquered by him in addition.

Aiyūb's position with regard to the Tatars and Khwārizmīs cannot have been an easy one. He allied himself with the latter and took them into his service with the permission of al-Kāmil. In 635 (1238) he received Sindǧār and Naṣībīn in addition to his other territory. So long as al-Kāmil was alive, Aiyūb was master of the east and no one dared attack him. This state of

affairs was altered, however, when al-Kāmil died in the same year (635) in Damascus, which his brother al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl had ceded to him two months before in return for Ba'albek and Boṣrā. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil II was recognised in Cairo as al-Kāmil's successor and al-Malik al-Djawād Yūnus appointed governor of Damascus in his name. Aiyūb received the news of his father's death while he was besieging Raḥba; he at once raised the siege, but met with opposition from the Khwārizmis who were in his service. Enraged at the thought of their booty escaping them, they were going to seize him and he had to take to flight. The Sulṭān of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, also tried to capture him, besieged ʿĀmid and divided the towns which Aiyūb possessed between Syrian and Mesopotamian princes even before he had captured them. Lu'lu', the ruler of Moṣul, was also hostile to Aiyūb. He besieged him in Sindjār, where he had taken refuge. In this perilous position, Aiyūb was saved by the intervention of his highly esteemed Qādī, who regained for him the help of the Khwārizmis. This made it possible for him to relieve Sindjār and inflict a terrible defeat on Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'. Next he raised the siege of ʿĀmid and routed the Sulṭān of Rūm. Mesopotamia was now secured to him. In the next year (636) he was invited by al-Malik al-Djawād, governor of Damascus, to exchange Damascus for Sindjār, Raḥka and ʿĀna, as the latter did not feel his position safe from Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil of Egypt. Aiyūb handed over his eastern possessions to his son al-Muʿazzam Tūrān Shāh, while he granted the Khwārizmis Ḥarrān, al-Ruhā and the province of Djazira. He then accepted the invitation, went with his army to Palestine and occupied Damascus.

Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil and Prince Dāʿūd of Kerak decided to take the field against him. But a number of the Amirs abandoned the Sulṭān, whose love of pleasure had made him unpopular, and decided to join Aiyūb. Dāʿūd himself offered his support on condition that he was given Damascus. When Aiyūb refused, he returned to al-ʿĀdil. The Caliph, continually threatened by the Tatars and Khwārizmis, had a lively interest in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of Aiyūbid power generally, but he sent an envoy to Aiyūb in vain to negotiate a peace. In 637 (1240) Aiyūb left Damascus with 5,000 men and went to Nāblūs to prepare for his advance on Egypt there. He had also endeavoured to secure the support of his uncle, Ismā'īl, who pretended to agree but deceived him by false messages (see Sobernheim, *Baalbek zu islamischer Zeit*, p. 9 of the reprint, and the account in al-Makrizi, transl. Blochet, p. 445, and Abu 'l-Fida' under the year 637). But Ismā'īl made a secret agreement with the prince of Ḥimṣ and by promises tempted Aiyūb's troops to desert him and come to him in Damascus. Finally Aiyūb was left almost alone. In the meanwhile Dāʿūd of Kerak had again quarrelled with Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil and had begun negotiations with Aiyūb. But when he learned that Aiyūb was almost alone in Nāblūs, he went thither with his army, took him prisoner and sent him to Kerak. He treated him well and refused to hand him over to his brother al-ʿĀdil. In the meanwhile the treaty between al-Kāmil and Frederick II regarding the occupation of Jerusalem had expired. Dāʿūd felt himself strong enough to take the city by force from the Franks, who would not

hand Jerusalem over voluntarily. After a twenty-one days' siege, he succeeded in taking it in Djumādā I, 620 (Feb. 2, 1222); he destroyed its fortifications, which the Franks had rebuilt during the last months of their occupation.

Aiyūb's fortunes now began to turn. When, in spite of long negotiations between Dāʿūd, Ismā'īl and al-ʿĀdil, no alliance was achieved, an agreement was made between Aiyūb and Dāʿūd through the intermediary of the prince of Ḥamā. Aiyūb was released in Ramaḍān of the same year and went with Dāʿūd to Jerusalem, where they concluded a treaty. Aiyūb was to receive Egypt, Dāʿūd Syria and the eastern provinces. The combination of the two princes naturally caused al-ʿĀdil great anxiety. He persuaded Ismā'īl of Damascus to take the field against the two allies, while he himself went with an army to Bilbā'is. A section of the Mamluks, the Ashrafiya (called after al-ʿĀdil's uncle, al-Ashraf Mūsā), were dissatisfied, deposed him and sent him as a prisoner to the citadel of Cairo; after some hesitation they offered the crown to Aiyūb, with the request that he should come at once to Bilbā'is. Aiyūb and Dāʿūd went at once to Egypt and everywhere received a hearty welcome from the Amirs. After Aiyūb had occupied Cairo, he was recognised as ruler in the Friday *khutba* and later confirmed by the Caliph in a diploma. Al-ʿĀdil was kept prisoner in the citadel and not put to death till 645 (1247) when he declined to move to the fortress of Shawbak, as the Sulṭān ordered. Aiyūb was now secure in the possession of Egypt. In the East (Mesopotamia) his son Tūrān Shāh guarded his interests. The third member, Damascus, was still lacking to give him practically the empire of Saladin once more.

He therefore did not hand over to the unreliable Dāʿūd the lands between Egypt and Syria which he had occupied, nor Shawbak and Jerusalem, but declared the treaty of Jerusalem had been extorted from him. He avoided an open breach, however, by promising him Damascus as an independent possession when they would have conquered it together. In the next year (638=1240) Aiyūb busied himself securing the foundations of his rule in Egypt. He put down the rebellious Beduins in Upper Egypt, had the Amirs whom he could not trust arrested one after the other and gave their fiefs to his own Mamluks; it was then that he began the buildings on the present Nile (Baḥr) island of Rōḍa (which was then still a peninsula): his palace and the barracks for his Mamluks called Baḥris, who gave their name to the first Mamlūk dynasty (see the art. BAḤRI).

In the same year fighting broke out between Aiyūb and his enemies. Dāʿūd realised that he would never get any increase of territory from him and Ismā'īl rightly felt himself threatened when Aiyūb sought to gain possession of Damascus. In the East Lu'lu', prince of Moṣul, was reinforced and had taken ʿĀmid from Aiyūb's son, Tūrān Shāh, so that the latter now had only Ḥiṣn Kaifa and Kal'at al-Haiṭham. Ismā'īl and Dāʿūd concluded an alliance with the Franks, in which they ceded them Tiberias, Shakīf Arnūn and Šafed, and allowed them to purchase arms in Damascus. Relations between the Muslim and Christian leaders became so close that they did many things for each other. Thus the Franks handed over the prince al-Djawād, who had taken refuge with them, for a sum of

money to Ismā'il, who at once put him to death. Dā'ud and Ismā'il in their turn warned the Franks of a mutiny of Muslim prisoners in Şakīf Arnūn, so that they moved the prisoners to 'Akkā and put them to death there. The Franks and Ismā'il's troops now marched together against Aiyūb. The armies met between Ghazza and Ascalon. But when the Muslim troops went over to Aiyūb, the Franks were defeated and lost many prisoners, who were employed in the building operations on the island of Rōḍa in Cairo. The prisoners, however, were liberated by the peace concluded in the same year, which was a very favourable one for the Franks. They were allowed to retain their possessions in Palestine and Syria.

While in the next few years, Aiyūb kept out of Syria, fighting on a small scale went on with great cruelty between Dā'ud and the Franks. In 641 (1243) negotiations were going on between Aiyūb and Ismā'il; Aiyūb's son, al-Malik al-Mughīth, was to be liberated from his imprisonment by Ismā'il and Aiyūb was to be recognised as sovereign in the Friday prayer. But when Ismā'il learned that Aiyūb was secretly stirring up the Khwārizmīs against him, the negotiations fell through and before the end of the year Ismā'il and Dā'ud had made a close alliance with the Franks and ceded to them large tracts of Palestine with Jerusalem and the holy Muslim places there. Dā'ud, that most ardent enemy of the Christians, had to see the mass read in the Şakhra and hear bells rung in the Akṣā mosque. Aiyūb summoned the Khwārizmīs to help him against these allies and they came next year (642), temporarily occupying Jerusalem and wreaking frightful devastation. Aiyūb sent an army from Cairo to support the Khwārizmīs. Ismā'il in turn sent troops to the Franks who joined forces with them. The hostile armies met at Ghazza in a terrible battle, in which the Khwārizmīs and Egyptians won a decisive victory. The Khwārizmī booty was countless. As a result of this victory, the Egyptian troops were able to conquer Jerusalem and Palestine again, and they remained in Muslim hands down to 1918. Dā'ud could only retain Kerak, al-Salt and Adjlūn. The Egyptian troops besieged Damascus, which held out for a long time. Ismā'il did not capitulate till next year (643 = 1245), surrendered Damascus and limited himself to Ba'albek, Bosrā and their dependencies. In view of these successes the Khwārizmīs expected high pay and as this was not to their satisfaction they entered the service of Ismā'il and Dā'ud and laid siege to Damascus on their behalf, which was defended by one of Aiyūb's generals and still held out at the beginning of 644 (1246). To put an end to the Khwārizmī terror, the princes of Aleppo and Hims, who had so far shown little sympathy for Aiyūb, sent their troops against the Khwārizmīs. They were thereby forced to raise the siege and to go to meet the Aleppo troops. In the battle of Kaṣab the Khwārizmīs were severely beaten; one of their leaders was killed and another put to flight. Ismā'il sought refuge in Aleppo and enjoyed the protection of the ruler there, Yūsuf II, but lost Ba'albek to Aiyūb; his sons and wives were taken prisoner to Cairo.

Dā'ud also was deprived of all his possessions except Kerak and likewise sought refuge in Aleppo. He appointed his youngest son his deputy. The ruler of Aleppo cherished a continual distrust of Aiyūb. He tried to secure himself against any further

advance of the latter by getting prince al-Aṣḥraf to hand over Hims to him in 646 (1248) after a two months' siege.

Aiyūb, full of wrath, went to Damascus to fight Yūsuf II and sent one of his generals to Hims to recapture the town from al-Aṣḥraf. On his arrival in Damascus he heard of the arrival of the Crusaders, whom Louis IX had led against Damietta. This induced him to conclude a peace at once with Yūsuf through the intermediary of the Caliph. Although he was very ill, he set off in a litter and soon arrived in Aṣḥmunain. He could not prevent the landing of the Crusaders and the capture of Damietta, as the discipline of his army had become slack through his illness. The Beduin tribe of Kināna, to whom was entrusted the guarding of the district, fled like cowards, because they thought they had been abandoned by the Sultān's troops.

Shortly before his death Aiyūb heard with joy that the older sons of Dā'ud, who, dissatisfied with the transference of authority in Kerak to their younger brother, had attacked and taken prisoner the latter, were handing over the government of Kerak to him in exchange. He at once sent one of his Amīrs thither with troops to take over the fortress. Aiyūb died on Sha'bān 15, 647 (Nov. 23, 1249); on his successor and the result of the Crusade see the art. *SHADJAR AL-DURR*. He was a skilful politician but no general; at least he hardly ever led his troops in person. His great ambition was to found an empire like Saladin and al-Kāmil, which should consist of Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. By the end of his life he had achieved a considerable part of this, but the independent principality of Aleppo and the principality of Moṣul were not under his influence. He strengthened his position by the formation of a corps of Mamlūks, a measure of expediency for the moment, but which, as often in similar cases, brought about the ultimate fall of his dynasty (see the art. *SHADJAR AL-DURR*). He himself kept his Amīrs and officials firmly in control; they never dared speak unasked in his presence. He took a great interest, indeed an extravagant pleasure, in building. His palaces on the Nile peninsula Rōḍa, in Kabsh and his madrasa were famous in their day. He founded the town of Şālihiya as a frontier-fortress in Egypt.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. iii.; also the literature of the Crusades quoted under SALADIN. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ŞALIH NŪR AL-DIN ISMĀ'IL of the line of Zangī, son of the Atābeg of Aleppo and Damascus, Nūr al-Dīn [q.v.], son of Zangī, succeeded his father on the throne in 569 (1173) at the age of eleven. A few weeks previously his circumcision had been celebrated with great ceremony and alms for the poor on a particularly large scale. His name was mentioned in the Friday prayer and put on the coins without opposition from the Amīrs in Damascus and Aleppo or from Saladin [q.v.]. Only his cousin Saif al-Dīn al-Ghāzī of Moṣul, who was about to come to Nūr al-Dīn with troops which the latter intended to use against Saladin, seized the opportunity to occupy with his army the towns in the Dījazīra belonging to Nūr al-Dīn. The Franks likewise thought it a suitable occasion and advanced on the fortress of Bāniyās. In this difficult situation the Amīrs had either to appeal to Saladin for help or come to terms with the enemy. They did the latter, left

Saif al-Dīn al-Ghāzī in possession of his conquests and made it clear to the Franks that they would only be unnecessarily irritating Saladin, who had suppressed the rising in Egypt and had no longer cause to fear Nūr al-Dīn. The Franks received an indemnity in addition and then retired. By the alliance with al-Ghāzī the centre of the administration was transferred to Aleppo and Ismā'il brought there in security; the regency and the government were taken over by capable men. The Amīrs of Damascus, whose influence was thus lessened, called in Saladin; the latter, enraged at the weakness shown in face of the Franks and at the surrender to al-Ghāzī, wrote Ismā'il a letter full of reproaches for not having asked his assistance. Just as earlier it had to be Nūr al-Dīn's endeavour to gain possession of Damascus in place of the weak Būrid Abak (see the art. BŪRID), so now it became absolutely necessary for Saladin to have the real power in his own hands. Formally he continued to profess himself Ismā'il's faithful liegeman. When he reached Damascus the citadel was not handed over to him; Raiḥān, one of Ismā'il's eunuchs, only surrendered it after several months' negotiations when Saladin again declared himself Ismā'il's faithful servant. No arrangement was come to between Saladin and Ismā'il; on the contrary the Aleppo government was secretly negotiating with the Franks. Saladin resolved to take the offensive. He captured Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ and in Djumādā II, 570 (end of 1174) proceeded to besiege Aleppo. But al-Ghāzī had asked Gümīṣhtikin as Ismā'il's ally for assistance. The latter sent troops which, united with the Aleppo force, advanced on Ḥamā and threatened Saladin from the rear. Ismā'il, who cannot be denied the possession of a certain natural ability, conjured the people to defend him, the orphan, to the utmost as an act of gratitude for the benefactions of his father. Moved by his appeal the citizens of Aleppo defended the town by sorties and held out on this occasion and later ones also; indeed, the people of Aleppo were unique in Syria in frequently showing a feeling of independence and a certain pride in their citizenship. The commander of Aleppo, Gemīṣhtikin, was as unscrupulous in the struggle with Saladin as he was brave; he had even asked Sinān, the chief of the Assassins [q.v.], to send his notorious murderers against Saladin. But they did not succeed in murdering Saladin and they suffered death for their attempt. Gemīṣhtikin had also gone so far as to release Count Raymund of Tripoli, who was a prisoner in Aleppo, and induced him to attack Ḥimṣ. In this dangerous situation Saladin declared himself ready to hand over Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā on condition that he was allowed to retain Damascus, as governor for Ismā'il. This offer was foolishly not accepted as al-Ghāzī was relying on getting the help of his brother 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī II. But the latter did not join in as he was on friendly terms with Saladin. Saladin's army met their opponents at Ḥamā and he gained a decisive victory which settled the fate of Syria. For a second time he besieged Aleppo, which he invested more tightly on this occasion, and forced Ismā'il to make peace in Shawwāl, 570 (1175). He retained Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ, Damascus and several of the larger towns. Ismā'il was left only with Aleppo. This victory was of great importance because Saladin declared himself independent of Ismā'il and omitted Ismā'il's name from the Friday prayer and from the coins.

Soon afterwards an envoy from the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mustaḍī arrived in Ḥamā and presented Saladin with the diploma of Sultanate (al-Saltāna) over Egypt and Syria in addition to the usual robes of honour. In the next year (571) there was fighting between Saladin and the Zangid princes after the conclusion of which Saladin again laid siege to Aleppo in Dhu 'l-Hijjā of the same year. But the garrison and the civilian population defended themselves so bravely that he had to withdraw and definitely conclude peace at the beginning of the year 572 (July, 1175). The conditions of the earlier treaty were confirmed. Soon afterwards, at the request of his young sister, Ismā'il was ceded the castle of 'Azāz by Saladin.

Henceforth there was peace between Saladin and Ismā'il. The latter is even said by one authority to have intended to help Ismā'il to attain greater power again but was dissuaded by his Mamlūks from this. Ismā'il seems to have been really satisfied with the secure possession of Aleppo. Of military enterprises there is further to be recorded an expedition against the territory of Djabal Summak (west of Aleppo; see Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 21) in 572 (1175), the inhabitants of which wanted to join Sinān, the "Old Man of the Mountain", and the siege of Ḥārim, which he had to take from Gemīṣhtikin, whom he had for long been unable to trust. Gemīṣhtikin was convicted of having brought his treasure out of Aleppo and of having carried on negotiations with the Franks regarding the surrender of Ḥārim. Ismā'il thereupon had him seized and soon afterwards put to death in 573 (1176). But the Franks held by their treaty with Gemīṣhtikin, advanced on Ḥārim in 574 and reduced the town to great straits. Ismā'il sent it reinforcements on the appeal of its citizens and finally induced the Franks to withdraw on payment of an indemnity and by threatening to surrender the town to Saladin. He then had the town transferred to himself and appointed a governor. In 576 Ismā'il became very ill and designated 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, prince of Moṣul, as his successor, as he was unmarried and without direct descendants (and al-Ghāzī had died shortly before), because he thought him capable of withstanding Saladin. In the following year (577 = 1180) Ismā'il died. At his accession he was so young that he could not have been blamed for having lost his lands. How far he was responsible for the particularist policy by alliances with the Franks, cannot be decided. He kept possession of Aleppo with a strong hand. He seems from childhood to have been popular with his subjects and he was always bravely defended by them and his death was honestly lamented.

Bibliography: The fullest account is the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, i., Abu 'l-Fidā' and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil al-tawārikh*; ii., Ibn al-Athīr, *Histoire des Atabecs*; iii., Kamāl al-Dīn, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, transl. Blochet, Paris 1900; and the literature of the Crusades quoted under SALADIN. (SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ ṢĀLĪḤ AL-DĪN ḤĀDĪDĪ, son of Malik al-Ashraf Shā'ban (see the art. SHĀ'BĀN) of the line of Sulṭān Kalā'ūn, succeeded to the sulṭānate on the death of his brother 'Alī as a boy of 6 in 783 (1381). Some months later he

was deposed on Ramaḍān 19, 784 (Nov. 26. 1382) by the Atābeg Barḳūḳ, as the kingdom required a man and not a boy on the throne. Ḥādjīdī was sent back to the harem and Barḳūḳ, as had been arranged before, was appointed Sultān (on the events down to the restoration and second deposition of Sultān Ḥādjīdī see the art. BARḲŪḲ). In 791 (1389) Ḥādjīdī, who was now 13, was once more installed as Sultān but badly treated and not allowed to interfere in the government by his Atābeg Yelboghā. It is related how he appointed his tailor court-tailor and gave him a robe of honour. The latter was robbed of his robe of honour, then beaten and imprisoned and only with difficulty liberated by one of the great Amīrs. The Sultān was very angry at Yelboghā's shameful treatment of him; even his father's old Mamlūks and the eunuchs and chamberlains were removed from him. He was relieved when Mīntāsh (see the art. BARḲŪḲ) came into power again and allowed him more liberty. When Mīntāsh afterwards began the campaign against Barḳūḳ in Syria, he took the Caliph and the Sultān with him to show the righteousness of his war against the rebel. This step was to prove to his disadvantage. While Barḳūḳ was beaten in the decisive encounter, he captured the insufficiently defended tent with the Caliph, the Sultān and the Kādīs. Success was therefore on his side and in addition he was victorious in a second battle. He hastened with his important prisoners to Cairo where in the meanwhile one of his supporters, the Amīr Buṭā, had seized the citadel and had him named as Sultān in the Friday prayer. Ḥādjīdī was deposed by the Caliph by Barḳūḳ's orders. He was allotted an abode in the citadel but was honourably treated by Barḳūḳ who frequently visited him. In later years Barḳūḳ gave up these visits as Ḥādjīdī, who was of a cruel disposition, ill-treated his slave-girls and had music performed and songs sung to drown their cries. He also took to drink and heaped insults on Barḳūḳ when he visited him. The family of the great Kalā'ūn ended with this unworthy scion.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 538—540, 556—571; *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, Paris MS. Ar. 2068—2073.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ŞĀLIḤ ŞALĀḤ AL-DIN ŞĀLIḤ, son of Sultān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir of the line of Ḳalā'ūn, was chosen Sultān when 14 years old in place of his brother Ḥasan as a result of quarrels among the Mamlūks in 752 (1357). The feuds between the Amīrs did not cease in his reign; the eternal quarrel between the governors of the Syrian provinces and the dignitaries of the court in Cairo was also an important factor. When on his campaign in Syria he had succeeded by his prestige in withdrawing their supporters from the rebels and defeating them, the quarrelling among the cliques in Cairo broke out again. His addiction to pleasure prevented him from conducting the government himself to prevent the predominance of anyone Amīr with his followers. He thus fell a victim to the intrigues of the Amīrs; he was deposed in 755 (1354) and his brother Ḥasan recalled to the throne.

Bibliography: Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v. 490—499; *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, Paris MS. Ar. 2068—2073 under al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Şāliḥ.

(SOBERNHEIM)

ŞĀLIḤ B. 'ALĪ b. 'ABD ALLĪH b. 'ABBĀS AL-'ABBĀSĪ was born in Sawād or in the highlands of al-Balkā in the year 92 (710/11); he, along with Abū 'Awn 'Abd al-Malik b. Vazīd al-Djurdjānī, commanded the expeditionary force sent to Egypt in pursuit of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and on Muḥarram 1, 133 (Aug. 9, 750) was appointed governor of this province. On Sha'bān 1, 133 (March 4, 751) he was recalled from Egypt and given the governorship of Palestine after installing his companion-in-arms Abū 'Awn as his successor in Egypt. But by Rabi' I, 136 (Sept., 753) he was again given the governorship of Egypt along with the control of the finances of the country and was further appointed governor of Ifrikiya so that the whole of the Maghrib was united under his rule. On Rabi' II 5, 136 (Oct. 8, 753) he entered Egypt but had to return to Palestine within a year and half on Ramaḍān 4 of the following year (Feb. 21, 755) as a result of a rebellion in Egypt and again handed over the governorship of Egypt and the financial control of the country to Abū 'Awn. He had next to exchange Palestine for Syria (141 = 758/9). He undertook two campaigns against the Byzantines and died at Ḳinnesrīn or at 'Ain Ubāgh at the age of 58 after appointing his son al-Faql governor of Hims.

The name Şāliḥ is found on two glass measure-stamps in the Fouquet collection in P. Casanova, *Catalogue des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la collection Fouquet, M.M.A.F.*, 1893, vi. 370, N^o. 140, 141, and on copper coins of Ḥalab of the year 146 (763/4), and 148 (765/6) in H. Nützel, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen in den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. 328, N^o. 2083/84, and p. 329, N^o. 2086; cf. also Ismā'īl Ḡhalīb, *Meskūkāt-i qadime-i islāmīye Katalogy*, p. 284, N^o. 769, 770; S. Lane-Poole, *Brit. Mus., Cat. Orient. coins*, i. 200, ix. 94.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

ŞĀLIḤ B. MIRDĀS ABU 'ALĪ ASAD AL-DAWLA — see his genealogy in his biography in Ibn Khallikān, transl. by de Slane, Paris 1842, i. 631 — was one of the most important Beduin chiefs of the Nearer East in the fifth century A.H. His tribe was the Kilābī, who migrated under his leadership northwards from the Irāk to Aleppo in the beginning of the fourth century and gained him this principality (see the art. ḤALAB). We know little of his character and private life but he seems to have been a brave and resolute man. He is mentioned for the first time in 399 (1008) as the ally of the otherwise unknown Ibn Muḥkam, when the latter appealed to him for help in defending Raḥba which he had captured. The alliance was not a close nor a loyal one. After a certain amount of friction, a reconciliation took place between the two leaders in which Şāliḥ married Ibn

Muḥkam's daughter. He continued to have his residence in Hilla, as Ibn al-Athīr expressly mentions. In spite of the family links which united them, the friendship with Ibn Muḥkam did not last. In the same year Ṣāliḥ had his father-in-law murdered, seized Raḥba and administered it in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph in Cairo whom he recognised as his suzerain in the Friday prayer. In the next year (400 = 1009) he was involved in the affairs of Aleppo for the first time (see the art. ḤAMDĀNIDS). Maṣṣūr Murtaḍā al-Dawla, son of the Ḥamdānid Mamlūk Lu'lu', was ruling there but his position was challenged by the pretender Abu 'l-Ḥidjīdā, grandson of Saif al-Dawla. The latter had taken the Kilābis into his service but they had gone over to Maṣṣūr who had promised them large tracts of land. In consequence it was easy for Maṣṣūr to beat the Ḥamdānid. But when the Kilābis became pressing in their demands for their reward and invaded and plundered his lands, he had recourse to an old stratagem. He invited the Kilābi chiefs to a feast to discuss the matter, fell upon them and killed some and took the others prisoners. The story that 1,000 Kilābis were killed on this occasion in addition to the chiefs may be an exaggeration. Ṣāliḥ had so far to humiliate himself as to declare his wife to be divorced in favour of Maṣṣūr. For three years he languished in chains. It was not till 405 (1014) that he succeeded in escaping, in chains, as some say, or, as others report, after sawing them through with a file that had been smuggled unto him. After lying in concealment for some time he gradually collected the Kilābis around him again and attacked Maṣṣūr. The latter was defeated, captured and put into the same chains, the story goes, as he had bound Ṣāliḥ with. He was then released on certain conditions and handed over 5,000 dinārs, 70 pounds of silver and 500 robes, but did not fulfil the condition that he should pay the Kilābis half the revenues of Aleppo for the year 405 and marry Ṣāliḥ to his daughter. The Kilābis then laid siege to Aleppo and Maṣṣūr, who could not trust Faṭḥ, the commander of the citadel, fled to the Byzantines in 406 (1015). Faṭḥ came to terms with Ṣāliḥ and delivered Aleppo over to 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-'Adjamī, the Fāṭimid governor of Apamea. The Caliph, angry at the flight of Maṣṣūr, recognised 'Alī as governor, lauded Faṭḥ and Ṣāliḥ to whom he gave the honorary title of Asad al-Dawla and granted him the promised half of a year's revenue of Aleppo. (On the governors of Aleppo to the year 406—411 see above, p. 229 sq.). The rule of the Fāṭimids with their continually changing governors aroused the discontent of the Beduin tribes, who combined against Fāṭimid authority in 414 (1024) (see above ii. 229 sqq.). Ṣāliḥ conquered Aleppo, Hims, Ba'albek and Sidon in the next two years and his authority stretched to beyond Anah on the Euphrates. When the power of the Fāṭimids increased again, the Caliph Zāhir sent a new army in 420 (1029) under Anushtikin al-Dizberī against whom Ṣāliḥ took the field. He fell in the battle of Uḫwāna on the Jordan; his son Naṣr (see the art. SHIBL AL-DAWLA) escaped with a portion of the army and retained rule over Aleppo. Ṣāliḥ's importance lies in the fact that he led his tribe from Mesopotamia to Aleppo and gave them permanent settlements there.

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Petersburg, Arabic MS. of the Asiatic Museum 522, Paris 1666, of which the part dealing with the Mirdāsids has been edited by J. J. Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum*, Bonn 1830; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 148, 159 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, transl. by de Slane, Paris 1842, i. 631; cf. also the articles ḤAMDĀNIDS, above, p. 247 sqq. and ḤALAB, p. 227 sqq. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

ŞALİH b. ṬARİF. We know very little definitely about this individual, the prophet of the Barghawāta of Tāmasnā (the western coast of Morocco) and the founder of their heresy, or at least it was he to whom it was attributed. According to the information transmitted by al-Bakrī and which later writers simply reproduce, Ṭarīf b. Shama'un b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq was one of the companions of Maisara, promoter of the Khāridjī insurrection in the Maghrib in the eighth century A.D. and the leader of a section of the Zenāta and of the Zwāgha; then he was recognised as their chief by the people of the Tāmasnā among whom he settled. His son Ṣāliḥ succeeded him, declaring himself to be the prophet — the *Ṣāliḥ al-mu'nin* of the Qor'ān — sent to complete the mission of Muḥammad. He elaborated his doctrine, which he kept secret, then set out for the East leaving his power in the hands of his son al-Yās and saying that he would return under his seventh successor. Al-Yās in his turn kept this teaching secret and was succeeded by his son Yūnos who preached it and spread it by force of arms in the course of the third century A.H. in the lands now comprised in western Morocco, but the chronology is extremely vague. The descendants of Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf continued to reign over the Barghawāta down to the period of their defeat by the Ifrānids of Salé (beginning of the xth century), then by the Almoravids (end of the xth century) and lastly by the Almohads (middle of the xiith century). — According to other traditions, hostile to the Barghawāta, Ṣāliḥ was of Jewish origin and born at Barbāt in Spain, whence the name Barghawāta given to his followers. But these traditions are of no value. It may be asked if this enigmatic figure Ṣāliḥ is really the author of the heresy of the Barghawāta or rather if Yūnos, who spread it, did not, in order to give it more prestige, place it to the credit of his grandfather who had mysteriously disappeared and whose return was predicted. This would be quite in keeping with the psychology of the Berbers. An account of the teaching of Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf will be found in the article BARGHAWĀTA.

Bibliography: The only really important Muslim source is al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, p. 134—141; cf. also René Basset, *Recherches sur la religion des Berbères*, Paris 1910, p. 48—51. The remainder of the Bibliography will be found in the article BARGHAWĀTA.

(HENRI BASSET).

SALİH. Arab historians and genealogists are unanimous in stating that the tribe or clan Salīh were the first Arabs who founded a kingdom in Syria, though the three princes mentioned by them appear not to be named on inscriptions or by Greek and Syrian authors. There is also doubt as regards their affiliation with other tribes; some reckon them to Ghassān, while others say they were a branch of Kudā'a. Their first ruler is named al-Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. Mālik who was succeeded by his son Mālik after whom followed the latter's

son 'Amr, the last of his line. This much seems certain that they were considered as being of South Arabian descent and that they were Christians as might be expected from their receiving their appointment from the Greek emperors. Arab historians tell us that they used to levy a poll-tax of two dinārs upon all their subjects. One of their officials, named Sabta, came to levy this tribute upon a man belonging to the tribe of Ghassān named Djiz', who instead of paying killed him. This led to prolonged wars between Salḥ and Ghassān with the result that the latter became established as rulers of the Syrian Arabs, the first ruler of whom was al-Hārith b. 'Amr, surnamed Muḥarrik [cf. GHASSĀN]. Though deprived of the royal authority the tribe appears to have remained in Syria for a long time, for we find the tribe of Salḥ mentioned as late as the year 13 of the Hidjra among the Arab tribes who fought on the side of the Greeks against the invading Muḥammadan army. They are also stated to have formed part of the army of the legendary queen al-Zabbā' and we must probably consider as being of the same tribe the last king of Hāthra (al-Haḍr) who is named Daizan or Saṭirūn, who was killed by Sabur after a prolonged defence of his capital, which was only taken through the treachery of his own daughter. Ḥamza al-Isfahānī knows another king of Mesopotamia named Ziyād b. al-Hayūla (or Habūla) who was a contemporary of the Kindite king Ḥudjir b. Ākil al-Murār. The kings of Mesopotamia of this tribe are also mentioned under the collective name al-Dajā'im which, according to Nöldeke, may be identical with descendants of *Touon* who is referred to by Greek authors. From all it seems possible that we have to date the time of their kings approximately round the year 400 A.D. Exact and reliable information about them cannot be expected from Arab sources; there was certainly a historical foundation but legend has obscured considerably all real facts.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xi. 161; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51 (ed. Cairo, p. 35 and 215); Ibn Rashīk, *Umda*, ii. 177; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, ed. Cairo, ii. 278; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāq*, p. 314; al-Maidānī, *Amḥāl*, ed. Cairo 1310, i. 156; al-Kalkāshandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ed. Baghdād, p. 243; Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 115; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rikh*, ed. Constantinople, i. 76; Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen, Register*, p. 405; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, p. 35; Nöldeke, *Die ghassānischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's* (*Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1887) passim. (F. KRENKOW)

SĀLIM (A.), well preserved, intact. In the Kur'ān the word *sālim* is found only in Sūra lxviii. 43 in the quite general meaning: "shame comes upon them (the unbelievers) for they were asked to worship, while they were still in safety (*wahum sālimūna*)". *Sālim* is for the rest used by the interpreters of the Kur'ān to explain the divine name *Salām* of frequent occurrence there; this is said to be equivalent to *Sālim* = free from *āfāt* (calamities). Similarly *ḥalḥ salīm* (Sūra xxvi. 89) is explained as free from *kufr* (cf. Sūra xxxvii. 82). — In general *sālim* means free from defects and faults in cases where these might be found. For example in medicine, *sālim* is equivalent to *ṣāḥih*, sound, free from illness, and *djurḥ sālim*

is also used of a light wound. — Applied to money *sālim* means unclipped coins of full weight, or a sum of money free from charges or deductions.

Sālim is especially used as a grammatical term, again synonymous with *ṣāḥih*: in accidentence (*ṣarf*) a word is *sālim* when none of its radicals is one of the weak letters (*hurūf al-'ilal*) or a hamza and there is further no gemination (*taḍ'īf*). The same condition holds for syntax (*naḥw*) but in this case only of the last letter of the word; weak letters may occur in other positions and the word still remains *sālim*. For example, the root *nṣr* is *sālim*, *rmy* is not, for the *ṣarfīyūn* as well as for the *naḥwīyūn*, but *by'* only for the *naḥwīyūn* and *islanḳā* (to lie on the back, root *slk*) only for the *ṣarfīyūn*.

These examples are given by al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rifāt*, and, following him, by Muḥ. 'Alā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s. v. The so-called sound (*ṣāḥih*) plural is occasionally called *djam' sālim*. — The prosodists give the name *sālim* to a metre, whose feet (*adjiā'*) have no *'ilal* and *ziḥāfāt*, e.g. *ḳabḍ*, *kaff*, *ḳabn*, etc.; cf. the article 'ARŪD and the dictionaries, s. v., e.g. *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv. 183 middle, and *Tādī al-'Arūs*, viii. p. 339 top, 343. (WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

SĀLIM, MEHMET EMİN, called Mirzā-zāde, an Ottoman jurist and biographer of poets. He was the posthumous son of the *Shaikh* al-Islām Mirzā Muṣṭafā Efendi (cf. Şubhī, *Ta'rikh*, fol. 65, and *İlmiye Sābānmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 403 sq.), born in Stambul, became *muderris* and ascended the ladder of legal office, became judge of Mekka in *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da*, 1134 (began Aug. 13, 1722), *Ḳāḍī* of Stambul in *Djumādā I*, 1143 (began November 12, 1730), military judge of Anatolia, received in *Rabī' II*, 1146 (began August 12, 1733) the office of military judge of Rumelia (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, vii. 434) and in 1148 (began May 24, 1735) was banished to Chios. In 1149 (began May 12, 1736) he was sent as judge to Mekka for the second time and later transferred to Tripolis in Syria with "barley money" (*arḩalīk*, q. v.); in 1151 (began April 21, 1738) he received orders to go to Damascus, but died on the way in Muḥarram, 1152 (began April 10, 1739) at Mufriḥ near Damascus. A memorial stone was erected to him on his father's grave in *Shahzāde-baḥī* at Stambul. *Sālim* was the author of numerous translations of and commentaries on theological works, of a Turkish-Persian dictionary and of a book on the Holy War, *Nail al-Raḥād fī Amr al-Djihād* (printed Constantinople 1294 = 1878), finished in *Dhu 'l-Hidjja*, 1145 (began June 13, 1732), written by order of Sultān Maḥmūd I [q. v.]. He also translated into Turkish the universal history of al-'Ainī [q. v.] (d. 855 = 1451), *İkḍ al-Djumān fī Ta'rikh Ahl al-Zamān*. Eight volumes of the original MSS. of this work, planned to fill ten volumes, are in Stambul in the Nūr-i 'Oṭhmāniye library. *Sālim*'s main work is his *Tedḥkire-i Shu'arā'* dealing with 410 poets and metrists, written in 1133 (began November 2, 1720) and continued by Faṭn [q. v.] (cf. Ḥādjdī Khalīfa, *Kaṣf al-Ẓunūn*, vi. 560, No. 14633; original MS. in the library of Khālīs Efendi at Stambul; MS. in Vienna; cf. G. Flügel, *Katalog*, ii. 401, and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 243, No. 140), which was printed (726 pp.) at Stambul in 1315 (1897).

Bibliography: *Sidḥill-i 'Oṭhmānī*, iii. 3;

Şubhî, *Ta'riḥ*, Stambul 1198, fol. 65; *Ḳānūs al-A'lām*, p. 2494; Brusali Mehmed Tahîr, *‘Oṭh-mānī mi‘ellifleri*, Stambul 1338, ii. 335; Faṭīn, *Tedhkire-i Şu‘arā’*, Stambul 1271, p. 177 sq.; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vii. 434.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

SĀLIM B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ‘IZZ AL-DĪN ABU ‘L-NADJĀ’ AL-SANHURĪ AL-MİŞRĪ, a Mālikī faḳīh and traditionist born in Sanhūr, came to Cairo at the age of 21, rose to be Mufti of the Mālikis and died on 3 Djumādā II 1015 = Oct. 7, 1606. Of his numerous works only his Ḥaṣhiya on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalil has survived, s. E. Fagnan, *Catalogue général des Mss. des bibl. publ. de France*, Dep. viii., Algiers, N° 1162—4: it was no longer much used even in Muḥibbi's time.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥar*, ii. 204; Ḥādījī Khalifa, *Kaṣf al-ẓunūn* (ed. Flügel), vii. 876; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj*, Fes 1317, p. 157 (on the margin of Ibn Farḥūn), *al-Dibāj al-mudhaḥḥab*, Cairo 1329, p. 126; Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnalités mentionnées dans l’Idjāza du cheikh Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsy (Actes du IV Congr. intern. des Or. Alger, 1905, Paris 1908. III partie, suite) p. 487 § 304.*

(BROCKELMANN)

SĀLIM B. SAWĀDA AL-TAMĪMĪ, governor of Egypt from Muḥarram 1, 164 (September 6780) till the end of Dhū ‘l-Ḥiǧǧja 164 (August 25, 781).

Bibliography: al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt* (ed. Rh. Guest, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xix., London 1912), S. 123; Abu ‘l-Maḥāsīn, *Annales* (ed. T. G. J. Juynboll) i. (Leiden 1855), 438—441; al-Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 307; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen* (Abh. G. W. Gött., xx. 1875) p. 12.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SĀLIMĪYA, a school of dogmatic theologians with mystic tendencies which was formed among the Mālikī Sunnis in Baṣra in the iīrd—ivth century A.H.

Founded by Sahl al-Tustarī [q. v.] who died in 283=896, it takes its name from his principal disciple, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 297=909), and his son Abū ‘l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Sālim (d. 350=960) who succeeded one another at its head. The second Ibn Sālim, a friend of the Kor’ān exegesis Ibn Muǧāhid, is well known from the eulogies of his pupil and successor Abū Ṭālib al-Makki (d. 380=990) in his *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb* and from the criticisms of his adversary Abū Naṣr Sarraǧī (d. 377=987) in his *Luma’* (ed. Nicholson).

The main theses of the Sālīmīya have been preserved for us by their Ḥanbalī adversaries, particularly Abū Ya‘lā Ibn al-Farrā (d. 458=1066) who enumerates sixteen of them (ten were given in the *Ghunya* attributed to Kilānī):

(a) God never ceases for a moment to be creating; his uncreated efficiency (*taf‘īl*) makes him thus equivalently present everywhere, especially in the elocution of every reader reading the Kor’ān.

(b) God has an uncreated will (*maṣḥā’a*) and created decisions (*irāda*) by which the faults of created beings are causalized without his wishing their culpability; Satan in the end obeyed God; at the Day of Judgment God will appear in a human form, transfigured, immediately perceptible by all creatures (*taǧallī*; see the article ḤULMĀNIYA).

(c) The practice of the law is realised by an

effort of voluntary adaptation (*iktisāb*, opposed to the quietism of the Karrāmīya); endurance is superior to enjoyment; the prophets are superior to the saints; wisdom is identical with faith.

(d) Mystical union consists for the believer in gaining consciousness of his personality, of the divine “ego” in the proportion in which he has been pre-eternally invested with it (*sirr al-rubūbiya*).

The Ḥanbalī polemicists, from Ibn al-Farrā to Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn Taimīya, with perspicacity denounced the semi-Mu‘tazilī affinities and the monistic tendencies of these theses, which al-Ḥallāǧī, al-Aṣḥārī and Ibn Khafīf had criticised from the first in different degrees.

Nevertheless the Sālīmīya, being with the Karrāmīya the only Sunni theologians to support belief in the personal survival of the soul (between death and the resurrection), it is to them that the majority of Sunni mystics, from Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, have liked to turn. Al-Ḡhazālī in the second period of his life designed his *Iḥyā’* on the lines of the *Ḳūt* of a Sālīmī, al-Makki. The semi-Isma‘īlī school of Andalusian mystics of the sixth century — from Ibn Barradǧān (d. 536=1141) and Ibn Ḳasīyī to Ibn ‘Arabi [q. v.] — owes, as Ibn Taimīya has pointed out, several of its monist formulae to the Sālīmīya. Other Sālīmīya theses have been traditionally preserved in the order of the SHĀDHLIYA [q. v.].

Bibliography: Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad al-Makki, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, 2 volumes (the text seems to have been purified at an early period); Ibn al-Farrā, *Mu‘tamad fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, MS. Damascus, Zahiriya Library, Part “Tawḥīd”, N° 45, ‘Abd Kādir al-Djilānī, *Ghunya li-Ṭālibī Ṭarīḥ al-Ḥaḳīq*, Cairo 1288, i. 83—84; al-Muḳaddasī, in the *B.G.A.*, iii. 126; Ibn al-Da‘ī, *Tabṣirat al-‘Awāmm*, lith. Teheran 1313, p. 391; Goldziher, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1907, lxi. 73—80; Amedroz, *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 572—575; Massignon, *Essai sur les origines... de la mystique musulmane*, 1922, p. 264—270; do. *Passion d'al-Ḥallāǧī*, Index, s. v.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

SALMĀ. [See ADJĀ’].

SALMĀN, KHWĀDJA DJAMĀL AL-DĪN, son of Khwāǧja ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad, was born at Sāwa (whence his *nisba* Sāwādī) at the beginning of the fourteenth century. His father, who was a scribe in the service of government, gave him a good education and he gained the favour of Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg, the Djalā’ir of ‘Irāk, by an ode which he composed in his praise. Shaikh Ḥasan and his wife, Dilshād Khātūn, made him tutor to their son Shaikh Uwais, at whose court he held a high position as the most distinguished poet of the age, except Ḥāfiẓ. Of his poetry Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn ‘Alā’ al-Dawla of Samnān said: “The pomegranates of Samnān and the poetry of Salmān have no equals”, and it has also been said that “the works of Salmān are a book in which students of poetry and the genius of poets will find all that will profit them”. In some of his verses he satirized ‘Ubaid Zakānī, a poet who had written some very scurrilous odes, and afterwards encountering ‘Ubaid on a journey, fell into converse with him. ‘Ubaid, when he discovered who his companion was, told him that he had intended to visit Baghdād in order to repay him with interest, and the two poets became fast friends, but Salmān always went in fear of ‘Ubaid’s tongue and pen.

Salmān was not exempt from the rapacity of

his class. One night, after a drinking party at court, Uwais sent a slave with a candle in a golden basin to light him home. The next morning the king sent for the basin and received a verse in reply:

"Last night the candle was consumed, and in my lamentation

I too shall be consumed, if the king demands the basin".

The poet was allowed to keep the basin.

As a reward for an ode which he wrote in answer to the odes of Khwādja Zahir Fāryābi, Salmān received two villages in the Rai district and some land in the neighbourhood of Sāwa, his native town, in Suyūrghāl, and in his old age he retired from court and lived in peace on his estate.

Uwais, who ruled over 'Irāk and Ādharbaidjān, died in 1374 and Salmān emerged from his retirement and mourned for some time over his patron's grave, chanting an elegy which he had composed on him. Salmān himself died at an advanced age in 778 (1376).

[Salmān wrote both epical and lyrical poetry. There exist of him two *Mathnawī*, viz. *Firāk-nāma*, composed in 761 (1359) on demand of his patron Sultān Uwais, and *Djamsīd u Khwarshīd*, an imitation of *Khusraw u Shirin*, written in 763 (1362). His lyrical works contain *Ghazals*, *Rubā'is*, *Kiṭās*, and the *genre* in which he excelled, *Qasidas*. In this latter kind of poetry, notable in the artificial *Qasida* (*Qasida-i maṣnū*) he surpassed even his greatest predecessor Dhu 'l-Fiḳār of Shirwān. Of poetical figures, Salmān cultivates especially the *Tawshīh*, i. e. the incorporation of a smaller poem into a longer one (cf. Ibn Kaīs, *Muḍjam*, Gibb Mem. Ser. x., p. 362 sqq.). Many of the *Qasidas* are reflexes of historical events of the time. Salmān's *Ghazals* could not, in the eyes of Persian critics, win the renown of his *Qasidas*.

A lithographed Bombay edition of his *Kulliyāt* is mentioned by Browne, *Hist. of Persian Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 261].

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. E. G. Browne, London 1901, p. 257—263; Lutf 'Alī Beg (Ādhar), *Ātashkada*, ed. of 1277, p. 208—211; *Die Handschriften-verzeichnisse d. kön. Bibl. zu Berlin*, iv. 842; Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, ii. 629b; do., *Supplement*, index; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hss. zu Wien*, index; Browne, *A suppl. Handlist of ... Cambridge*; do., *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 260 sqq.; 296 sq. (parallels between Salmān and Ḥāfiz); *Z.D.M.G.*, xv., p. 758—774; Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, p. 117; *Catalogue Bankipore*, i. p. 219 sqq. (copious references to Persian and European literature on Salmān); Ethé in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii. 248, 251, 254, 270, 303 sq. (T. W. HAIG)

SALMĀN AL-FĀRISĪ, a companion of the Prophet and one of the most popular figures of Muslim legend. According to one tradition, the most complete version of which among the many that exist goes back to Muḥammad b. Ishāk, he was the son of a *dihkān* of the Persian village of Djaiy (or Djaiyān; cf. Yāqūt, ii. 170) near Isfahān. According to other stories, he belonged to the vicinity of Rāmhurmuz and his Irānian name was

Mahbēh (Māyēh) or Rūzbēh (cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 217, 277). Attracted by Christianity while still a boy he left his father's house to follow a Christian monk and having changed his teachers several times arrived in Syria; from there he went right down to the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā in Central Arabia seeking the Prophet who was to restore the religion of Ibrāhīm, the imminence of whose coming had been predicted to him by his last teacher on his deathbed. Betrayed by Kalbī Beduins, who were acting as his guides through the desert, and sold as a slave to a Jew, he had occasion to go to Yathrib where soon after his arrival the *hidjra* of Muḥammad took place. Recognising in the latter the marks of the prophet which the monk had described to him, Salmān became a Muslim and purchased his liberty from his Jewish master, after being miraculously aided by Muḥammad himself to raise the sum necessary to pay his ransom.

The name of Salmān is associated with the siege of Medina by the Mekkans for it was he who on this occasion advised the digging of the ditch (*khandaḳ*) by means of which the Muslims defended themselves from the enemy. But, as Horovitz (see the *Bibliography*) has shown, the earliest accounts of the *yawm al-khandaḳ* make no mention of Salmān's intervention, the story of which was probably invented in order to attribute to a Persian the introduction of a system of defence the name of which is of Persian origin. The other references to the career of Salmān (his part in the conquest of the 'Irāk and of Fārs, his governorship of al-Madā'in etc.) are equally devoid of authority and almost all date from the historian Saif b. 'Umar, the bias of whose work is well known. Indeed, the fame of Salmān is almost entirely due to his Persian nationality: he is the prototype of the converted Persians (just as the Abyssinians and the Greeks are represented by Bilāl [q. v., i. 718] and Ṣuḥaib respectively), who played such a part in the development of Islām; as such he has become the national hero of Muslim Persia and one of the favourite personages of the *Shu'abiya* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 117, 136, 153, 212). What explains the majority of the traditions relative to Salmān is the fact that the Prophet foretells to him that the Persians will form the better part of the Muslim community; he declares him member of his own family (*ahl al-bait*); his annuity is equal to that assigned to Ḥasan and to Ḥusain, the grandsons of the Prophet etc. In reality, the historical personality of Salmān is of the vaguest and it is with difficulty that one can even admit that his legend is based on the actual fact of the conversion of a Medina slave of Persian origin.

The figure of Salmān has had an extraordinary development. Not only does he appear as one of the founders of Sūfism along with the *Aṣḥāb al-Ṣuffa* (*Kitāb al-Luma'*, ed. Nicholson, p. 134—135) but the alleged site of his tomb very early became a centre of worship (at latest in the 10th century A. H.; cf. Yā'qubi, *Kitāb al-Buldān* in the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vii. 321): it is still pointed out in the vicinity of the ancient al-Madā'in, at the place called after him Selmān Pāk ("Salmān the Pure") near the former Asbāndur suburb. His sepulchral mosque, which was seen in its older form by Pietro della Valle in 1617 (*Viaggi*, ed. Gancia, Brighton 1843, i. 394), was renovated by Sultān Murād IV (1623—1640) and

recently restored (in 1322 = 1904—1905) (Herzfeld-Sarre, *Archdol. Reise im Euphrates- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii. 262, note 1, based on information given by the learned Mesopotamian journalist Kāzīm al-Dudjaili; and cf. *ibid.*, p. 51 [topographical sketch] and p. 58). It is the object of numerous pilgrimages, especially on the part of Shī'īs who do not fail to visit it in returning from Kerbelā (cf. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 426—428). Other traditions locate the tomb of Salmān in the vicinity of Iṣfahān, where there is evidence of his cult in the vith century (Yāqūt, ii. 170), and elsewhere (for Lydda in Palestine cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, ii. 108).

Salmān plays a remarkable part in the development of the *futuwa* and the workmen's corporations. He is venerated as a patron of barbers, whence comes the tradition, unknown in ancient collections of tradition, which makes him the Prophet's barber (H. Thorning, *Studien zu Basī Madad et-Taūfīq*, Diss. Kiel 1913, p. 33—37 and 85—90 = *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens, Türkische Bibliothek*, vol. 16; Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab. Philol.*, ii. lxxv, lxxxiii.). He is also one of the principal links in the mystic chain (*silsila*) in various religious orders (Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries Musulmanes*, p. 91). The veneration accorded to Salmān among the Sunnis is naturally exceeded among the Shī'īs: not only do they attribute to him a mass of *hadith's* in honour of 'Alī and his family but among the extremist sects he is placed immediately after 'Alī in the series of divine emanations. The Nuṣairiya make him the third member of the trinity formed by the three mystic letters A ('Alī), M (Muḥammad) and S (Salmān), of which he forms the gate (*bāb*) (cf. Dussaud, *La Religion des Nusairis*, p. 62; Goldziher, *A. R. W.*, xii. 88).

The death of Salmān is placed in 35 or 36 A.H., a statement which has no value except to indicate that the historian's tradition had no note of his activity after the accession of 'Alī (end of 35 A.H.). Like many other individuals, said to have embraced Islām after long experiences of other religions, he is credited with an extraordinary longevity: 200, 300, 350 and even 553 years (Goldziher, *Abhandl.*, ii., lxxvi.).

Bibliography (besides that mentioned in the course of the article): Ibn Hishām, p. 136—142 (= Ibn Sa'd, iv. 1, 53—57; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 441—444; Pseudo-Balkhī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rikh*, ed. by Cl. Huart, p. 110—113, 345, 673, 677; Ibn Sa'd, iv/1. 53—67; al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, Index s.v.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, ii. 328—332, and other collections of biographies of the Companions; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, v. 399—419 (35 A.H., §§ 541—598) and index to vols. i.—ii., iii.—v.; do., *Chronographia Islamica*, i. 383 (35 A.H., § 73); C. Huart, *Salmān du Fārs in Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, Paris 1909, p. 297—310; do., *Nouvelles recherches sur la légende de Salmān du Fārs in the Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, Section des sciences religieuses, 1913; J. Horowitz in the *Isl.*, 1922, xii. 178—183. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

SALMĀS, a district in the province of Adharbāidjān in Persia, to the north-west of the Lake of Urmīyah and having an area of 25 miles (N. to S.) by 40 (E. to W.). To the south the chain

of the Awghān (Afghān)-dagh with its pass Wer'gewīz (6,150 feet high) separates Salmās from the district of Urmīyah (Urūmī); the eastern portion of the Awghān-dagh forms the lofty promontory of Kara-bāgh [q.v.] which runs out into the Lake; at the end of it is the fortress of Güwerčīn-Kal'a. In the west the Harāwīl range (in Turkish Ara'ul) separates Salmās from the Turkish district of Albak; the pass of Khānasūr is 7,900 feet high. To the north Salmās marches with Khoi; in the north-east with the district of Güneī ("exposed to the sun"; former administrative name Arwanağ-wa-Anzāb) which lies on the north bank of the lake and has Tasudj as its capital. Salmās consists of the fertile plain watered by the Zola-Çai and of the mountainous districts of Çahrīk, Shīnetāl and Shepirān.

The region of Salmās has been inhabited since very early times to judge by the remains of Khaldic (Vannic) buildings. Later it formed part of the province of Persarmenia belonging sometimes to Atropatene and sometimes to Armenia. Faustus Byzantinus includes the region of Salmās in the province of Kortēkh. Constantine Porphyrogenetos mentions Σαλαμάς alongside of Χερτ (now Khoi).

Al-Muḥaddasī describes Salmās as a fine town with good markets and a stone mosque; the population in the fourth (xth) century was of Kurd origin. In Yāqūt's time the town was in ruins; among natives of the place he mentions Mūsā b. 'Amrān, a learned man who died in 380. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, the city wall, 8,000 paces in circumference, was rebuilt by the vizier Khādja Tādj al-Dīn 'Alī Shāh in the reign of Ghāzān. The taxes of Salmās in the viiith (xivth) century amounted to 39,000 dinārs. At the present day there is no town named Salmās. The passages in the Muslim writers must refer to the hamlet known as Kuhna Shahr ("the old town") in the north-west of the district on the road from Albak and Khoi. There are at Kuhna Shahr about 1,000 families of Shī'īs who speak the Azeri dialect of Turkish, 100 Armenian families and a Jewish colony, always the sign of an old established settlement in Persia. The fact that the tower of Mīrī-Khātūn is situated near Kuhna Shahr is equally significant.

The modern capital is Dilmān (written Dilmakān), the name of which seems to indicate some connection with the Dailamis of Gilān (cf. the art. DAILAM) some of whose little forts are at Shahri-zūr etc. (cf. Yāqūt, s.v. Dailamastān). There are at Dilmān 1,400 houses (in 1852 only 300) and 8,000 inhabitants (almost all Shī'īs). The town advantageously situated at the intersection of the routes in the centre of the plain is surrounded by walls of earth and has 5 gates. It has 11 mosques (those of Aghā, of the Shaikh al-Islām, of Ḥādjdī 'Alī Ridā, Ḥādjdī Sādiq Aghā, Kanli, Shīrlī, etc.) and a *tekkīya* of dervishes founded by Rawshan Efendi (whose seal bore the date 1251 A.H.; cf. Véliaminof Zernof, *Scheref-Nāmeḥ*, 1860, i. 18).

The plain of Salmās about 1850 (Çirikow) had 51 villages with 3,310 houses. Their number towards 1900 had risen to 108 with a population of over 50,000 of whom 63.2% were Shī'īs, 13% Sunnis, 22.5% Christians and 1.3% Jews. Alongside of purely Muslim villages or those with a mixed population, there were Christian villages of fair size: Armenians (Kal'a-sar, Haftuwān, Peryādjik) c. Syrians (Khosrowa, Patāwur, etc.). The Catholic (Chaldaean) Syrians were found mainly at Khosrowa, a prosperous hamlet of 500 houses with

2 churches (one built in 1844), the see of a bishop and of a Lazarist mission. As early as 1281 a bishop of Salmās was present at the *ḡesporovia* of the Nestorian patriarch Mar Yalabaha (Assemani, ii. 456) at Baghdād. The inhabitants of Khosrowa were converted to Catholicism in the course of the eighteenth century. Among the Muslims of Salmās there are a few Lek, who came originally from southern Kurdistan but claim to have come to Salmās from Isfāhān. The representatives of the different races and religions agreed very well together and were only disturbed by the inroads of Kurds who came down from the mountains to plunder in the plains. The exports and imports of Salmās before the war amounted to a million gold roubles. The exports consisted of wax, almonds, skins and cattle. The Russo-Turkish fighting and the period of trouble that followed the war from 1918 onwards have seriously affected the prosperity of Salmās.

Čahriḡ, the administrative centre of the mountainous region inhabited by the Kurds, is a little fortress built on a rock rising up in the centre of the gorge of the Zala-Čai (see the photograph in E. G. Browne, *Nuqtatu 'l-Kāf*, 1910). In 1828 Čahriḡ was occupied by the Russians. In 1848 the Bāb [q. v.] was imprisoned there before his execution at Tabriz. At this date the governor of Čahriḡ was Yahyā Khān, brother-in-law of Muḥammad Shāh. After the assassination of his son Timūr Khān, Čahriḡ was occupied by the 'Awdōi Kurds. This clan belongs to the great tribe of Shekkāk, which occupies both sides of the Persian-Turkish frontier here. According to the Awdōi, their ancestors came from Diyārbakr to Urmiya towards the middle of the xviiith century. The tomb of their chief Ismā'īl Aghā (on the Nāzlu Čai) is dated 1231 (1816). His son, 'Alī Khān, seized Čahriḡ in 1864. The son of 'Alī Khān, Dja'far Aghā, a bold bandit, was put to death at Tabriz in 1905 by order of the governor-general. His younger brother Ismā'īl (known as Simko) played a considerable part in the troubled politics of these marches. In 1918 the Nestorian patriarch was assassinated at Kuhna Shahr in an encounter provoked by Simko's men. In 1922 a Persian military force drove Simko back into Turkey.

Among the antiquities of Salmās there should be noted: 1) the Khaldic (Uratæan) buildings discovered by Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii. 60) on the hill of Zindjir Kal'a near the village of Tamar; 2) a bas-relief (Sassanian) on the rock of Pīr Čā'ūsh, representing Galerius, Narses and Tiridates (Ker Porter, *ibid.*; Flandin and Coste, iv., Pl. 204—205) or, according to another explanation, Ardashir-i Pāpāhān and his son Shāpūr (Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 81; Sarre, *Iran. Felsreliefs*, p. 246); 3) The fortress of Güwerčīn Kal'a ("fortress of the pigeons") on the rocks, sometimes forming a peninsula and sometimes an island in the lake of Urmiyah. Some parts of G.-K. may date from the Khaldic period. N. Khanykoff in 1852 discovered there a fragment of a Muslim inscription of a certain Abū Nāṣir Ḥusain Bahādur Khān (the newspaper *Kavkaz*, Tiflis 1852, No. 22, 23); 4) The brick tower near Kuhna Shahr. Its inscription dated about 700 (7xx) and deciphered by Max van Berchem attributes its erection to Miri Khātūn, daughter of Arghūn Ākā. The last named is known as governor of Khorāsān in the time of Hülāgū and Abākā (cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mate-*

riallen zur ältesten Gesch. Armeniens, Abh. G. W. Gött., New Series, ix. 158—159; photograph in Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, p. 320).

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SALSABİL is the name of a fountain in Paradise, mentioned only once in the *Qur'ān*, in *Sūra lxxvi.* 18. The passage runs: "And there shall they (the just) be given to drink of the cup tempered with ginger, from the fount therein whose name is Salsabil".

Grammarians differ as to the derivation of the word. Some refer it to the triliteral root *s-b-l* while others derive it from a quinqueliteral root of which it is, except in its own feminine form, the sole derivative. Some explain it as meaning "that which slips or steals (*yansallu*) into the throat", as though the only radical letters were *s* and *l*. The derivation from *sal sabīlan* as in the comment *sal rabbaka sabīlan ilā hādhihi 'l-'ain* is condemned as erroneous. The word is explained as meaning "easy" or "smooth" (as a beverage), "in which is no roughness", "easy of entrance into the throat", and is applied as an epithet to milk, water and wine, but in the *Qur'ān* it is understood to refer to wine, which will be lawful to Muslims in Paradise.

Some grammarians take it to be the proper name of the fountain, and therefore imperfectly declined, without *tanwin*, but it is given *tanwin* in the verse quoted in order that it may conform with

سَلْسَبِيلًا, but others understand it as an epithet

applied to the fountain, and therefore perfectly declined, with *tanwin*. That the conception of the word as of a proper name was popular in the Muslim community, appears from a tradition in Muslim, *Haid*, No. 37, where it is said that the fountain in Paradise from which the faithful will drink is called Salsabil.

Bibliography: The standard lexica and the commentaries on the *Qur'ān*. (T. W. HAIG)

SALŪK (in al-Hamdāni: *Khariḇat Salūk*), an ancient city in South Arabia in the district of *Khadr* in the Yemen on the site of which the village of Ḥabil al-Kiyyaba stood in al-Hamdāni's time. In the ruins of the great city of Salūk there were found slag-heaps, lumps of gold and silver as well as ornaments and coins. It was celebrated for the splendid double meshed mail-shirts which were manufactured in it. There was also a fine breed of dog specially suited for hunting gazelles (*salūḡi*), which was said to be the result of a cross between dogs and jackals, which came from this place. To this day, as I am informed by Alois Musil, there is a saying among the *Shammar* Beduins:

Hu drūki, lā ʿalab wa-lā Slūki "He is a bastard, not a dog and not a Salūki (hound)".

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SALŪL. There are two tribes of this name, one South Arabian and a branch of *Khuzāʿa*, the other North Arabian and reckoned to the federation of tribes known by the collective name of *Hawāzin*. Both tribes appear to have been in little estimation and I am in doubt whether the two are not really identical as some members are at times reckoned either to *Khuzāʿa* or *Hawāzik*.

1) The branch of *Khuzāʿa* had immigrated into the *Hidjāz* at an early date, Arab genealogists giving the time as after the break of the dam at Maʿrib, and became custodians of the Kaʿba. A member of the tribe, Abū Ghabsḥān al-Muḥtarish b. Hulail b. Salūl, sold the key of the temple to Kuṣaiy b. Kināna, through whom the custodianship came down to the tribe of *Kuraish*, for a skin of wine. This tribe was divided into three principal branches: *Huḥshiya*, *ʿAdī* and *Hirmiz*, the last of which was probably very small as no notable persons belonging to this clan are mentioned. *Huḥshiya* was divided into several families, namely: *Hulail*, *Kumair*, *Dāṭir*, *Kulaib* and *Ghādira*. To the first belonged al-Muḥtarish mentioned above and Kurz b. ʿAlkāma who followed the Prophet on his flight from Mekka to al-Medina as far as the cave where he lost trace of him, when he found a spider-web over the entrance of the cave. He lived to the time of Muʿāwiya and it was through his knowledge of the topography of the country that the limits of the Holy Territory were fixed, which have been retained to this day. Of the family of *Kumair* was Kaḥḥisa b. *Dhuʿaib*, who was born in the life-time of the Prophet and died in Syria in 86 A. H., and Mālik b. al-Haitham b. ʿAwf, one of the principal emissaries of the ʿAbbāsids and friend of Abū Muslim, who left him in charge of the army when he went to see the Caliph al-Manṣūr and was murdered.

2) The tribe descended from *Hawāzin* was named after their maternal ancestor Salūl, daughter of *Dhuḥl* b. *Shaiḥān*, the ancestor in the male line being *Murra* b. *Ṣaṣaʿa* b. *Muʿāwiya* b. *Bakr* b. *Hawāzin*. They were settled to the East of Mekka. They were divided into ten clans: ʿAmr, *Dubaiʿa*, *Nahār*, *Suḥaim*, *Ghādira*, *Udaiya*, *Djābir*, *Muʿāwiya*, *Djinnī* and *Duḥaiy*. Of the clan *Ghādira* were ʿImrān b. *Husain*, a companion of the Prophet who was sent by ʿUmar I as judge to al-Baṣra, and the poet *Kuthayyir ʿazza* [q.v.]. To the clan ʿAmr belonged the poets ʿAbd Allāh b. *Hammām* and al-ʿUdʿair. In comparing the genealogies of the various members

of the tribe Salūl not inconsiderable divergencies are encountered, *Ghādira* e.g. occurring in both, from which it seems safe to infer that, though the general membership was known the affiliation was more than uncertain in most cases, which the ingenuity of the genealogists has not been able to bring into one common scheme. The chief difficulty was, no doubt, that Salūl was the name of a woman, not of a man, in spite of the "Ibn" of the genealogists and we have a case of a matriarchy, not uncommon in the genealogies of Arab tribes.

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SALUR is the name of one of the tribes of the Oghuz which traces its name and origin to the eldest son of *Dagh Khān*, one of the six sons of Oghuz *Khān*; in the texts the orthography

سالور (it occurs in a Persian *Oghuz-nāma* in manuscript in my private library) or سلغر (*Diwān luḡhāt al-Turk*; *Taʾriḫ-i Guzida*) is rarely found; the commonest is سالور or صالور. As in the case

of many other Turkish tribes the historical data regarding their ethnology are very scanty and confused. This much is, however, certain for their early history that from the earliest times they shared the fortunes of the other Oghuz tribes, since they came from the lands of *Ili* and of *Isfgh Göl* on the banks of the *Saiḥūn* [q.v.] and then migrated into Transoxania, *Khwārizm* and *Khorāsān*, and finally, at the conquest of Asia Minor, a part of the tribe settled in Eastern Anatolia (for the details see *Köprülü Zāde Fuʿād, Türkiye taʾriḫi*, Constantinople 1923, i. chap. 5). It was from them that the *Salgharid* dynasty [q.v.] arose after the fall of the *Saldjūk* empire (*Taʾriḫ-i Guzida*, Gibb Memorial Series, xiv/i. p. 503); the royal poet *Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn* [q.v.] was also a descendant of the Salur ("ʿAziz b. *Ardashīr Astarābādī, Bazm-u Rasm*, MS. of the Aya Sofia, N^o. 3465). Seeing that, according to the translation of the *Saldjūk-nāma*, the Salur, who had come into Asia Minor, were in the army of *Bahrām Shāh*, prince of *Erzindjān*, of the family of *Mengüček* (*Houtsma, Recueil* etc., iii. 57), we may conclude that the Salur played an important part in the history of the *Saldjūks* of Asia Minor along with the *Kāyi* *Bāyandūr* and *Bayāt* tribes (see the Index to vol. iv. of the *Recueil* and J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, p. 189 in the *Abh. G. W.*, new series, vol. xiii. N^o. 1, Berlin 1914). According to a Persian manuscript of the *Oghuz-nāma* in my private library, the *Qaramān-Oghlu* [q.v.] belonged to the *Qaramān* branch of the Salur. It is very probable that the villages bearing the name *Qaramanlu* in *Adharbaidjān* in the Caucasus were originally founded by the Salur. Among the solid bodies of Turkomans that we find in these regions in the viith century A. H. (al-Nasāʾī *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Manḳobirtī*, transl. Houdas, Paris 1895, p. 264, 374, 383) there were certainly these

Ḳaramāns. After a large part of the Salur had migrated westwards, as a result of Saldjūk policy, which aimed at dispersing the Oghuz tribes in different directions, those who had remained at Marw and Sarakhs played a part in later history under the general name of Turkomans. In the opinion of several scholars a certain number of these Salur went between 1380 and 1424, via Samarkand, Turfān and Sou Tcheou, to Si Ning where they settled and became the present Salar of Kan-Su (it still remains to be ascertained whence and when these latter emigrated). The Salur, reduced in number and in strength by these two emigrations, became gradually weakened by their fighting with the other nomad Turkomans and particularly by their continual incursions into Persian territory; they finally ceased to be of any importance as a result of the great losses sustained against 'Abbās Mirzā, son of Faḥr 'Alī Shāh, during the latter's expedition to Sarakhs in 1831.

Present state of the Salur. The Salur regard themselves as the oldest and noblest of the Turkomans who live clustered round Sarakhs and scattered along the Russo-Persian frontier near Hari-Rūd. They are divided into three groups: Alavač, Ḳaramān and Anabeleghi; these groups again have their subdivisions. Evnewič gives the following divisions:

Yalowač: 1) Ordouhodka, 2) Daz, 3) Bek-Sakar.
Karaman: 1) Ougroudjihli, 2) Bek-Chezen, 3) Alain.

Kirahe Agha: 1) Kirahe Aga, 2) Bech Ourouk (all these names after the orthography of the *R.M.M.*, lvi. 66, 67).

These subdivisions are again divided into clans. Their numbers are variously estimated. Dubeux puts the number of the Salur around Sarakhs at 2,000 tents, Petrouchewitch at 3,000, Vámbéry at 5,700 (which is an exaggeration). Recently J. Castagné has put it at 3,000 tents.

The number of Muslim Salur in the originally Tibetan district of Kan-Su is put at 70,000 (according to Grenard, 50,000). They dwell on the right bank of the Yellow River in an area stretching from Ourounvou to T'ao-Hô with the little town of Sin-Hoa-T'ing or Salar as its centre; on the left bank they occupy some villages on a rather dangerous and mountainous road between Si-Ning and Hô-Tcheou. These Turks are readily distinguished by their physical type from the other Muslims of Kan-Su; they have retained their Turkish language. Grenard has published materials concerning their dialect and has drawn certain conclusions from it regarding the origin and time of emigration of the Salur but these materials are neither sufficient nor reliable. The Salur are Ḥanafī Sunnis; they have always been Nakshbandis and the *dhikr dījāhri* is common among them. They despise the Chinese and as a rule are brigands.

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Paris 1898), p. 457 sqq.; Ritter, *Erskunde*, vii. 702; J. Castagné, *Russie Slave et Russie Turque*, in the *R.M.M.*, lvi., Paris 1923, p. 66—67; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, first year 1923, p. 268—269; J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1836—1841, i. 9—10. (KÖFRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)

SĀM (Shem) is regularly given first among the sons of Nūḥ and in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* of al-Tha'labi is expressly mentioned as Nūḥ's first-born. Only one isolated tradition in al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, i. 196) gives the order Yafīṭh, Ḥam, Sām, in agreement with a Jewish tradition in the Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, fol. 69b (cf., however, on this the statements in the *Ahl al-Tawrāt* of al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 223). Sām is the favourite son of Nūḥ. He not only shares the paternal blessing with Yafīṭh (cf. *Genesis*, ix. 27) but his dying father also appoints him his successor and gives him special tasks. His preference is transmitted to his descendants; they enjoy special beauty and prophecy is innate in them. Sām's wife, Ṣalīb (Sulaib), was descended, like the wives of Nūḥ's other sons, from Ḳain b. Ādam and bore him four sons, whose names can readily be identified with those in *Genesis*, x. 22; whether Sām's fifth son, Aram, had the same mother is uncertain. The Arabs are regularly said to be Sām's descendants, frequently the Persians and Romans in addition, sometimes also the Jews. When Nūḥ divided the earth among his sons, he allotted "the centre" to Sām, i. e. the region between the Nile, Euphrates-Tigris and Oxus-Jaxartes. Sām himself lived in Mekka.

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SĀM MIRZĀ, a Persian poet, son of Shāh Ismā'il I, born in 923 (1517), was installed by his father as governor of Ḳhorāsān under the guardianship of Dürmish Khān in the town of Herāt after it had been relieved from the siege by the Uzbeks in 938 (1531). He rebelled in 969 (1561) against his brother Shāh Tahmāsp I and was thrown into prison and then put to death on the accession of Ismā'il II in 984 (1576—77). Besides a few verses that have been preserved, he was the compiler of the *Tadhkira-i Sāmī*, an anthology of contemporary poetry, a continuation of Dawlat-Shāh, written in 957 (1550).

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SAMĀ' (de Sacy's *simā'*, *Grammaire Arabe*, i. 347, is quite false; cf. Fleischer, *Klein Schr.*, i., p. 260) is an infinitive, like *sam'* and *sim'*, of

the root *s-m-* and means "hearing", often passing into the thing heard, like music and hearing music; also, like *istimā'*, "listening" (Lane, *Lexicon*, pp. 1427^b, 1429^b; *Lisan*, p. 26 sq.); it does not occur in the Qur'ān but it belongs to old Arabic even in the meaning, "a singing or musical performance" (Lane, p. 1617^b under *mushār* and references there). In lexicology and grammar it means, with *samā'i*, what is received on authority, as opposed to *kiyāsī* "analogical" (de Sacy, *loc. cit.*, and Lane, p. 1429^b). In theology it, and *sam'*, are opposed, in the same sense, to *ʿaql*, "reason" (Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der isl. Koranauslegung*, p. 136 sq., 166). But its principal technical use is undoubtedly in Sūfism, in which it means the listening to music, singing, chanting and measured recitation in order to produce religious emotion and ecstasy (*wajd*) and also such performances by voice or instrument. To this on all its sides al-Ḡhazālī has devoted a Book of the *Ihyā'*, the viiith in the Sections of Customs, vol. vi., p. 454—end in ed. with commentary, *Iḥyā' as-sāda*; cf. ḠHAZĀLĪ above. It has been translated with commentary and analysis by D. B. Macdonald in *J.R.A.S.*, for 1901, 2, and is the *locus classicus* in Islām for the whole subject of the attaining and controlling of religious emotion by such means, on its legal, psychological, theological and esthetic sides. Al-Ḡhazālī considers it both as an advanced mystic and experienced ecstatic and as an orthodox Ash'arite and Shāfi'ite, and this Book by its subject forms the kernel of his *Ihyā'*. Al-Hudjwiri, an earlier Persian writer and a theologically more advanced mystic — although still holding to his professed orthodoxy — has given to the same subject a chapter of his *Kashf al-mahjūb*; see the translation (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xvii.) by R. A. Nicholson, p. 393—420; see also, *Mystics of Islam* and *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* by the same author, both by index; Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, by index and especially p. 780, 795 sq. Al-Kushairī has also given a section to this in his *Risāla*, ed. with commentaries of al-'Arūsī and Zakariyā (Bulāḡ 1920), iv., p. 122—146; cf. on this passage R. Hartmann, *Al-Kushairī's Darstellung des Sūfitums*, p. 134—148. There are two vivid descriptions of seances by Rifā'ite darwīshes for *samā'* in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels*, Paris ed., ii., p. 5—7.

Bibliography: has been given above.
(D. B. MACDONALD)

ṢAMAD. [See ALLĀH, i. 303^a].

AL-SAMAK, fishes. There are numerous kinds, some so long that one cannot see both ends at the same time — a ship had once to wait four months till one of these monsters had passed — but others are so small that one can hardly see them. They breathe water through the covers of their gills and do not require air in order to live: air is injurious to them all except flying-fish. They are very voracious on account of the coldness of their temperament and because in them the stomach is very near the mouth. Like snakes they have great strength in their movements, because they have not to distribute their nourishment over many limbs. Many fishes pair; others are produced from sand and slime or decaying matter. According to al-Djāhiz, there are migratory fish, which one only finds at certain periods of the year, like migratory birds. Al-Kazwini gives 79 names of fishes and 130 names of birds for Lake

Menzaleh in his *ʿAdjā'ib al-Makhḥūḡāt* (ii. 119). The eating of fish is permitted by law, in whatever way they may have perished or been killed but they must not be roasted or eaten alive. Fishes are considered to be cold and moist and therefore good for people of a hot temperament and they fatten the thin. Freshwater fish have many bones but have a fine flavour; fishes which live on mud are forbidden. If a drunk man smells fish, he becomes sober. Eating fish makes one thirsty. Al-Rāzi deals very fully with the cooking of fish and their wholesomeness. Wonderful tales are given in the 1001 Nights and are also told by al-Damiri.

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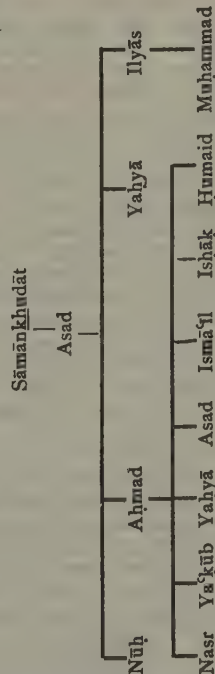
(J. RUSKA)

AL-SAMAKATĀN, Pisces; the more accurate name for the last sign of the Zodiac which is usually called *al-Ḥūt*, the fish. It consists of 38 stars of which 34 belong to the constellation and four lie outside of it (*khāridjuhā*). The two fishes are, according to the usual view, connected by a band twisted between their tails, *σύνδεσμος ὀπορπαῖος*. This is called *al-Rashā'* or is described as a thread, *khait*, which connects the two fishes in its windings (*ʿalā ta'ridh*).

Bibliography: al-Kazwini, *ʿAdjā'ib al-Makhḥūḡāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 38; transl. H. Ethé, p. 79; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 202 sqq.

(J. RUSKA)

SĀMĀNIDS, a Persian dynasty, descended from a certain Sāmānkhudāt. The genealogy down to Ismā'il, the first really independent prince, is as follows:



Sāmānkhudāt, who traced his family back to the celebrated Bahrām Ġubin, that is to a noble

family of Ray (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii. 192), was, as his name shows, lord of the village of Sāmān (in the district of Balkh; cf. Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 237; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géog. . . . de la Perse*, p. 297). When Sāmānkhudāt had to flee from Balkh, he sought refuge with Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kasrī, governor of Khurāsān (cf. the art. ASAD, i. 475). The latter helped him against his enemies; Sāmānkhudāt then adopted Islām. He called his son after his protector, Asad (Narshakhī in Schefer, *Descr. . . . de Boukhara*, p. 57 sq.). The further stories of Sāmānkhudāt given in the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* (apud Schefer, *o. c.*, p. 99 sq.) are obviously legendary. The story that his ambition was aroused at the recital of a certain verse was only later transferred to him from another connection (Gibb Mem. Ser., xi. 26, 123 sq.). The *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* also says that Sāmānkhudāt gained possession of Ashnās.

Asad b. Sāmānkhudāt had four sons, who seem to have played a part in the political history of the eastern Caliphate even in the time of al-Rashīd. The future Caliph al-Ma'mūn is said to have ordered the sons of Asad to assist the commander-in-chief Harthama against the rebel Rāfi' b. Laith and the Sāmānids were able to arrange an agreement between Harthama and Rāfi' (Narshakhī, p. 74). In any case, when al-Ma'mūn succeeded his father, he commanded Ḥassān b. 'Abbād, whom he appointed governor of Khurāsān, to give the sons of Asad posts in the administration (Narshakhī, p. 75; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 192; Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, p. 237). In 204 (819) Ḥassān appointed Nūḥ b. Asad to Samarkand, Aḥmad to Farḡāna, Yahyā to al-Shāsh and Ushrūsana and Ilyās to Herāt. When later, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain became governor of Khurāsān, he confirmed these appointments. The Sāmānids were thus a kind of sub-governors of the Ṭāhirids. An older source, Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, only briefly states that Nūḥ spent some years at the court of al-Ma'mūn and that the latter then appointed him over Māwarā' al-Nahr *min kibal al-Ṭāhirīya* (237). The first of the brothers to die was Ilyās; his death took place in the reign of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir. The latter allowed Ilyās's son Muḥammad to succeed his father in Herāt (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 193).

But this branch of the family is of less importance than the line of Aḥmad from which the Sāmānid dynasty was descended. When Nūḥ, who seems to have been a loyal servant of the Ṭāhirids — he had aided 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir at the instigation of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim to entrap in infamous fashion al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn, son of the famous general of the Turks who had fallen from favour (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1307 sq.) — had died without heirs, Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh gave his governorship in Transoxania to the brothers Yahyā and Aḥmad. Aḥmad is praised in later sources for his unselfishness and other fine qualities (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 192) in the fashion usual among eastern historians, when dealing with the founder of a dynasty. Aḥmad was succeeded in the governorship of Transoxania by the eldest of his seven sons, Naṣr (we hear no more of Yahyā; perhaps he died before Aḥmad; Ḥamza al-Isfahānī only knows of Aḥmad as successor to Nūḥ). From 261 (874/75) onwards Naṣr can be regarded as an independent prince; in that year he was granted Transoxania as a fief direct from the Caliph (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1889; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 193); the star of the Ṭāhirids was on

the wane and danger threatened from the Ṣaffārids. But just as it appears from the words of Ibn al-Athīr that he regards Naṣr after the grant of 261 as a *de facto* autonomous ruler dependent only on the 'Abbāsid government, so Ḥamza (p. 237) seems to consider Ismā'il the first actual prince (*fakānat wilāyat man taḥaddama Ismā'il min kibal al-Ṭāhir*). In the same year, 261 Naṣr appointed his brother Ismā'il Wālī of Bukhārā. In this region anarchy reigned; an army sent by Naṣr against the Ṣaffārid Ya'qūb b. al-Laith had murdered its leader and gone to Bukhārā, where the soldiery, after Naṣr's *nā'ib* Aḥmad b. 'Umar had retired before them, appointed and deposed rulers as they pleased (so Ibn al-Athīr). Narshakhī (p. 76) speaks of an invasion of the Khwārizmis (Rāfi' II, 260 = 874) when great devastation was wrought in Bukhārā. The leader of the Khwārizmis, Ḥusain b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭā'i, was soon forced to take to flight, but the disturbances went on as before. Then the Faḳīh Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ḥafṣ appealed to Naṣr to send a governor to restore order. He sent Ismā'il; according to Narshakhī, by the first Friday of the month of Ramaḍān, 260 (June 26, 874), the name of Ya'qūb b. Laith was replaced in the *khutba* in Bukhārā by that of Naṣr. The Sāmānid soon rendered harmless, although by perfidious means, the Khāridjī Ḥusain b. Muḥammad, whom Ismā'il encountered in Bukhārā. Ismā'il cleared the robbers out of Bukhārā, defeated Ḥusain b. Ṭāhir of Khwārizm and forced the turbulent Bukhārā aristocracy to obedience. He further sought to strengthen his position by an alliance with Rāfi' b. Harthama, lord of Khurāsān. The latter also handed over to him the administration of Khurāsān (Ibn al-Athīr vii. 193). This must have been shortly before the outbreak of war between Ismā'il and Naṣr (272 = 885/886) for it was only in 271 that Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was appointed governor of Khurāsān by the Caliph al-Mu'tamid in place of 'Amr b. al-Laith, whereupon Muḥammad installed Rāfi' b. Harthama as his deputy there (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 290). The power of the Sāmānids was by then so well established that these events in Khurāsān did not affect their position in the least. Ismā'il's treaty with Rāfi' b. Harthama was an offensive alliance against Naṣr. In the first war, which broke out in 272 (Narshakhī gives as the cause that Ismā'il had not paid the annual tribute promptly; Ibn al-Athīr speaks in general terms of intrigues), Rāfi' did not distinguish himself as an ally. Ḥamwaih b. 'Alī, a general of Ismā'il's, seems to have induced him to work for a rapprochement between Naṣr and Ismā'il rather than for a vigorous campaign (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 194). Peace was soon concluded between the two brothers. The war was renewed in 275 (888) and ended in favour of Ismā'il. The latter captured Naṣr, but was politic enough to send him back to Samarkand with the honours befitting his suzerain. There Naṣr reigned till his death in 279 (892) (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2133) while Ismā'il remained as his brother's *nā'ib* in Bukhārā, until he succeeded him on the throne. Ismā'il is regarded the first proper ruler (*amīr*) of the dynasty. The list is as follows:

Ismā'il b. Aḥmad . . .	279—295 (892—907)
Aḥmad b. Ismā'il . . .	295—301 (907—913)
Naṣr b. Aḥmad . . .	301—331 (913—943)
Nūḥ I b. Naṣr . . .	331—343 (943—954)
'Abd al-Malik I b. Nūḥ .	343—350 (954—961)
Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ . . .	350—365 (961—976)

Nūh II b. Maṣṣūr . . . 365—387 (976—997)
 Maṣṣūr II b. Nūh . . . 387—389 (997—999)
 ‘Abd al-Malik II b. Nūh . 389 (999)

By the time Ismā‘īl (cf. above, ii. 545 *sq.*) died, he had considerably extended his kingdom, in addition to Transoxiana and *Khurāsān*, which had come to him after the overthrow of the Ṣaffārid ‘Amr (see the above article). He was, so far as we can judge, one of the ablest rulers of his dynasty, energetic but unscrupulous. His loyalty to the ‘Abbāsids is, however, commemorated (Narshakhī, p. 90) and, indeed, the Sāmānids always professed, outwardly at least, this sentiment, if ‘Utbī is right when he says that only the princes of this dynasty bore the title *walī amirī ‘l-mu‘minin* (in Schefer, *Description*, p. 160). Anecdotes of Ismā‘īl’s piety and philanthropy are given in Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 194 *sq.*, viii. 4 *sq.*

Under the second prince, Aḥmad, there already appears a factor, which contributed not a little to the decline of the dynasty, namely the mutinous and ambitious spirit of the notables. Even at his accession Aḥmad was forced to put his uncle Ishāk in prison; another noble, Bārs al-Kabīr, who had considerable sums in his keeping, fled to Baghdad. The new Amīr seems in other respects to have been of a resolute character. Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 89) attributes to him a sound judgment and the knowledge of men indispensable in a king. Narshakhī emphasises his justice; it is only in a later compilation that we find him unfavourably criticised (in Schefer, *Description*, p. 98). In 298 (910/911) Aḥmad’s general, al-Ḥusain b. ‘Alī, conquered Sīstān; among the leaders of this expedition was Simdjūr al-Dawātī, the ancestor of the powerful family that held the governorship of *Khurāsān* under the Sāmānids. Sīstān was at that time in the hands of a Ṣaffārid, al-Mu‘addal b. ‘Alī b. Laith. The latter was defeated and sent to Baghdad along with a former *ghulām* of ‘Amr b. al-Laith, who was taken prisoner in Fārs. But the conquest of the country was not final. In 300 (912/13) a rebellion broke out, stirred up by the Khārīdjī Muḥammad b. Hurmuz in favour of a Ṣaffārid pretender, ‘Amr b. Ya‘qūb b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. al-Laith. Al-Ḥusain b. ‘Alī again conquered Sīstān for the Sāmānids, but further troubles broke out after Aḥmad’s death. In 301 (913/914) the governor of Ṭabaristān was driven out by an ‘Alid; shortly after the receipt of this news Aḥmad was murdered by some of his *ghulām*’s (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 46, 52, 58).

In this we may see the hand of those notables who, for one reason or another, were tired of the strong hand of the Amīr. Significant also are the words which are put in the mouth of Aḥmad’s son Naṣr (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 58). That Aḥmad, as later compilations report, showed so much favour to learned men that the *ghulām*’s became jealous is probably an invention (Schefer, *Description*, p. 92, cf. 101).

The detailed histories of the succeeding rulers will be found in the articles on them (‘ABD AL-MALIK, MAṢṢŪR, NAṢR, NŪḤ). The following is a general account of the dynasty, the capital of which was Bukhārā from the time of Ismā‘īl. The kingdom of the Sāmānids, which grew out of a subordinate governorship in Transoxania, comprised in the period of its greatest extent Sīstān, Kirmān, Djurdjān, Ray and Ṭabaristān, in addition to

Transoxania and *Khurāsān*. The reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the patron of Rūdākī, marks the zenith of the dynasty (301—331), not so much on account of the imposing personality of the ruler (in this respect he was far inferior to Ismā‘īl) as on account of the fact that after his death the decline of the kingdom begins to make itself apparent. The same factors, as had proved fatal to older Irānian dynasties, the turbulence of the notables (in this case the military aristocracy) and the danger from the northern nomads, the Turkish tribes, increased in strength when powerful figures like Ismā‘īl and Aḥmad no longer sat on the throne and finally brought about the catastrophe. No sooner was Aḥmad dead than his uncle Ishāk contested the throne with his son Naṣr; Nūh I had to defend his throne against his relative Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad. From the reign of the last-named prince dates the rise of Alptegin, who later seized Ghazna, when he had been removed by Maṣṣūr I from the governorship of *Khurāsān* and replaced by Abu ‘l-Ḥusain Simdjūr, and became the founder of the Ghaznawid dynasty (cf. the article ALPTEGIN). The war, waged with little success against the Būyids and ended in the reign of Maṣṣūr I, contributed as little to increase the prestige of the dynasty at home or abroad. Things did not improve under Nūh II. He tried in vain to put down the rebellious governor of Sīstān, Khalaf b. Aḥmad. Abu ‘l-Ḥusain Simdjūr, whom he had relieved from the governorship of *Khurāsān* and sent against Khalaf, made common cause with the latter. This was the beginning of a series of troubles which did not cease with the death of Abu ‘l-Ḥusain; his son, Abu ‘Alī Simdjūr, was an equally faithless subject, who finally incited the Turkish prince Bughrā Khān [q. v.] against the Sāmānid kingdom. The Turks, who had not only been defeated by Ismā‘īl but had had the war carried into their own territory (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2138, 2249), now came to the front again. The days of Ismā‘īl were past, however. Nūh’s armies were defeated — one of his generals played the traitor — and he himself had to flee. Only the premature death of the Turkish leader enabled the Sāmānid to return to his capital in a short time again. Fā‘ik, the general, who was said to have allowed himself deliberately to be beaten by the Turks, made an alliance with Abū ‘Alī Simdjūr, with the object of driving Nūh from the throne. The Amīr, who could not trust the nobles, appealed for assistance to the Ghaznawids, who agreed to help him. Nūh’s two opponents were forced to seek refuge with the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla. The governorship of *Khurāsān* was given by Nūh to the Ghaznawid Subuktegin; the latter and his son Maḥmūd received in addition the titles Nāṣir al-Din and Saif al-Dawla (384 = 994). The war with the rebels continued till Abū ‘Alī met his death and Fā‘ik escaped to the Turkish ruler Naṣr b. ‘Alī Ilek Khān (cf. above, ii. 465 *sq.*). War with the Turks did not result on this occasion; it was agreed that Fā‘ik should receive the governorship of Samarqand. The brief reign of Maṣṣūr II was similar in its course. Ilek Khān, with whom some members of the military aristocracy had made an arrangement, conquered Bukhārā and drove out Maṣṣūr. With the help of Fā‘ik, Maṣṣūr was soon able to return. A quarrel broke out between Abū ‘l-Ḥasim Simdjūr and Bektūzūn over the governorship of *Khurāsān*; Maḥmūd of Ghazna also intervened, but the definite conquest of *Khurāsān* by

the Ghaznawids did not yet take place. Manšūr was deposed by Fā'ik and Bektūzūn and blinded. His brother, 'Abd al-Malik, was put upon the throne. Maḥmūd now intervened. He drove 'Abd al-Malik out of Khurāsān and conquered it. On these events and occupation of Transoxania in the same year 389 (999) by Illek Khān, when 'Abd al-Malik was taken prisoner, cf. above, i. 50^a. Here the dynasty ends; on the fate of one member of the family, who was carried off by the Turks, Ismā'il b. Nūḥ al-Muntaṣir, see above, ii. 546^a.

More important than the political history of the Sāmānids, which is very similar to that of other Oriental dynasties, is another aspect of their rule which can only be briefly touched on here. Not only did learning flourish under the aegis of this house (one thinks, for example, of Bal'ami, the translator of al-Ṭabari's chronicle; cf. above, i. 613 sq.) but it is from this epoch that modern Persian literature takes its rise. It is sufficient to recall a name like Rūdakī; Firdawsi also began writing in the Sāmānid period. It may be mentioned as a curiosity that one of these rulers himself, Manšūr II, has left poetical fragments (cf. 'Awfi, *Lubāb*, ed. Browne, i. 23).

Bibliography: Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 236 sqq. (down to 'Abd al-Malik I); al-Ṭabari, Index under proper names, down to 301 A.H.); Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, Index of proper names; al-Gardīzi, *Zain al-Akhbār* (cf. ii. 137; extracts in Barthold, *Turkestan*, not available to me); *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Moh. Nerchakhy*, ed. by C. Schefer, Paris 1892 (contains Nar-shakhi's *Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā* in an abbreviated Persian version with a continuation and the history of the Sāmānids from al-Kazwini's *Ta'rikh-i Guzida*, a Persian translation of the sections relating to the Sāmānids in 'Utbi's *Ta'rikh-i Yamīni*, which found its way into a later compilation, etc.); Defrémery, *Histoire des Samanides par Mirkhond*, Paris 1845. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SAMARITANS. The Samaritans were in all probability the very first nation to come under the sway of the Arabic conquest and under the domination of Islām, a domination which lasted uninterrupted for centuries. Slender as the contact had been between the dwellers in Nāblus and the Western World throughout the period of Roman and Byzantine rule, they were now entirely cut off from any further intercourse and became practically an isolated island in the sea of Arabic civilisation. It is of symptomatic interest to follow up the now all-embracing influence and to draw some conclusions pertinent to the problem of the character and depth of the influence which one culture is alleged to have exercised upon the other. We have on the one hand the rise of a new culture from the desert and on the other an apparently stagnant literary life which is now stirred, and we have therefore every reason, as it seems, to anticipate some traces of such an influence. This is a point of no mean importance as it has almost become a dogma to assume that whatever parallel is found in two literatures of which one is Arabic, the priority and originality belong to the Arabic whilst the other does nothing but borrow. It is forgotten, however, that the Arabs were the last of the eastern nations to appear on the horizon of civilisation and culture; they were the last and did not originate much at the beginning. On

the contrary, they were simply the heirs of hoary civilisations; true they were eager to enter upon that rich inheritance and quickly added to it. But the way in which they succeeded in adopting and assimilating the older civilisations is a proof of similar adaptability in any earlier period, however scanty the literary data may be. Still the desire of ascribing to the Arabs all initiative and originality has greatly obscured or impeded such investigations; the syncretistic character of the Korān alone should suffice to prove this adaptability. No one doubts the multiple origin of Muḥammad's sources of information and Jewish and Christian influences have been freely recognised. The greater familiarity with these literatures favoured such conclusions, whilst one might say that complete ignorance of matters Samaritan favoured the prejudice on behalf of the Arabs. Insufficient knowledge of Samaritan traditions and literature prevented the suggestion of any possible influence from that quarter. Added to this was the aforementioned assumption that if anything were found in the Samaritan similar or akin to Islāmic tradition and practice, the Samaritan must have borrowed from the former. Recent investigations of the remnants of Samaritan literature, however, have shown that this literature represents a tradition which is at least a thousand years older than Muḥammad and which contains writings going back to the first centuries before and after the Christian Era. The Samaritans are characterised by complete fossilisation and a fixed determination not to change or alter anything. No difference of importance can be discovered between the teaching and practice of the first centuries and those of relatively modern times; their whole strength rested in this immutability and in their imperiousness to outer influences. Continuity of life in one spot and continuity of worship warrant the assumption of reliability of tradition, and if, as will be seen, a strong similarity will be detected between Arabs and Samaritans in some important points, the presumption is justified that the Samaritan tradition is the older and the Muḥammadan the later, these having borrowed it from the Samaritans.

The numbers of the Samaritans in olden times and the position which they occupied have been greatly underrated. They were the representatives of the Northern Tribes and were scattered in large numbers throughout the Babylonian and Persian Empires and moreover were always found side by side with the Jews. By their doctrinal opposition to the Jews they formed as it were a bridge between the latter and other heterodox movements. Sufficiently Jewish by their strict adherence to the Law of Moses, they yet rejected the Prophets and withheld their allegiance from the house of David. They were the first to accuse the Jews of tampering with the Holy Scriptures, an accusation which was afterwards taken up by Christian, Muḥammadan and Gnostic sects. For the Samaritans to have changed a single jot or tittle of their dogma, to have modified their form of prayer, or to have introduced new angelological views and tenets was a sheer impossibility; only a new sect separating itself from the older stem could have ventured upon such changes thereby justifying the separation.

There were indeed sects among the Samaritans but as far as can be ascertained from the information which can be gleaned from Samaritan Chronicles they belong to a period centuries older

than the date of Islām and have nothing in common with it. One cannot, therefore, insist too strongly, that generally speaking and for the older period, the Samaritans owe nothing to Islām and that the indebtedness lies rather with the latter.

The conquest of Palestine by the Arabs must have been hailed with joy by the Samaritans; it freed them from the vindictive and tyrannical persecution of the Byzantine rulers and the Church. The darkest period for the Samaritans was from the time of Hadrian, who, as stated by them, destroyed their literature, down to the period when the Arabs put an end to the Christian domination. The relation between the new rulers and the Samaritans seems to have been one of friendly intercourse; freedom of faith and liberty of action were granted to them on the strength of documents purporting to have emanated from Muḥammad himself and corroborated by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The very words of these documents are given by Abu 'l-Faḥ in his Arabic-Samaritan chronicle, the genuineness of which has never been disputed. In any case they seem to have been a source of protection to the Samaritans for many centuries. It was only the fanatical intervention of some of the local governors which caused some temporary loss and trouble. On the whole the relations remained friendly, for besides the documents the Samaritans also belonged to the "tolerated" religions. There is a story related by Abu 'l-Faḥ in connection with the granting of these documents. According to him, three wise men, astrologers, had seen that Muḥammad would arise and would succeed. One was a Jew, one was a Christian and one was a Samaritan. All three went to Muḥammad to foretell his future greatness. He was much impressed, accepted their prognostications gratefully and was able to induce the Jew and the Christian to embrace his faith. The Jew was the famous Ka'b al-Aḥbār and the Christian Ab Samlyā. The Samaritan, however, refused to embrace the new faith and was able to impress Muḥammad more than the others by telling him that he had a blemish between the shoulders, like that of a leprous man. Out of gratitude for the prophecy, Muḥammad granted liberty of life and freedom of conscience to the Samaritans. This document, written by Muḥammad, was corroborated by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The name of the Samaritan was Ṣassata (?), who afterwards assumed the name of Qabaṣa, being the ancestor of the family of Qabaṣī on whom more later on. These three persons typically represent the three faiths which contributed to the shaping of Islām.

How much did the Samaritans contribute? The claim now put forward on behalf of the Samaritans is a novel one and only a few points will be selected where a proof of Samaritan origin can be advanced. This proof consists of showing that the Samaritan dogmas or principles rest directly on a sentence found in the Pentateuch. Their contribution may sound exaggerated but it will not be found so when carefully investigated.

I start with the well-known Muḥammadan proclamation of faith: "*Lā ilāha illa 'llāh*": "There is no God but Allāh". This corresponds as closely as religious doctrines will allow to the Samaritan formula repeated over and over again by Markaḥ and his contemporaries, 'Amram Dara and Nana: "*Lā ilāh illā eḥād*" (or, according to their pronunciation, *aād*) "There is no God but one." To

the Samaritan as well as to the Jew, the Unity of God was the fundamental principle as was also the case with Muḥammad who proclaimed Allāh as the real God in contradistinction to the heathen gods. The name of Allāh was the chief element and decisive factor of the new faith and had therefore to be chosen instead of Eḥād. The above mentioned Samaritan writers belong to the third or fourth centuries, two or three centuries before Islām. There cannot be any question of interpolation, as the formula appears so frequently and is so interwoven with the contents that it forms an integral part of the poems. It is also found in the "Prayer of Joshua", which is unquestionably one of the oldest Samaritan hymns and which stands in close connection with that ancient Samaritan Book of Joshua of which so little is known and to which reference will be made later on. The Samaritans assume the origin to be known and the occasion when these prayers were uttered. But whatever the date may be which can be assigned to it, there cannot be any doubt that the Prayer of Joshua must be older than Markaḥ and probably only a little less old than the *Enṣira* or Opening Prayer.

We also have in the *Enṣira* the proclamation: "there is no God but one", and the reference to the Biblical passage upon which it principally rests (Deut., iv. 39), where the Samaritan adds at the end *milebado* meaning "none else beside him", i.e. there is no God but that one.

Further the very first word of the *Qor'an* is *Bismillāh*, "in the name of God". A special value has been attached to this formula and it has been used by Muḥammadans for all and every religious function. In fact every religious action begins with it. It is not an invocation of God direct but a call on His most powerful and efficacious Name. This is part of Jewish and Samaritan mysticism and lies at the root of most of the magical speculations and conjurations of the ancient world. Only through Jewish or Christian, but more especially Samaritan influences could Muḥammad have obtained that knowledge, and then used this formula as he did, placing it at the very beginning of the *Qor'an*. The Samaritans derive it from Deut., xxiii. 3, where they read: *Ki beshem Adonai ekrā*, "For I call on the name of the Lord". — The Samaritan reading *beshem* instead of *shem*, as the Jews read, approximates this form to the Arabic *bismillāh* — and this phrase occurs over and over again during prayer and in fact proceeds every other portion, even the *Enṣira*. Markaḥ has devoted a special portion of his Commentary to it and Qabaṣī has written a special treatise (see below).

Now as it stands in the Arabic, it is quite abrupt; it has no end and no connection with the form of invocation. What does it mean? "In the name of God the All-merciful." There is no verb to complete the sentence and it is not sufficient to appeal merely to the imagination.

It becomes intelligible, however, if compared with the parallel Samaritan invocation "In the name of God we begin and finish", or, according to the variant: "In the name of God we begin and prosper". This form is the one constantly in use among the Samaritans; it stands at the head of the *Kinosā* which contains the collection of the most ancient prayers and hymns, it stands at the head of the ancient phylactery and is at every beginning. In time this formula in its entirety

became abbreviated through its constant use and reached Muḥammad in this form, in which the second part was so well known and understood that it was omitted. But it is really the beginning of a formula without the completion of which it has no real meaning. And even so, it rests upon a theory new to the Muḥammadan world, i.e. the mystic nature of the Name of God.

I do not wish to discuss here the other words, the attribute "All-merciful", which corresponds to the Samaritan duplication of the same word in order to express the superlative: *Raḥum ha-reḥumim*, just like the Arabic. Let us rather turn to the *Fātiḥa* itself, also a kind of succinct Confession of Faith. We do not find any such confession standing at the head of prayers or of any religious liturgical books among Jews or Christians; a comparison with the Christian Paternoster misses the point. It has nothing in common with it, either in form or in contents. But if we turn to the Samaritan we find precisely the same practice. Reference has already been made to that Opening Prayer called by the Samaritans *Enṣira*. It is a more elaborate Confession of Faith, a prayer for Divine Protection which is said silently. It contains the principal doctrines of the Samaritans and begins with the words: *Amadiḥ ḥamekha al fataḥ raḥamekha*, "I stand before Thee at the gate of Thy mercy". *Fataḥ* = *Fātiḥa*, Opening or Gate, and thus the very word "*fataḥ*" stares us in the face. Standing by itself it might be looked upon as a mere coincidence, but taking it together with the other declarations in the *Enṣira* and the fact that it occupies the same prominent position as has been assigned to the *Fātiḥa*, this must be something more than mere coincidence.

In the *Enṣira* there is also the *Ḳibla* or turning in prayer to the Sacred Mountain. True the direction towards the Sanctuary was also known among the Jews. Daniël (iv. 10) turns three times towards Jerusalem when bending his knees in prayer. With the Samaritans, however, it is a fundamental dogma forming part of their religious practice, in as much as the worship on Mt. Garizim was the principal difference between them and the Jews. Muḥammad may have borrowed this practice from the Samaritans; like them he invested it with a special religious character more stringent than the Jews. He also changed the direction when he broke with the Jews showing thereby the importance he attached to the *ḳibla*.

If *saḡyada*, hence *masḡid*, are words borrowed by the Arabs to designate worship, i.e. divine worship, then, though this word is Aramaic, still none the less curiously, the Jews have refrained from making any technical use of it for any liturgical purpose, nor does it seem to have obtained the same general acceptance in Syriac. In the Samaritan, on the contrary, it is in the *Enṣira* and is the standing technical expression for "Divine worship", and occurs over and over again in almost every hymn and prayer.

Of a far greater importance is the parallelism between Muḥammad and Moses in the conception of the Samaritans. He is the Only Prophet and is venerated in a manner approaching apotheosis. The most important attribute assigned to Moses is that of the Only Prophet, Faithful Prophet, the Messenger chosen by God to perform the miracles and wonders; moreover, there is none like him nor will there be until the End of Days.

Such a designation is unknown in Jewish literature, where Moses is always known as Moshe Rabbenu, i.e. Moses our Teacher or Master. *Ha-nabi ha-ne'man* or *ha-shaliaḥ* is the standing phrase among the Samaritans and rests among others on the statements often found in the Bible where the words "prophet", "sent" and "sending" occur in connection with Moses. The close parallelism between this title given to Moses and the corresponding *Rasūl Allāh* attributed to Muḥammad can be followed down to minute details, but this is not the place for such an investigation.

Special attention must still be drawn to one point of extreme value. It is the declaration found in the *Fātiḥa* in the belief in a Day of Requital and Punishment. The Samaritans derived it from the words in the song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 35) where they read "On the day of Vengeance and Reward" (*leyōm*) instead of the Massoretic reading "To me belongs vengeance and reward" (*li*). The Samaritans ascribe great eschatological importance to this song. This reading is moreover corroborated by the Septuagint and is thus of very high antiquity. The "Day of Judgment", no doubt, plays a very great role in Jewish and Christian Eschatology, but, as far as the Jews are concerned, it has never been introduced in any formal principle of faith nor is it found in the liturgy, whilst with the Samaritans it has assumed a capital importance, so much that it forms part of the *Enṣira*. Mention may also be made of the curious parallel that both Muḥammad and the Samaritan recognise practically four angels only who form the celestial hierarchy; the names are somewhat different (Gabriel occurring in both) but there is the coincidence that they are limited to four. Jewish and Christian angelology was ever so much richer at the time of Muḥammad.

In view of what has been said before I am giving here a slightly abbreviated translation of the *Enṣira*, particularly of the portion affected by this investigation:

"I stand before Thee at the gate of Thy mercy, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, to recite Thy praises and Thy numerous greatnesses according to this my strength. I, the poor and weak one, I know this day and I have taken it to my heart that Thou art the Lord God in the heavens above and in the earth beneath and there is none else beside Him. . . . Blessed be Thy holy name for ever. There is no God but One. O Lord, we will not worship any one but Thee for ever, and we will believe only in Thee for ever and in Moses, Thy Prophet, and in Thy Writing of Truth and in the place of Thy worship, Mount Garizim, Bethel, the mountain of rest and inheritance and of the *shekina* (sanctuary), and in the Day of Punishment and Reward. *Ehye asher Ehye*. The Lord is our God, the Lord is One alone. How great is His goodness and mercy. I stand in Thy hands. I pray for Thy mercy and loving kindness, and I speak: "O my Lord!" with my heart and with my soul."

If we now compare the first part of the *Fātiḥa* we shall find that it runs as follows: "Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most Merciful, the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship and of Thee do we beg assistance." The parallelism between these two forms of prayer is so striking that one must be dependent upon the other. In both the same fundamental dogmas

are proclaimed and in language they are similar to one another. There cannot be any question which of these two is the more ancient and therefore the original. The Samaritans did not wait one thousand years and more in order to formulate their prayer and Confession of Faith; moreover, it rests in every detail upon the words of Scripture to which distinct reference is made. Again almost every one of these principles is found repeated over and over again in Markah and in the most ancient prayers and hymns in the Samaritan liturgy. Not so with Muhammad, who had to have recourse to other older forms which he used as patterns and so worded that neither Jew, Christian nor Samaritan could take umbrage at them; at the same time these new principles enunciated by Muhammad marked a definite break with the pagan beliefs of his contemporaries.

No less important is the parallelism between the Arabic Mahdi and the Samaritan Taheb. According to Ibn Khaldūn, "the whole body of Muslims throughout the centuries have held that at the end of the age a man of the family of the Prophet must appear who will strengthen religion and make justice manifest. The Muslims will follow him and he will gain possession of the Muslim kingdoms and be called al-Mahdi" (Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam*, Oxford 1924, p. 89 sq.). So far Ibn Khaldūn; the rest, which is evidently borrowed from Jewish and Christian legends about the Messiah and the Antichrist, belongs to a later period of tradition. As it stands, the agreement between the Mahdi and the Taheb is absolute: in both cases he is either the Prophet Redivivus or the descendant of Muhammad or of Moses or the tribe of Levi. He is the Restorer who will bring the people back to the old faith and old glory and who will cause the faith to triumph. It is a different type from that of the Jewish Messiah or the Christian Jesus and he does not descend from heaven. He is human born and probably in both cases will live only for a short time.

Another point, the significance of which cannot be overestimated, is the fact that Muhammad seems to know the Pentateuch and the Psalms only; he does not know any of the prophetic or historical writings. If he had obtained his information from the Jews, this ignorance would be very surprising indeed, but if he had it from the Samaritans, it would be quite natural. A knowledge of the Psalms may have come to him from Jews or Christians, although it must not be forgotten that the Samaritans also have hymns and psalms of their own. Again among the Biblical personages Adam, Noah and Abraham are counted as prophets. No such position is assigned to them, at any rate, nor to the first two, by the Jews, whilst to the Samaritans Adam and Noah are High Priests and in more than one old treatise Adam is considered as a Prophet who foretells the future Deluge and to whom is entrusted the secret of the calendar.

Among the ceremonies the peculiar forms of washing and ablutions which are obligatory before prayer are common to Muhammadans and Samaritans and in the practice of prayer, in the prostrations and in peculiar attitudes etc., Samaritans and Muhammadans again show so much similarity that a close connection between them cannot be denied. We must realise that an Arab who wished to become a Muslim had to change entirely his

mode of life and faith; he had to give up all his heathen practices and adopt not only new principles but also new ceremonies and forms of prayer. To him everything was new. With the Samaritan, however, all his ceremonies were the heritage of a long past; to them the slightest change meant giving up his faith and forfeiting the claim to which his people have clung with so much tenacity as being the true keepers of the faith. Any deviation from tradition meant annihilation, nor was there any reason why they should have done so considering they have never been forced to abandon their ancient faith; on the contrary, they were treated with every possible tolerance and even the virulent persecution of the Church had not been able to affect their adherence to the old faith and practice. The Jews offer an example in point; they have lived for a far larger number of centuries in Christian environment; however, every attempt has been made to induce them to forsake the religion of their fathers and when blandishments had no effect they were subjected to cruel persecution. They mixed freely to with the world around them and yet not a single trace of Christian influence can be detected in Jewish religious practices and in their ceremonies and principles. How much less could this, therefore, be the case with the Samaritans who were left to themselves and who show, indeed, no perceptible change in their principles and ceremonies as far as can be ascertained in their literary tradition.

Reference may be made to one more point, I mean the mysterious words or complex of letters at the beginning of many a Sūra. I venture to believe that the parallel practice of the Samaritans will offer a satisfactory solution. The Samaritans denote the single sections of the Law (*Kiṣṣa*) by taking out from the contents a single word which is sufficiently characteristic to denote the whole section. Thus these words become catch-words and are used as headings in the Arabic translation and especially in the extremely ancient phylacteries and amulets. There are also special lists drawn up of these single words (so in my code). In the phylactery this process of abbreviation has been carried one step further; there the catch-words have been reduced to single letters, not necessarily the initial letter, but very often a medial or final letter which has been chosen for the purpose. This discovery of mine has enabled me to recognise the same practice in the Greek Magical Papyri and the Latin conjurations, thus solving a problem which has baffled scholars for many a century. But besides the magical application, its principal value was to serve as a mnemotechnic sign to assist the reader in remembering the section in question. This therefore is probably the meaning of those words and letters which are found at the heads of the Sūras; they are either catch-words picked out of the context or are a combination of letters taken from such catch-words and placed at the head, as in the case of the Samaritan *Kiṣṣa*.

More space has been devoted here to the consideration of these points than might perhaps be warranted for a brief survey of the Samaritan literature and the relation in which the Samaritans stood to the new religion rising as late as the seventh century. No one can gainsay the importance henceforth to be attached to the value of the comparative study of Samaritan traditions and Muslim

principles of faith. The subject has hitherto not yet been touched upon by anyone, and I venture to think that a new field of research has been opened up; I submit that the further study of the Samaritan material as soon as it is made more accessible will strengthen the results here tentatively offered for the first time. But I do not hesitate to say that a comparison of Samaritan and Muhammadan religious principles will show that the Samaritans have exercised a deep influence upon the moulding of Muhammad's religious system and upon the shaping of Islām. Far from being influenced by Muhammad, the Samaritans were those who exercised the influence upon Muhammad.

The situation, however, changed with the final victory of Islām. I do not wish it to be understood that even after that period the Arabic literature had any decisive influence upon Samaritan faith and practice. True the Arabic conquest was not only a political domination, but was a religious conquest as well. A new form of faith was forcibly imposed upon the conquered peoples with the grudging exception of the few so-called "tolerated" religions. A new Holy Book was substituted for the others cherished and venerated by the other nations. Arabic thus became the language of the Sacred Script, and, of course, not only were Sūras of the Korān, the Liturgical lessons, recited in Arabic, but prayers and hymns were now composed in that language exclusively and the people forced to learn it. It became the new language common to all the peoples under the Arab sway and the only means of intercourse, with the result that it gradually superseded all the other vernaculars among the nations being also the Jews and Samaritans.

In a way Islām proved a greater danger to the latter than Christianity or Mazdaism. There was much similarity in dogma and practice and above all there was the pure monotheism common to them. It was natural that they should feel attracted to it, and through being treated with great tolerance and forbearance would not hesitate to exchange their old vernacular, Aramaic, for Arabic. Thus the Samaritans gradually gave up the Aramaic dialect which they spoke and learned to speak Arabic and later on used it for their writing. It must be mentioned that the vernacular spoken by the Samaritans was invariably Aramaic and not Greek; there is no trace of Greek in old Samaritan traditions. Jews and Samaritans had long before discarded any use of that language. All the ancient literary monuments of the Samaritans were written in that peculiar Aramaic which is characteristically their own. The only exception was the Biblical Lessons which they read on Sabbath and Festivals and also recited on special occasions; to these were also added the Florilegia or anthologies called *Katef* which consisted of Biblical verses strung together according to a special system for liturgical purposes. On the contrary all the prayers, poems and hymns were written in that popular Aramaic dialect. They also translated the Pentateuch into this same popular language and the *Targum* therefore takes its place as one of the oldest writings.

The question arises: when was this language displaced by the Arabic? Here the parallelism with the Jews and especially Jewish sects who developed under almost similar conditions will prove helpful. As far as can be ascertained, it

must have taken at least two or more centuries before the people had so far forgotten the old Aramaic as to use Arabic freely and to introduce it into the literature of the Divine Service. Very little, if anything, can be traced back before the ninth century. It seems that dissenting sects, just like the Karaites among the Jews, were among the first to break with the old language and practice, although 'Anan still uses Aramaic for his writings. With the Samaritans it was a natural sequence of events which forced them to abandon Samaritan Aramaic for the Arabic language. The knowledge of the former was fast dying out. As its use was primarily for liturgical purposes, it seems most likely that the first things to be translated were the prayers and hymns. They were all in Samaritan, as mentioned before, and it is obvious that the first duty would be to make the people understand their own prayers; the translation of the Bible must have come much later as there was no pressing necessity for this; Hebrew was and is the sacred language and to this very day the Biblical Lessons are read in Hebrew: the *Targum* sufficed to interpret it to the worshippers. According to information obtained by me from the Samaritans, its use was continued in the *Kinska* down to the end of the seventeenth century. The man appointed to that post was called the *Haftawi* and the last one died about that time. Since then the recital of the *Targum* has ceased. It must be noted, however, that its place has not been taken by an Arabic translation. A careful examination of the *Targum* enables us to realise the growing influence of Arabic. As remarked before, the knowledge of the Samaritan language was fast disappearing; it was limited to the small circle of the learned and this has remained so down to this very day. There are still a number of priests who are conversant with the old Samaritan, but the rest know Arabic only. In time the *Targum* became merely a religious tradition to which they adhered with their usual tenacity, for it had lost its meaning for the people. Slowly some of the expressions became obsolete even to the better instructed, and so we see a gradual change until it is entirely discarded. Arabic glosses were introduced to explain archaic words, and later on these glosses became part of the text. Through being in constant use, they were so much changed and altered that after the publication of the *Targum* they were classed as ancient so-called Kuthean words, remnants of the pre-exilic period. It was the merit of S. Kohn to have exploded that fallacy and to have recognised in them corrupt Arabic words. Later on a complete translation into Arabic was made. There is a serious difficulty in determining the date of the translation and the name of the author, nay whether there were not two translations which have been ascribed to two men of the same name Abū Sa'īd, but too little is so far known about the different recensions to allow of a definite conclusion.

But before trying to answer this question it is necessary to ascertain the dates of the translation of the prayers in the *Kinosh* or *Delter*, as the "collection" of the oldest hymns and prayers is called. It contains unquestionably the old stock which has been handed down from ancient times and is used in the prayers all the year round. A comparison of the text found in the old manuscript Cod. Br. Mus. Or. 5034 of the middle of the xiiith century and the latest copies from the middle

and end of the last century written by the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron shows no appreciable difference. Without exception, the Arabic is written in Samaritan script in all the books used for divine worship. They use the Arabic alphabet for profane writings alone and it is only in quite modern times that they have begun to write the translation of the Bible in Arabic characters to face the Hebrew text. In these translations we do not find classical Arabic but mostly the Palestinian dialect; moreover, they very seldom use diacritical points to differentiate between similar letters of the Arabic alphabet. For a detailed survey of the literature of the Samaritans the reader is referred to the separate article on this subject accompanying this fasciculus.

It must be emphatically stated that practically none of these books have hitherto been published with the exception of the Arabic translation of the Pentateuch (Gen.-Lev.) (Kuenen, *Specimen*, Leiden 1851—1854), the chronicle of Abu 'l-Faḥ by Wilmer (Gotha 1865), the Book of Joshua by Juynboll (Leiden 1848), and a few grammatical fragments by Nöldeke in the *G.G.N.*, Nos. 17, 20. Continuing to publish them in Arabic would reduce to a large extent the number of those who are specially interested in the traditions of the Samaritans, whilst publishing them, as anticipated by me, in their Hebrew-Samaritan version, would at once make them accessible to a far larger circle of scholars interested in these studies. Besides this I have also obtained through my correspondence lists of books extant and as far as possible such information as they could give of a biographical character. The latter, however, is extremely confused and contradictory. Under these circumstances my reference to bibliography can only be very brief inasmuch as copies of most of these writings still extant and accessible are in my possession (they are now being acquired by the British Museum). Mr. D. S. Sassoon also has acquired from the Samaritans a considerable number of valuable manuscripts, modern copies of the same books, and at the same time also the old copies of works of the afore mentioned Munadjā, Shams al-Dīn and al-Askari, which were up to quite recently in the possession of the Samaritans. Steinschneider has given full references to all the other Samaritan manuscripts in the European libraries. Further reference should be made now to the articles of A. Cowley in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, x. 676 sq., who gives most ample references and also to his *Samaritan Liturgy* (Oxford 1909), especially the introduction, in vol. ii. 17 sqq.; W. G. Moulton in *Hastings's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xi. 161 sq.; Montgomery in *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia 1907), gives a brief sketch. Articles on the Samaritans and their literature in other encyclopaedias which have since appeared are more or less out of date and add nothing more to our knowledge.

(M. GASTER)

SAMARĀND, with Bukhārā [q.v.] the principal town of Transoxiana (Sogdiana, Soghd [q.v.], Mā warā' al-Nahr), in modern times capital of the province of the same name in Russian Turkestan, on the south bank of the river Soghd (Wādi 'l-Soghd, Zarafshān) in a situation described by Oriental as well as Russian and European travellers as a veritable Paradise. The town — the second part of the name of which contains the Eastern Irānian word for "town", *kand*, frequent

in Eastern Irānian place-names (cf. Buddh.-Soghdian *knd-*, Christ.-Soghd. *kath*, *kanth*), while the first part has not yet been satisfactorily explained (cf. the attempts by Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, i. 133 sqq.) — is first found in the accounts of Alexander's campaigns in the east as Maracanda, Μαράκανδα. Arrian (iii. 30) calls it βασιλεία τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας. Alexander occupied it several times during the fighting with Spitamenes and, according to Strabo (xi. 11, 4), razed it to the ground (while Arab legend makes him founder of the city). Under the Diadochi — after the partition of 323 —, as the capital of Sogdiana, it belonged to the satrapy of Bactria and was lost to the Seleucids with Bactria when Diodotos declared himself independent and the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was founded during the reign of Antiochus II Theos; henceforth it was exposed to the attacks of the northern barbarians. From this time down to the Muslim conquest it remained historically and economically separated from Irān, although cultural intercourse with Western lands continued. (On the settlement of Manichaeans in Samarānd cf. J. Marquart, *W. Z. K. M.*, xii. 163 sq.; the attempts made by E. West to refer Ān and Ānistān in the *Bundahishn* and *Bahmanyasht* to Samarānd are very unsatisfactory.) The only positive information is given by Chinese imperial historians and travellers (of which the former are unfortunately for the most part only available in obsolete translations). From the Han period the kingdom of K'ang-Kü is mentioned, whose chief territory, K'ang, is definitely identified in the T'ang Annals with Sa-mo-kian = Samarānd (cf. the passages in C. Ritter, *Erkunde*, vii. 2 657 sqq.). According to the Annals of the Wei, compiled in 437 A.D. (cf. F. Hirth in J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 65 sq.), the Čau-wu dynasty related to the Yü-ēi (Kūshān) had been reigning here since before the Christian era. Hüan-čuang visited Sa-mo-kian in 630 A.D. and briefly describes it (St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées Occidentales*, i. [1857], p. 18 sq.; S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records*, i. [1884], p. 32 sq., with valuable bibliographical note on p. 101).

The Arabs, who did not begin to penetrate systematically into Transoxania till the appointment of Kūtaiba b. Muslim as governor of Khurāsān, found Samarānd ruled by the Tarkhūn (Chin. To-hoen). With regard to the statement in al-Birūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 101, 20 (cf. Ibn Khordādhbih, *B. A. G.*, vi. 40, 5), that the native rulers of Samarānd bore the well-known (Turkish) title *ṭarkhān* (*tarqan* in the Orkhon inscriptions), we are forced to see in this appellation a title and not a name as might appear from the Arabic sources. The reference is to a representative of one of the local Turkish dynasties, which in the last centuries before Islām had disposed of Ephthalite rule in Transoxania.

In 91 (709) the Tarkhūn made peace with Kūtaiba on paying tribute and handing over hostages (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1204), but was soon deposed by his subjects who were angered thereby. His place was taken by the Ikshēdh Ghurak, Chin. U-le-kia (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1229), who was forced by Kūtaiba to capitulate in 93 (712) after a long siege of the town (*op. cit.*, p. 1247). He was left on the throne but an Arab governor was put in the town with a strong garrison; along with Bukhārā the town became a base for the further conquest and

Islamisation of the land, which was frequently shaken by the risings which, provoked by the chicaneries of the governors, disturbed Transoxiana in the last decades of the Umayyads. (On the Arab legend which connects SamarĀkand with the legendary Hīmyar kings and makes it destroyed by Shīmar on his campaign against China — Shīmar-kand = Shīmar destroyed [it] — and rebuilt by Iskandar cf. J. Marquart, *Erānīahr*, 1901, p. 26¹, where to the references in Yāqūt should be added al-Ṭabarī, i. 890 sqq., al-Kāẓwīnī, *Āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 360 etc. The legend ought to be systematically investigated).

The 'Abbāsīd Ma'mūn in 204 (819) gave the governorship of Transoxiana, especially SamarĀkand, to the sons of Asad b. Sāmān and henceforth it remains — unaffected by the risings of the Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārīds — in the hands of the house of Sāmān till Ismā'il b. Aḥmad destroyed the power of the Ṣaffārīds in 287 (900) and founded the Sāmānīd kingdom, which meant a century of greatest prosperity for Transoxiana, such as it was only to see once again 500 years later with Timūr and his immediate successors. The capital was, it is true, moved to Bukhārā but SamarĀkand retained first place as a centre of commerce and culture, especially in the popular estimation of the Muslim world.

It is to this period that the descriptions by al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Makḏisī refer. They show that SamarĀkand had the typical tripartite formation of Irānīan towns (cf. Barthold, i. 810b): citadel (*kuhandiz*, arabicized *kuhandiz* or translated *kal'a*), the town proper (*shahristān*, *shāristān*, *madīna*) and suburbs (*rabaq*). The three parts are here given in their order from south to north. The citadel lies south of the town on an elevated site; it contains the administrative offices (*Dār al-Imāra*) and the prison (*ḥabs*). The town itself, of which the houses are built of clay and wood (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Islam*, xi. 162, and E. Diez, *Persien*, i. [Kulturen der Erde, vol. xx., Hagen-Darmstadt 1923], p. 20), is also on a hill. A deep ditch (*khandak*) has been dug around it to obtain the material for the surrounding earthen wall. The whole town is supplied with running water which is brought from the south to the central square of the town called *Ra's al-Ṭāḳ* by an aqueduct, a lead-covered artificial channel (or system of lead pipes?), running underground. It seems to date from the pre-Muḥammadan period as its supervision, as is expressly stated, was in the hands of Zoroastrians, who were exempted from the poll-tax for this duty. This aqueduct makes possible the irrigation of the extensive and luxurious gardens in the town. The town has four main gates; to the east the *Bāb al-Ṣīn* — a memorial of the ancient connection with China due to the silk trade —, to the north the *Bāb Bukhārā*, to the west the *Bāb al-Nawbahār* — which name, as in Bukhārā and Balkh, points to a (Buddhist?) monastery — and to the south the *Bāb al-Kabīr* or *Bāb Kishk* (*Bāb* stands for the Persian *Darvāza*). The lower lying suburbs adjoin the town, stretching towards the river Soghd and surrounded by a wall with 8 gates. In them lay the majority of the bazaars, caravanserais and warehouses, which were rare in the city itself. The government offices of the Sāmānīds and the Friday mosque were in the city itself. The great period of building in SamarĀkand only begins with Timūr.

Among native products — as Bābur tells us — the paper of SamarĀkand, the manufacture of which had been introduced from China, was specially famous. The most celebrated sanctuary of the town, also specially mentioned by Bābur and still held in high honour, is the tomb-mosque of Qāsim b. 'Abbās who is said to have converted the city to Islām in the time of 'Uthmān (cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², p. 218). Among the famous men of SamarĀkand of the period one at least must be mentioned, the theologian Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī (d. in SamarĀkand in 333 = 944; Māturīd or Māturit is a quarter of SamarĀkand; cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 498a) who exerted a decisive influence on the dogmatic development of Eastern Sunnī Islām.

After the fall of the Sāmānīds, SamarĀkand was ruled by the Qarakhānīds (Ilek-Khāns; q. v., ii. 465 sq.). In 495 (1102) the Qarakhānīd Arslān Khān Muḥammad owned the suzerainty of the Saldjūk Sandjar [q. v.]. His descendants remained in power when forty years later, after the great victory of the Qarakhānītai over Sandjar at Kaṭwān in 536 (1141) the Gurkhāns became masters of Transoxiana. About 1170 Benjamin of Tudela visited the town and found 50,000 Jews in it (M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, p. 59). The Gurkhāns were overthrown in 606 (1209) by the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad b. Takash. The latter's terrible opponent, Čingiz Khān [q. v.], laid siege to SamarĀkand only a few months after he had crossed the Jaxartes, on his way from Bukhārā which he had completely destroyed. Fortunately for the city it surrendered in Rabī' I, 617 (May, 1220). Although the city was plundered and many of its inhabitants were deported, a number of its citizens were allowed to remain under a Mongol governor. For the next 150 years it was but a shadow of its former self. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii. 52 sqq.) about 1350 found a few inhabited houses among the ruins.

The revival of the town's prosperity began when Timūr after about 771 (1369) became supreme in Transoxiana and chose SamarĀkand as the capital of his continually increasing kingdom, and began to adorn it with all splendour. In 808 (1405) the Spanish envoy Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo visited it in its new glory (cf. the Spanish-Russian edition of his itinerary by I. Sreznevskiy in the *Sbornik otd. Russk. Jaz.*, 1881, xxviii. 325 sqq., etc., with a valuable French Index). He gives Cimesquiente as the native name of the town, which he explains as *aldea gruesa* "large (lit. thick) village"; in this we have an echo of a Turkish corruption of the name of the town based on a popular etymology which connects it with *sāmiz* "thick". Timūr's grandson Ulugh Beg (d. 853 = 1449) embellished the city with his palace Čihil Sutīn and built his famous astrological observatory there; on him cf. W. Barthold, *Ulugbek i ego vremya* (Ross. Akad. Nauk., 1918). A very full description of the city in Timūr's day, which may be justly described as classical, is given by the memoirs of Bābur (*Bāburnāma*, ed. Ilminski, p. 55 sqq.; ed. Beveridge, p. 54^b sqq.; transl. Pavet de Courteille, i. 96 sqq.; transl. Beveridge, p. 74—86), who captured SamarĀkand for the first time in 903 (1497) and held it for some months. In 906 (1500) it was occupied by his rival, the Özbeg Khān Shāibānī. After his death, Bābur in alliance with the Šafawīd Ismā'il Shāh succeeded

in 916 (1510) in once more victoriously invading Transoxiana and occupying SamarĀnd, but by the next year he found himself forced to withdraw completely to his Indian kingdom and leave the field to the Ōzbegs. Under the latter, SamarĀnd was only the nominal capital and fell completely behind Bukhārā.

A new era began with the Russian advance across the Sir-Darya. On Nov. 14, 1868, General Kauffmann entered the old Timūrid capital which was now finally lost to the Amir of Bukhārā, Muẓaffar al-Dīn (1860—1885). Since 1871 a new Russian town has arisen in the west of the city, which has been linked up to the Transcaspian railway. In 1882 the citadel was restored. In 1900 the population was about 58,000. We have no reliable information regarding changes since 1917. Unfortunately there is also a complete lack of historically accurate and complete descriptions of the architectural monuments (cf. W. Barthold, *Die geogr. u. hist. Erforschung d. Orients*, p. 173, 179) so that we cannot give any list of them here.

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(H. H. SCHAEFER)

AL-SAMARĀNDĪ. [See ABU 'L-LATH.]

AL-SAMARĀNDĪ. [See DĪAHM.]

AL-SAMARĀNDĪ. [See NIZĀMĪ 'ARŪDĪ.]

SĀMARRĀ. I. Historical Topography.

Sāmarrā, which is now a mere village, lies on the east bank of the Tigris half way between Takrit and Baghdād.

The original form of the name is probably Irānian. The following etymologies have been proposed: Sām-rāh, Sā'i-Amorra, and Sā-morra, the last two meaning the place of payment of

tribute. On the coins of the Caliphs Sāmarrā is written *Surra man ra'ā*, i. e. "delighted is he who sees (it)".

Sāmarrā was founded in 221 (836) in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim by one of his Turkish generals, Ash-nās, two parasangs south of the village of Karkh-Fairūz. The Caliph, perpetually threatened in Baghdād by the mutinies of his Turkish and Berber mercenaries, sought to settle in a less threatened capital.

Between 221 (836) and 276 (889) seven 'Ab-bāsīd Caliphs lived in Sāmarrā. The references in the historians of the Caliphate and in the Arab geographers, Yā'qūbī and Yāqūt, enable us to re-constitute with sufficient exactitude the development of this ephemeral capital during the fifty years of its existence. Built on the eastern bank of the Tigris at a corner where it turns to the south-east, Sāmarrā lay between the villages of Karkh-Fairūz (or Karkh Bādjaddā) to the north and Maṭīra to the south-east. Two canals — one, the Kaṭūl Kisrawī, leaving the Tigris above Karkh-Fairūz, near Dūr, ran to the south-east to rejoin a second canal, the Yahūdī, which, leaving the Tigris below Maṭīra, ran E. N. E. — thus isolated Sāmarrā and its eastern suburb into a kind of island. On the west bank of the Tigris opposite Sāmarrā lay several castles cut off by a canal parallel to the Tigris, the Ishāqī Canal, entering the Tigris below Maṭīra, a little above Balkuwārā.

The town of Sāmarrā proper lay on the east bank; its principal streets were the Sarīḍja Street which ran past the police office and the prison leading to the quarter which bore the name of the vizier Ḥasan b. Sahl; then came the street of Abū Aḥmad b. Rashīd leading towards the village of Itākhiya built on the Kisrawī Canal; this village, which at first bore the name of a Turkish chief, was later called Muḥammadiya. Five other principal streets (*shārī'*; this term applied to a main street is the same as has been revived in modern times for the streets of Cairo) are recorded: al-Hair, Barghamush Turkī (Turkish quarter), Šālīḥ (leading to the military camps or 'askar'), al-Hair al-Djādīd and al-Khalīdj. The historians give us numerous details regarding the important buildings in the vicinity of Sāmarrā, beginning with certain buildings in existence before the capital of the Caliphs was moved thither: the eight Christian monasteries, of which the principal were the Dair Ṭawāwīs or "monastery of the peacocks", the Dair Mār Mārī and the Dair Abi 'l-Sufra. But the most famous buildings were the palaces. Al-Mu'taṣim, who lived at first in Sāmarrā itself, had built there the palace called al-Ḥjawsak; the Caliph Wāṭḥik built there the castle called Ḥārūnī after him. The Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who lived at first in the Ḥārūnī, built or enlarged twenty-four other palaces of which the best known are the Balkuwārā, 'Arūs, Mukhtār and Waḥīd. Nine months before his death he was planning a new town to the north halfway between Karkh-Fairūz and Dūr; this town was called *Dja'farīya* after his praenomen. The historians, who record many details of the luxury of the palaces of al-Mutawakkil, say that he brought from Persia to use as timber the sacred cypress venerated by the Mazdaeans at Kishmar. Other historians, noting that nothing remains of the splendid buildings of al-Mutawakkil, see in this so swift destruction a punishment from heaven, as retribution for his having ordered the destruction

of the tomb of Ḥusain at Kerbelā' in 236 A. H. After the death of al-Mutawakkil, Muntasir brought the court to Sāmarrā itself again and took up his abode in the palace of Djawṣaḥ. Mu'tamid, the last Caliph to live at Sāmarrā, built the palace of Ma'shūḳ on the east bank (255 A. H.).

Since the tenth century A. D. the majority of these buildings have fallen into ruins. The great mosque of Sāmarrā alone survived, which stood near the military camps, whence the name 'Askar Sāmarrā frequently given to this part of the town. The piety of the Shī'a very early located beside the great mosque the site of two tombs of their Imāms — the tomb of their eleventh Imām, Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan called al-'Askarī because he died in Sāmarrā in 260, and the "cave" (*sirdāb*) in which his youthful successor, Abū 'l-Ḳasim Muḥammad al-Mahdī, disappeared in 264 (878). We know that for a thousand years past, the Shī'a pilgrims have been visiting this cave of Sāmarrā, believing that al-Mahdī will re-appear there at the end of time. Al-Sam'ānī gives a list of individuals who bore the *nisba* Sāmarrī or Surmurri. Another *nisba* also refers to Sāmarrā, namely Karkhī, applied to men born in Karkh-Fairūz.

Bibliography: M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1901, iii. 182—219; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 53—56; al-Sam'ānī, *Ansūb*, ed. Margoliouth, Gibb Mem. Series, f. 286b

SĀMARRĀ. II. Architecture

Sāmarrā is at the present day a vast area of ruins lying on the left bank of the Tigris about sixty miles north of Baghdād. These ruins cover the site of one of the richest and most prosperous cities of the 'Abbāsīd period, the building of which cost vast sums.

It was begun in 838 in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim, son of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, reached its zenith under Dja'far al-Mutawakkil (847—861) and died with him.

Sāmarrā's brilliant but ephemeral existence gives these ruins a special interest for the student of the origins of Muslim art. Unfortunately, for centuries past, the Arabs have been using the ruins as a quarry for building material, and have hastened the work of time, and in the end nothing has been left standing. Nevertheless, excavations recently undertaken have recovered sufficient information regarding the main lines of construction and decoration to give a very clear idea of the beauty of the Muslim civilization which was then shedding its lustre over the world, and was given expression in this 'Abbāsīd city of the ixth century.

The most remarkable remains still standing are:

To the south of the old town on the bank of the Tigris, the great mosque built by al-Mutawakkil with the magnificent palace of the Caliph (*Balkuwārā*) near it on the north. Opposite on the right bank of the Tigris, and built a little later, is a strong castle (*Ḳaṣr al-'Ashīḳ*) the imposing ruins of which are still visible. About half a mile south of this castle is a sepulchral monument (*kubbat al-sulabīgiya*).

Near the ruins of the caliph's city survives a modern Sāmarrā with a golden dome, which commands the desert. It contains some venerated Shī'a sanctuaries.

The great mosque of al-Mutawakkil was built between 846 and 852. It is an immense rectangle with high walls of baked bricks, fortified with round towers. Within it on the south is the principal chamber (*haram*) with twenty-five naves orientated towards the Kibla and three other smaller chambers on the other sides. All these naves, which were over thirty feet high, were supported by marble columns. The *mihrāb* was also flanked by two pairs of marble columns and the prayer-niche was probably covered with valuable carved wood. The four chambers opened on to a large court, the centre of which was occupied by a fine fountain. Outside, against the north wall of the mosque, rose the minaret (*malwiya*), a kind of huge tower of Babel on a base 100 feet square. Around it outside wound a spiral stairway. This tower was visible more than a day's journey away.

The ruins of Balkuwārā, the Caliph's palace, cover a vast rectangle over a thousand yards each way. On the west front there still stand three arches built of brick (*al-djama'*), the only remains which are now to be found. This palace was built by al-Mutawakkil for the prince al-Muhtadī billāh.

These three arches, facing the river, audience chamber and guest chambers (*iwān*), open widely out on the valley. Terraces and fountains descend like cascades from them. Behind them are three inner courts which are succeeded by rooms in the form of a cross: throne rooms, numerous smaller rooms and private apartments with luxurious baths. On the east was a large rectangular garden with water-falls surrounded by walls with pilasters on to which open richly adorned little pavilions. To the north was a large creek with stairways of access, with caves and docks cut out in it. Finally behind all this was an agglomeration of houses sheltering the harem, others for the courtiers, a little mosque, and large barracks etc. for the caliph's guard and his cavalry.

The various and diverse elements which constituted the whole of this immense palace were harmoniously arranged. They formed a beautiful composition conceived on a vast scale in the form of \perp of which the long axis perpendicular on the river terminated in the three vaulted rooms of the façade, richly ornamented with sculpture and mosaic.

The general composition of this palace is, however, of a type well known in the tradition of Irānian architecture. Around the Caliph's palace were sumptuous and richly decorated residences. The richest as well as the most modest homes of the city are almost all built on the same plan. Built on the ground floor only they consist of a series of inner courts with fountains into which open the *iwān* and the living rooms. This type has been perpetuated in certain parts of the east down to our day. The decoration of the interior is an important feature. High carved panels and very probably a decorative frieze always ornamented the public rooms and sometimes all the rooms in the house. The courtyards also were sometimes ornamented but the outer walls were never decorated.

The ornamental carving of the palaces and houses of Sāmarrā is of the same technical skill and gives a high idea of the development of the art at this period. Elaborate panels run

all round the rooms at a height of three feet. Above them are ornamental alcoves (Pers. *takīn*). The frames of the doors and the embrasures of the windows are ornamented. The ceilings are adorned with cornices and friezes. The majority of these decorations are in plaster finely designed and executed, sometimes set off with paintings.

The designs are of very different types; some simple, with large veins somewhat coarse in workmanship. Others are more finely chiselled in the flat without relief, others again, accentuating the relief, treat the principal motif in round bosses.

Some of these decorations were carved out of the mass *in situ*, others were cast in a mould on a bed of matting (especially motives continually repeated), and then fixed to the wall. The forms of the designs are very varied. Some are very simple and severe, in straight lines without arabesques. These are the ones found most frequently at Sāmarrā and which are, so to speak, the prototype. Others, on the contrary, often inspired by the fauna or flora, are more elaborate and richer; conventionalised flowers occupy the centre of geometrical figures repeated again and again and connected by ribands, beadings which come to a stop or intertwine, taking the shape of a vase, a lyre or a cornucopiae. Others again more filled with movement unfold in arabesques around bunches of grapes and vine branches.

It has been proposed to make a rigorous classification of the ornamental designs at Sāmarrā into three distinct categories: Style I: Coptic character; Style II: Irānian character; Style III: Mesopotamian character. A classification as methodical as this with labels of origin seems to us dangerous, premature and a source of error. One impression that can be retained from a study of the ruins of Sāmarrā, the discovery of which is valuable for the history of Oriental arts, is that several artistic influences met together in this part of Asia without conflicting or seeking predominance. It was a centre that attracted numerous artists from all parts of the globe, drawn thither by the wealth of the court of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs and the protection they afforded. Sāmarrā was to be the crucible into which Hellenic, Syro-Coptic and Indo-Persian art were fused together and a new art, Muslim art, was produced.

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AL-SAMAW'AL B. 'ĀDIYĀ, more accurately AL-SAMAW'AL B. GHARĪP B. 'ĀDIYĀ, a Jewish-Arab poet, whose residence was in the strong castle of al-Ablak [q.v.] near Taimā'. Being a contemporary of Imru' al-Kais [q.v.] he must have flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D. One of his grandsons is said to have adopted

Islām and to have lived into the Caliphate of Mu'āwiya when he was then very old. Except his name there is hardly a trace in tradition of his being a Jew; it is not even certain that he was of Jewish descent.

All the poems ascribed to al-Samaw'al have been collected by Cheikho in his edition of the *Diwān*. Of the few pieces said to have been composed by him a considerable part cannot be considered genuine, including those which most readily suggest that they were written by a Jew. The few remaining *qaṣīda*'s, the genuineness of which there is no reason to doubt, contain no indication of the fact, which is not, however, to be doubted, that al-Samaw'al professed the Jewish religion. They much rather breathe the spirit of the old Arab poetry and show in form and matter clearly that he, like his co-religionists, had become in external matters assimilated to the surrounding Arabs and in poetry followed Arabic forms. Poems have also been handed down that are attributed to a son and a grandson of al-Samaw'al.

Al-Samaw'al owes his fame less to his poetry than to his devotion in fulfilling his pledges to his guest Imru' al-Kais, which has become proverbial ("more faithful than al-Samaw'al"). After Imru' al-Kais b. Hudr — the story seems quite reliable in its main facts — had been leading an unsettled life of adventure in his fight to avenge his father and had lost most of his followers while fleeing before al-Mundhir, king of al-Hira, he sought refuge in al-Samaw'al's castle and was hospitably received with his few followers. When, some time later, he went to the court of Byzantium he left his daughter and his cousin with al-Samaw'al along with his valuable armour and the remains of his paternal inheritance, and asked him to guard them. During the absence of Imru' al-Kais, al-Samaw'al was besieged in his castle by an army, which had presumably been sent by al-Mundhir, because he would not obey the demand to hand over the property of his guest. By chance it happened that the leader of the hostile army captured a son of al-Samaw'al and threatened to kill him if Imru' al-Kais's property was not handed over. As al-Samaw'al steadily refused to betray his trust he had to see his son die before his eyes. The besiegers then withdrew without achieving their purpose.

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SAMBAS, a Malay kingdom on the island of Borneo in the N. W. of the Dutch residency of "Westerafdeeling van Borneo". In the west and north-west from Cape Dato to the mouth of the river Duri it is washed by the China Sea, in the S. and S. E. it is bounded by the districts of Mampawa, Landak and Sanggau (the Duri river forms the boundary for part of the way), in the E. and N. E. by Sarawak (British North Borneo); some of the islands off the coast also belong to it. The country is mountainous, especially on the eastern frontier; the ground slopes gradually to the W. and N.; the coastlands are almost everywhere low, flat and swampy, but not unfertile. Of the rivers the largest is the Great Sambas; Sambas, the Sultān's capital, lies on the Little Sambas. At the end of 1915 the number of inhabitants had risen to 123,600 of whom 26,000 were Dyaks, 67,000 Malays and 30,000 Chinese; the two first classes are under the Sultān (at present Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣafī al-Dīn) who, very much dependent on the Dutch officials, rules the land with his four ministers (*wazir*). The Chinese are direct subjects of the Dutch government. It should be noted that the term Malays does not signify a single ethnic group; the deciding factor here is the Muslim religion: as soon as the heathen Dyaks become converts to Islām, they are counted as Malays and the fairly numerous Javanese and Buginese are also usually counted as Malays. The steady advance of Islām is no more to be ascribed here than elsewhere in the Malay Archipelago to definite missionary activity but primarily to the many marriages of Malays with Dyak women and further to the fact that the social position of the Muḥammadans is better than that of the still unconverted natives. The Dyaks are no longer nomads and live on good terms with the rest of the population; they are engaged in the collection of jungle products and carry on a primitive agriculture, mainly on dry fields. The agriculture of the Malays on the coast is also of little importance. The Chinese form the most industrious part of the population; their methods are on a much higher level in every way: they grow rice on well tilled, wet fields and grow other produce also for export. Their position in W. Borneo was for long a very peculiar one. The first immigrants into Sambas (about 1760) were gold-diggers and their number increased so rapidly that they soon formed an important element in the population. They organised themselves into numerous societies and even managed to attain a certain political autonomy; it was only in the latter half of the sixteenth century that the Dutch government succeeded in breaking up these societies. Gold-washing no longer pays and the majority of the Chinese now live by trade and agriculture.

We have no reliable data regarding the early history of the land and the beginnings of the spread of Islām; the kingdom was probably founded by Malays from Djohore; about the middle of the sixteenth century it was subject to the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. In the early years of the sixteenth century, about the time when the Dutch East India Company concluded its first commercial treaty with Sambas (1609), the kingdom was under a Malay chief, Ratu Sapodak (Pangéran Ratu), who recognised the suzerainty of Djohore. Ratu Sapodak had only two daughters and after his death he was

succeeded by his son-in-law and nephew Ratu Anom Kusuma Yuda. The latter had only a brief reign; he was soon driven from the throne by his brother-in-law, Radin Sulaimān, a son of a chief of Brunei (Radja Tēngah) and of a sister of the Sultān of Sukadana. After his accession Radin Sulaimān took the name of Sultān Muḥammad Ṣafī al-Dīn. He was the founder of the present reigning house.

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(W. H. RASSERS)

AL-SAMHŪDĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALĪ B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD, a descendant of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, according to the genealogy traced by Ibn Fahd, was born in Samhūd in Upper Egypt (al-Ṣa'īd) in the month of Ṣafar, 844 A. H., where his father was a noted lawyer. The latter took him for the first time to Cairo in the year 853, but he visited the city later on several occasions both alone and in the company of his father to enable him to pursue his studies under the most renowned men of his time, and the Ṣūfī saint al-'Irāqī invested him with the Ṣūfī mantle. In the year 860 he made the pilgrimage for the first time and settled in al-Madīna. He had first a cell near the mosque of the Prophet, but through intrigues he was compelled to leave it and he then hired a house near the Bāb al-Raḥma, known as the house of Tamīm al-Dārī. He had noticed at the time of his arrival that the mosque of the Prophet had not been put into proper repair since it had been burnt in the year 654, and in the long interval of over 200 years it had been patched in a very unsatisfactory manner. He wrote a treatise in which he urged the proper reconstruction, based upon researches which he had made with reference to the original state of the building. In the year 886 he went to Mekka to perform the pilgrimage again and during his absence his valuable library, which appears to have been stored in the cell near the mosque, was involved in the fire which destroyed the mosque. Discouraged he now went back to Egypt and paid a visit to his aged mother who died ten days after his arrival in Samhūd.

After her funeral he went to Cairo and was admitted to the circle of the Sultān al-Ashraf Kā'it-bey [q. v.] from whom he received a salary and a nucleus of valuable books to replenish the libraries in al-Madīna, he being entrusted with the charge of them. After visiting Jerusalem he returned to al-Madīna towards the end of the year 890. He found that the house of Tamīm al-Dārī was for sale and bought it and put it into proper repair. Here he married several wives, but later gave them up and contented himself with concubines to have more time to devote to the welfare of the people

and their instruction. He died on Thursday the 18th of Dhu 'l-Ka'da, 911 A.H., and was buried in the Baḳī' (cf. the art. BAḲĪ' AL-GHARḲAD) cemetery between the grave of Suiyid Ibrāhīm and the Imām Mālik.

Among his numerous works composed during his residence in al-Madīna the principal one is his History of the City. He had originally composed it upon a large scale under the title *al-Iktifā' bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*. At the request of a patron he had made an abbreviation of this book to which he gave the title: *Wafā' al-Wafā'*. This abbreviation he had completed on the 24th of Djumādā II, 886, and had it with him in Mekka when his library in al-Madīna was destroyed by the fire. This fortunately saved the chief contents of the work. Later he made a further edition condensed from the abbreviation, which he finished, according to some manuscripts and the printed editions (Bulāḳ 1285 and Mekka 1316), in the year 893 and called *Khulāṣat al-Wafā'*. This work has become our principal source of information for the history and the topography of the city and the rituals for the visit of the grave of the Prophet. In addition he composed a number of other works of which nine are enumerated by Brockelmann in his *G. A. L.*, to which Arab biographers add several more which may have been lost. They comprise books on grammar, tradition, theology, law and the rituals of pilgrimage. Special mention is made of his collection of *Fatwā's* in one volume collected by himself on all branches of legal knowledge. They appear to contain the arid discussions which form the favourite theme of Arabic authors of his time.

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(F. KRENKOW)

SĀMĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN, SĀMĪ BEY FRĀSHERĪ, a Turkish author and lexicographer, born at Frāsher in Albania on June 1, 1850, of an old Muslim Albanian family whose ancestors are said to have been granted this place as a fief by Sulṭān Mehmed II. He was educated in the Greek lycée at Janina, at the same time receiving instruction from private tutors in Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He then came to Constantinople, where he devoted himself to journalism and founded the daily paper *Ṣabāḥ* about 1875. He began his literary career about the same time and attached himself to the new school founded by Kemāl and Shīnāsī. From this period dates his novel *Ta'ashshuḳ-i Ṭal'at wa-Fitnet*, which contains an indictment of the Turkish marriage system (1872), and the dramas *Besā* (the scene is laid in Albania, produced in 1874), *Sidī Yahyā* (1875) and *Kāwe*. The production of this last piece, which describes the Persian revolution against the tyrant Dāhḥāk, resulted in his being banished for two years to Tripoli in North Africa.

After his return he devoted himself almost entirely to his famous lexicographical works. These are the *Ḳāmūs-i Fransewī* (French-Turkish, 1882, and Turkish-French, 1885), the six-volume encyclopaedia *Ḳāmūs al-A'ām* (1889—1898) and the *Ḳāmūs-i Türki* in two parts (1899 and 1900).

Although in his latter years he suffered a good

deal in body and in spirit, his great industry never left him till his death. He died in Constantinople on June 18, 1904. He had spent the greater part of his life in his study. In the last years of his life he looked 75, although only 54.

In the literary field Sāmī could not claim a place beside his contemporaries 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid, Ekrem Bey, etc. Besides the newspapers themselves, we have as evidence of his journalistic work a series of pamphlets which appeared in the *Djeb Kütübhānesi* and are in part taken from his newspaper articles (*Medeniyet-i Islāmiye*, *Kadınlar*, *Emḥāl*, etc.). He also made several translations from the French (*Sifiller*, *Shaitān-in Yādkārārı*, etc.). He also published select poems of Baḳī and an edition with commentary of the poems ascribed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb. But his greatest merit lies in his great work in lexicography and philology. This includes several school-books on Turkish and Arabic grammar, and an unfinished Arabic dictionary of which he speaks in the preface to his *Ḳāmūs-i Türki*.

This last work is important in several respects. In the first place the order is strictly alphabetical and the arrangement of the different meanings clear and lucid; it is a great advance on previous lexicographical work by Turks, even on Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha's *Lehze-i Oṭhmāni*. Secondly the choice of the words included is of importance in so far as it represents a compromise between the different views prevailing in his time on the development of Turkish. Sāmī himself urged a far-reaching Turkish purism (as is evident from his contribution in the introduction to Mehmed Emin's *Türkçe Şi'rler* of 1898) and he would have liked to replace most Arabic and Persian words by Turkish words that had fallen into disuse. He adopted of the latter those whose revival seemed indispensable, but by the adoption of a great mass of Arabic and Persian material he made great concessions to the literary language. His dictionary is therefore a true picture of the educated Turkish of his time. Sāmī, however, does not seem to have had any traceable influence on the development of Turkish.

Among his unpublished material, of which the unfinished Arabic dictionary has already been mentioned, there are also comprehensive studies on the *Ḳudatḳu Bilik* and on the Orkhon inscriptions, as well as works on Persian and Eastern Turki.

He also worked at Albanian. He produced an Albanian alphabet and a grammar. He left poems in this language and a book on the future of Albania. His drama *Besā*, already mentioned, also shows his love for the land of his birth.

On Sāmī Bey's brother Na'īm Frāsherī (1846—1900) who was a great Albanian poet cf. Babinger in *Isl.*, 1921, xi. 99.

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AL-SĀMĪRA. [See SAMARITANS].

AL-SĀMİRĪ, "the Samaritan", is the name in *Qur'ān*, xx. 87, 90, 96, of the man who tempted

the Israelites to the sin of the golden calf. This sin is twice mentioned in the Qurʾān. The first narrative, Sūra vii. 146—153, tells of the sin of Israel and Aaron as in Exodus, xxxii., but with the elaboration that the calf cast out of metal lowed. The second version, Sūra xx. 85—97, which is shown to be later by its additions and was considered by Muslim tradition also to belong to the Medina period (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾāns*, p. 124, 125), makes al-Sāmīri the tempter of Israel. At al-Sāmīri's bidding they cast their ornaments into the fire and he made out of them the lowing calf, which was worshipped by the people although Aaron advised them not to. When challenged by Moses, al-Sāmīri justified himself by saying that he saw what the others did not see, the footsteps of the messenger (according to Muslim tradition: the tracks of the hoof of Gabriel's horse). Moses then announced his punishment to him: "so long as thou livest, thou shalt call out to those that meet thee *tā misāsa* 'touch me not'".

Abraham Geiger thought that Muḥammad had perhaps confused al-Sāmīri with Sammael, the prince of the demons. Geiger quoted *Pirḳe Rabbi Eliezer*, xlv., where, according to one view, Sammael lowed concealed in the calf to lead the Israelites astray. In reality this feature in the *Pirḳe Rabbi Eliezer* is imitated from the Muslim legend and the otherwise unknown proper name al-Sāmīri replaced by the name Sammael of somewhat similar sound. S. Fraenkel (*Z. D. M. G.*, lvi. 72) derives the story of al-Sāmīri in the Qurʾān from a lost Jewish *midrash* which aimed at diverting the grave sin of making the golden calf from Aaron to a Samaritan.

The figure of al-Sāmīri was first put into its true light by Goldziher (see below). Goldziher explains him as the representative of Samaritanism through the story of the Samaritan secession. We have already evidence of this secession in Sirach, i. 25, and the Gospels Luke, ix. 52, John, iv. 9. Goldziher collects Jewish, Christian and Muslim references, which show that the Samaritans considered contact with those not of their stock as impurity. What Muḥammad or rather his presumed Jewish source knew as a ritual principle of the Samaritans is put back into earlier times and explained as a punishment of al-Sāmīri for having incited the Israelites to make and worship the calf.

Goldziher's convincing arguments can be reinforced by the early Muslim interpretation of the Qurʾān. Al-Ṭabarī himself following an earlier tradition sees in al-Sāmīri a prominent Israelite of the Samaritan tribe; as a punishment for his sin Moses forbade the Israelites to have social or commercial relations with him and "this has remained the case". Similarly al-Zamakhshārī: al-Sāmīri belonged to a Jewish tribe called Sāmira whose religion differed somewhat from the Jewish. Al-Sāmīri was forbidden to have social and commercial intercourse with men; it is said that his people still observe the prohibition. Al-Ṭaḥḥābi similarly concludes his very full story of the golden calf.

Al-Sāmīri thus is the representative of Samaritanism, which keeps apart from non-Samaritans. In a segregation of this kind — as in the Jewish laws regarding eating (Qurʾān, iv. 158) — Muḥammad sees a divine punishment. What has al-Sāmīri (= the Samaritans) to atone for? For the sin of the golden calf.

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(BERNHARD HELLER)

SAMMĀ, the name of a Rāḍjpūt clan in Sind. As the hold of the Ghaznawid kings on Sind relaxed, the Sumrās, a Rāḍjpūt tribe converted to Islām, established their rule in that country in 1053, and made Tūr their capital. They persecuted the Sammās, a rival Rāḍjpūt tribe which adhered to Hinduism, and drove many of them to take refuge in Kačch, where, in 1320, they ousted the Čāvada prince who had protected them and seized his throne. This branch of the Sammās, known as *Djādedja* or the children of *Djāda*, is still represented by the Rāo of Kačch and the *Djām* of Navanagar. The Sammās who remained in Sind accepted Islām, and after the Sumrās had been overthrown by the troops of 'Alā' al-Dīn *Khaldjī* of Dihli founded, in 1333, a dynasty which ruled Sind for nearly two centuries, with its capital at Thatha. The ruler, like the head of the branch which acquired the state of Navanagar, assumed the title of *Djām*, a word of doubtful signification which Abu 'l-Faḍl, Firīṣṭa and other Muslim historians derive, on insufficient grounds, from the name of the semi-mythical Persian king *Djamshīd*.

Unar, the Hindu name of the first *Djām*, suggests recent conversion to Islām. His brother and successor, *Djūnā*, took Bakhar in Upper Sind, which had hitherto been included in the imperial dominions, and harboured a rebel who was fleeing from *Gudjarāt* before Muḥammad b. Taghlaḳ or Dihli. Muḥammad invaded Sind but died on the banks of the Indus in March, 1351, before he had had time to punish *Djūnā*. His cousin, Firūz Shāh, succeeded to the command of an army disorganised by its leader's death, and with difficulty extricated it from Sind, from which it retreated, menaced and harassed both by the Sindis and by their allies, the Mughuls. Firūz attempted, eight years later, to avenge his discomfiture but again failed and saved a portion of his army only by a disastrous retreat into *Gudjarāt*. Returning in the following year he defeated the Sammās and carried the *Djām*, *Djūnā*, and his nephew, *Bābaniya*, prisoners to Dihli, but permitted *Djūnā*'s son and another nephew, *Tamāčī*, to govern the province as his tributaries. Later in the reign *Tamāčī* rebelled and *Djūnā* was sent from Dihli to reduce him to obedience, and sent him to Dihli. After the accession of Taghlaḳ II in 1388 *Bābaniya* was permitted to return to Sind, but died on the way thither. He was succeeded by his brother, *Tamāčī*, and after his reign the succession appears to have been as follows: — (1) *Šalāḥ al-Dīn*, (2) *Nizām al-Dīn*, (3) 'Alī Shīr, (4) *Karan*, (5) *Faṭḥ Khān*, (6) *Taghlaḳ*, (7) *Rāidan*, (8) *Sandjar*, (9) *Nizām al-Dīn II*, known as *Djām Nanda*, (10) *Firūz*.

"The history of the Sammās after their accession to power is of interest by reason of the ability with which they held their own in several campaigns against the forces of the imperial government, and by reason also of the conversion

of large numbers of the people from Hinduism to Islām". The disintegration of the empire of Dihli after Timūr's invasion restored independence to Sind, and the Sammās reigned thenceforward untrammelled by allegiance to any higher power. The greatest of them was Nizām al-Dīn II, known as Djām Nanda, who died in 1509 after a reign of forty-seven years. The line ended with his son and successor, Firūz, who in 1520 was defeated by Shāh Beg Arghūn, ruler of Kandahār, who founded the Arghūn dynasty in Sind.

The Sammā tribe now numbers over 800,000 in Sind.

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AL-SĀMIT. [See AL-NĀTIQ.]

AL-SAMN (A.), butter made from cows', goats' and ewes' milk, more especially cooked or melted butter, cleansed from impurities and preserved by the addition of salt, for example. Fresh butter and cream are called *subda*. These are used not only in the kitchen but also in medicine, externally and internally; — externally for wounds, abscesses and boils, internally as an antidote against snake-bite and poisons, against retention of the urine, etc.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Baiṭār, transl. Leclerc, ii. 290. (J. RUSKA)

SAMOS, an island in the Aegean Sea; the Turkish name is Sīsām-adasi, "the Island of Sesame", for which Sūsām-adasi was written at an earlier period (Bihishtī, *Inshā* [MS. No. 260 of the Berlin Library], f. 193^b; Kīātib Celebi, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*; Sussam in Tavernier, *Les six Voyages*, i. 359), while the Arab geographers give the Greek name in the forms Samū, Sām (al-Idrīsī, *Géographie*, ed. Jaubert, ii. 127, 303), Sāmis (Yā-kūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 21) or Shāmis (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 192, 193). In the middle ages Samos was repeatedly raided by the Arabs in their incursions into the Aegean Sea, notably in the years 889 and 911. It was only with the expulsion of the Arabs from Crete about the middle of the tenth century that Byzantine rule was restored over Samos and the other islands of the archipelago. Later the island was exposed to the raids of the Saldjūks and their vassals. Tzachas, lord of Smyrna, captured the island about the year 1090 and kept it for some time (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ix. Ch. 1); in the xvth century it was ravaged by the Aidīn-oghlu Umur Beg (Ducas, Ch. vii). From the end of the xvth century it belonged to the Genoese Maona of Chios (cf. the art. SAKIZ). Friendly relations were maintained with the people of the adjoining mainland. It is, for example, related that at Timūr's invasion numerous Turks fled thither (Buondelmonte, ed. Sinner, Ch. 54) and the fanatic Bürklüdjē Muṣṭafā, who provoked a communistic rising on the Erythraean peninsula about 1420, maintained communication with the monks of Chios and Samos. After the fall of the Byzantine empire, Mehemmed the Conqueror granted Samos to the Genoese of Chios, but they were not able to hold it and therefore induced the greater part of the population to migrate to Chios in 1476. Probably as a result of this, Mehemmed II in 884 (1479) had Samos

occupied by the Beg of Bighā; to repopulate the deserted island the new colonists were promised freedom from the state imposts (*ʿawāriḍ-i dīwāniye*) (Bihishtī, *Tārīkh*, f. 209^b of the Brit. Mus. MS.; cf. Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 567 sqq.). Later, probably after the peace with Venice in the reign of Bāyazīd II in 1502, the Genoese seem to have regained control of the island; at least, Belon, who travelled in the Archipelago soon after 1547, expressly states that it belonged to the "seigneurie de Chio" (*Les observations de plusieurs singularitez etc.*, Paris 1555, p. 84a); but a few years later they evacuated it for a second time and left it to its fate (Boschini, *L'Arcipelago*, Venice 1558, p. 72). The islanders used to retire into the impenetrable mountains of the interior before the corsair raids, where they led the lives of savages. The Kapudan Pasha Kılıdji 'Alī Pasha, on one of his voyages in the Archipelago, was then attracted by the abandoned island and had it given to him by the Sulṭān in 1562. He endowed the great mosque built by him in Top-Khāne on the Bosphorus with the revenues from the taxation of the island. — A Turkish voivod usually called Aghā governed the island; a kāḍī or nā'ib exercised judicial authority; they lived in Chora, the principal place on the island, where also the titular of the then newly founded (Greek orthodox) bishopric of Samos took up his residence. Except for these two officials and their subordinates there were no Turks on the island. But even under Turkish rule the Samiotes continued for long to suffer from the raids of pirates of all nations, Maltese, Frank, Algerian and Tripolitan, who, like their contemporaries, the filibusterers and buccanniers in the West Indies, and the Pamphylian pirates conquered by Pompey, made this part of the Mediterranean unsafe for a century. Samos, which had neither fortresses nor a permanent garrison, was invaded and repeatedly occupied for some time by the Venetians in the wars between the Sublime Porte and Venice in the xviith century. The occupation by the Russian fleet lasted for several years, 1771—1774. The Samiotes played a prominent part in the Greek war of liberation: at the end of the war they passed again under Turkish rule, but through the intervention of the Western powers they obtained complete autonomy under a Christian governor appointed by the Sulṭān (Bey, Greek ἡγεμὼν, which was usually translated Fürst, prince), and were placed under the protectorate of France, Great Britain and Russia. They were also allowed a flag of their own. Like the other vassal states of the Sublime Porte, Samos paid an annual tribute, which was at first 400,000 piastres but was later reduced to 300,000. 101,000 of this went to pay the dues to the waḳf endowment of Kılıdji 'Alī. The first Bey of Samos, Stefan Vogorides, was appointed in the beginning of Djumādā I, 1249 (middle of September, 1833), and filled this post till the beginning of September, 1851. After him down till 1913 no less than 18 "princes", who with few exceptions belonged to Fanariot families, ruled the island of Polykrates. In 1913 Samos was united with Greece by the Treaty of London, which ended the Balkan war.

In modern times Vathy has replaced Chora as the seat of the Government; the number of the settled population was in 1912 about 50,000.

Bibliography: The chief work is Epaminondas J. Stamatiades, *Σαμιακά*, 5 vols.,

Samos 1881—1887 (history and description of the island from the earliest times to 1885); also the same author's monographs 'Επιστολιμεία διατριβή περί 'Ιωσήφ Γεωργερινού ἀρχιεπισκόπου Σάμου 1666—1671 (ibid. 1892) and Βίος 'Ιακώβου Βασιλικού δεσπότης Σάμου (ibid. 1894). Of older travellers, not already mentioned, the following are worthy of note [Des Hayes de Courmesine], *Voyage de Levant*, Paris 1632, p. 348 sqq.; Stochove, *Voyage fait es années 1630 1631 1632 1633*, Brussels 1643, p. 234—236; Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, Amsterdam 1718, i. 155—158; Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii. 2, 24 sqq.; Dallaway, *Constantinople ancient and modern*, London 1797, p. 251—260; Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'Emp. Ott.*², Paris 1842, i. 157—161, with the plates 52—54 of the accompanying atlas, vol. i. On conditions in modern times: A. Ritter zur Helle von Samo, *Das Vilajet der Inseln des Weissen Meeres*, Vienna 1878, p. 13 sqq.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 498—523; Aḥmad Tawhīd, *Tārīkh 'Oṭhmānī Endjūmeni Medjmu'asi*, first series, part 13, p. 837 sqq. (J. H. MORDTMANN)

ŞAMŞÂM AL-DAWLA, ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR AL-MARZUBĀN, a Būyid. After the death of the Būyid ruler 'Aḍud al-Dawla in Shawwāl, 372 (March, 983), his son Abū Kālīdjār was recognised as Amir al-Umarā' under the name Şamşâm al-Dawla. The latter then gave his two brothers Abu 'l-Ḥusain Aḥmad and Abū Ṭāhir Firūz Shāh the province of Fārs as a fief and ordered them to go there at once. But when they arrived in Arradjān the fourth brother, Sharaf al-Dawla, had anticipated them and already taken possession of Fārs so that they had to retire to al-Ahwāz. As Sharaf al-Dawla would not recognise the suzerainty of Şamşâm al-Dawla, the latter sent an army against him under Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Danḡas, who met the enemy at Qurkūb, between Wāsīt and al-Baṣra, led by Abu 'l-A'azz Dubais b. 'Afīf al-Asādī. Abu 'l-Ḥasan was taken prisoner and his army put to flight (Rabī' I, 373 = Aug./Sept., 983) whereupon Sharaf al-Dawla granted his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusain rule over al-Ahwāz. At the same time Şamşâm al-Dawla had to fight with the Kurdish chief Bādḡ, the ancestor of the Marwānids. The latter had invaded Diyār Bakr, where he had seized several towns like Maiyāfāriḡin and Naṣībīn after the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. Şamşâm al-Dawla's troops were defeated, and al-Mawṣil also passed into Bādḡ's hands; but when in Şafar, 374 (July, 984), he endeavoured to take Baghdād also he was defeated and had to give up al-Mawṣil. He was, however, allowed to retain Diyār Bakr and the half of Ṭūr 'Abdīn. In 375 (985/986) the Dailamī general Asfār b. Kurdawāh rebelled against Şamşâm al-Dawla in Baghdād and at first declared for Sharaf al-Dawla; but he next decided — by arrangement with the troops who were devoted to him — to make Abū Naṣr b. 'Aḍud al-Dawla, then only fifteen years old and later appointed Amir al-Umarā' with the name Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.], governor of al-'Irāq in place of his brother Sharaf al-Dawla. But Asfār was defeated and Bahā' al-Dawla taken prisoner. Sharaf al-Dawla then left Fārs to go to al-Ahwāz and there told his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusain that he wanted to liberate Bahā' al-Dawla; but Abu 'l-Ḥusain did not trust him and began to collect troops. The latter, however, went over to Sharaf al-Dawla and there was no-

thing left for Abu 'l-Ḥusain to do but join his uncle Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.]; but as the latter did not find him absolutely reliable, he was imprisoned and afterwards put to death. To preserve peace, Şamşâm al-Dawla wrote to Sharaf al-Dawla and, as he was satisfied with the governorship of Baghdād and ready to release Bahā' al-Dawla and to have Sharaf al-Dawla mentioned first in the *khutba* in the 'Irāq, the latter agreed to his proposal. When in 376 (986/7) Şamşâm al-Dawla came to Sharaf al-Dawla, he was at first very kindly welcomed, but then seized and imprisoned in a citadel near Shīrāz. According to the usual statement, Sharaf al-Dawla afterwards had him blinded. In the meanwhile disturbances broke out in Baghdād between the Dailamis who supported Şamşâm al-Dawla and the followers of Sharaf al-Dawla, the Turks, and only after quiet was restored did the Caliph al-Ṭā'ī recognise the latter as Amir al-Umarā'. On the latter's death at the beginning of Djumādā II, 379 (Sept., 989), Bahā' al-Dawla succeeded to this office. Şamşâm al-Dawla was then liberated but had first to fight with his nephew, Abū 'Alī b. Sharaf al-Dawla, and after his assassination with Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.]. In 383 (993/994) — or, according to another statement, probably due to a corrupt text, as early as 380 (990/991) — Bakhtiyār's [q. v.] sons, who had been interned in a castle in Fārs after Sharaf al-Dawla's death, succeeded with the help of the Dailamī garrison in gaining their liberty and gathering a large following. When Şamşâm al-Dawla heard of this he sent an army under Abū 'Alī b. Ustādḡ Hormuz against them. The latter besieged them in the fortress in which they had taken refuge; they had to surrender and were brought to Şamşâm al-Dawla, who had two of them executed and the other four imprisoned. In the same year hostilities again broke out between Şamşâm al-Dawla and Bahā' al-Dawla and after several years' fighting victory was inclining more and more to the side of the former, when he was assassinated in Dhu 'l-Hiddja, 388 (end of 998), at the age of thirty-five years and seven months. Cf. also the article ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. passim; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, ii. 555 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, Cairo 1275, iv. 456 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i. 429—430; Wilken, *Gesch. der Sultane aus dem Geschl. Bujeh nach Mirchond*, chap. x.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 31—35, 37, 47 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ŞAMŞÂM AL-DAWLA, SHĀHNAWĀR KHĀN SHAHĪD KHĀWĀFI AWRANGĀBĀDĪ, an Indian statesman and historian. His early name was 'Abd al-Razzāḡ Ḥusainī and he belonged to a Saiyid family which had migrated to India from Khwāf in Khurāsān in the time of Akbar and attained high honour there. He was born in Lahore on Ramaḍān 28, 1111 (March 20, 1700) and while still young moved to Awrangābād [q. v.] where he was appointed *Diwān* of Berār by the first independent Nizām of the Deccan, Aṣaf Djaḡ [q. v.; see also the article ḤĀIDĀRĀBĀD]. In 1155 (1742) he was involved in the rising attempted by Nāṣir Djaḡ, son of Aṣaf Djaḡ, against his father and dismissed from office after its failure. The next five years he devoted in retirement to his great historical work, the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*. Shortly before the end of his reign, Aṣaf Djaḡ

pardoned him in 1160 (1747) and restored him to his former office, which he continued to hold under the next two rulers, Nâsir Djang and Şalabat Djang. After the accession of Basâlat Djang in 1170 (1756) the French party which had been opposed by Şamsâm al-Dawla succeeded in bringing about his fall; he was killed on Ramađân 3, 1171 (May 12, 1758) by soldiers of the French General Bussy. According to another, unreliable, story, the General shot him with his own hand.

The *Mu'athir al-Umarâ*, a biographical dictionary arranged alphabetically, according to the initial letters of the names discussed, of all the more important statesmen under the Indian Moghuls from Akbar to the author's day — Elliot calls it "the Peerage of the Mughal Empire" — exists in two recensions of both of which many copies exist. The original, which was unfinished and even in the completed part not quite ready for publication, disappeared at the murder of the author and the destruction of his house, and was only found after twelve months' search by the friend and for several years secretary of the author, Ġhulâm 'Alî Āzâd Balğrâmi (famous as the author of two *tadhkirâ*'s of poets, *Khasâna-i 'amira* and *Sarwi-Āzâd*; cf. H. Ethé in the *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, ii. 215), although not complete. He gave it a preface, wrote a biography of Şamsâm al-Dawla (see the *Bibl.*) and added several articles. This recension contains 261 biographies.

It was much extended and republished by the author's son, 'Abd al-Hayî Khân († 1196 = 1781; for his numerous titles see Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 104; cf. the *Bibl.*), who in twelve years' labour continued the work of his father to the year 1194 (1790) when he concluded his labours; he took the first recension as a foundation, added other parts of the original which had since been found and additions which he compiled from the 30 historical works mentioned in his preface. His own first draft is preserved in the India Office MS. N^o. 2424 (Ethé's *Catalogue*, N^o. 627). This second edition contains an editor's preface, the preface by Şamsâm al-Dawla and Ġhulâm 'Alî, the latter's biography of Şamsâm al-Dawla, an index of the articles and the latter themselves, as well as a short biography of the editor. It contains 731 biographies and is one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Moghul rule in India.

Şamsâm al-Dawla also composed a collection of biographies of poets entitled *Bahâristân-i Sukhûn*.

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(H. H. SCHAEFER)

ŞAMSÂM AL-SALTANA, NAJAF KULI KHÂN, a Bakhtiyârî chief born about 1846. He belonged to the great division of Haft-Lang which he governed in 1903—1905 as İl-begî and later as İl-Khânî. He was the son of the Husain Kuli Khân, killed by order of prince Zill al-Sultân — the famous governor-general of Işfahân — and grandson of Dja'far Kuli Khân. Şamsâm owes his fame to the part he played in the nationalist revolutionary movement in Persia.

Rebelling against the incapable administration of the governor Ikbâl al-Dawla, Şamsâm al-Saltana at the head of 1,000 Bakhtiyâris occupied Işfahân on Jan. 5, 1909, and convoked the provincial committee (*andjuman*). Jointly with his brother Sardâr-i As'ad, who had come back from Europe, Şamsâm telegraphed to the government (May 3) that he intended to advance on the capital. He carried out his plan but allowed the protagonists of the revolution, Sardâr-i As'ad and Sipahdâr-i A'zam, leader of the forces collected at Rasht, to have all the credit.

When in the summer of 1911 the news of the return of Muḥammad 'Alî Shâh reached Tih-rân, Şamsâm entered the Sipahdâr's cabinet as minister of war and military governor of the capital (July 5). On July 26 he himself formed a new cabinet; three days later the Majlis put a price on the head of Muḥammad 'Alî Shâh. In August the Bakhtiyâris with the active help of the Armenian revolutionary Yefrem Khân inflicted a defeat on Sardâr-i Arshad, the principal supporter of the fallen Shâh. In September they disposed of the rebellion led by the turbulent prince Sâlar al-Dawla. Şamsâm at first gave wholehearted assistance to Mr. Morgan Shuster, the American adviser who, entrusted with the reform of the Persian finances, had warmly supported the nationalist movement but very soon a quarrel broke out between them as a result of energetic action taken by Mr. Shuster (the episode of 'Alâ' al-Dawla). On October 29 Russia demanded satisfaction for the intervention of Mr. Shuster's gendarmes in the affairs of Prince Shu'â al-Saltana who claimed to be a protégé of Russia. As a result on Nov. 11 Wuthûk al-Dawla, minister of foreign affairs, expressed to the Russian legation the government's apologies but on Nov. 16 Russia presented an ultimatum demanding the dismissal of Mr. Shuster. The cabinet, which after a quarrel with Yefrem Khân had again made its peace with him, showed conciliatory tendencies. On Dec. 9 Wuthûk al-Dawla formed a new cabinet which two days later accepted the ultimatum. Mr. Shuster was replaced by a Belgian (M. Mornard) and left Persia.

In the summer of 1918 Şamsâm was again called upon to take the reins of government. As a repercussion of events in Russia the new cabinet, which had a nationalist character, at its meeting of July 27 abrogated all the treaties with Russia and all concessions granted to Russians. This measure, which affected the interests of foreigners in general, accelerated the fall of the cabinet and its replacement by that of Wuthûk al-Dawla, which signed the Anglo-Persian convention of Aug. 9, 1919.

Şamsâm is noted for his impulsive character but Mr. Morgan Shuster in his book reproaches this chieftain with a lack of constancy.

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution* (1910), p. 266, 298; D. Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt* (1910), p. 87; I. A.

Zinoviev, *Rossiya, Angliya i Persiya*, St. Petersburg 1912, p. 135; *Englische Dokumente zur Erdrosselung Persiens in Der Neue Orient*, Berlin 1917, p. 22; J. M. Balfour, *Recent Happenings in Persia* (1922), p. 108. (V. MINORSKIY)

AL-ŞAMŞÂMA, the sword of the Arab warrior-poet 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib al-Zubaidi (cf. above, i. 336a) celebrated for the temper and cutting power of its blade. Like a number of the best Arab swords, its origin was traced back to Southern Arabia and a fabulous antiquity was ascribed to it. 'Amr himself in a verse often quoted (Ibn Duraid, p. 311; *Ik̄d* [ed. 1293], i. 46, ii. 70; Ibn Badrūn, p. 84; *Tađj al-'Arūs*, vi. 229) says that it had once belonged to Ibn Dhī Kaifān "of the people of 'Ad" (this member of an actual Himyar clan [cf. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 331, 613] is identified with one of the last Himyar kings of the family of Dhū Djadan; but very probably the poet only means to allude to the great age of his weapon).

The history and fortunes of al-Şamşāma are rather involved; even in the poet's lifetime it came into the hands of a member of the Umayyad family, Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āsī, the companion of the Prophet. The way in which he got possession of it is recorded with several variants by Ibn al-Kalbī (in al-Balādhuri), Abū 'Ubaida (in the *Aghānī*), al-Zuhri (in Ibn Hūbaish; see *Bibl.*), Saif b. 'Umar (in al-Tabarī). According to the last-named, Khālid won it in battle after routing 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib who was taking part in the revolt against Islām raised by the false prophet al-Aswad al-'Ansī (cf. above, i. 502b); according to the three first, 'Amr himself gave it to Khālid as a ransom for his sister (or wife) Raihāna, who was a prisoner of the Muslims. 'Amr composed a poem on the occasion, of which several verses are frequently quoted in the Arab sources (Ibn Duraid, p. 49; *Lisān*, xv. 240, etc.). The tradition (al-Tibrizī in *Ĥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 397, 12—15) which says that 'Amr gave it to the Caliph 'Umar is quite denied by authority.

After the death of Khālid b. Sa'īd at the battle of Marjī al-Suffar during the conquest of Syria (14 A. H.) al-Şamşāma passed to his nephew Sa'īd b. al-'Āsī b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āsī, who lost it while defending the Caliph 'Uthmān when the latter was besieged in his house at Medina (35 A. H.). It was found by a Bedouin of the tribe of Djubaina with whom it was discovered in the reign of Mu'āwiya. Restored to its former owner, it passed from one member to another of the family of the Banu 'l-'Āsī, until one of them, Aiyūb b. Abī Aiyūb, great-grandson of the son of Sa'īd, sold it to the Caliph al-Mahdī (158—169 A. H.) for about 80,000 dirhams. Henceforth al-Şamşāma was kept as a precious relic in the treasury of the 'Abbāsids and its fame continued to increase; poets like Abu 'l-Hawl al-Himyarī (*Djāhiz*, *Ĥayawān*, v. 30) and Salm al-Khāsir sang its praises.

From different sources we learn of its existence in the caliphates of al-Hādī (169—170 A. H.), Harūn al-Rashīd (170—193), al-Wāthik (227—232), and al-Mutawakkil (232—247), after which there is no longer any mention of it. The anecdotes recorded regarding the excellence of the famous sword during the period when it was in the hands of these Caliphs have little chance of being authentic; a description which has a certain appearance of reality is the one given in al-Tabarī,

iii. 1348, 4—8, in connection with the story of al-Wāthik's using it to execute with his own hand in 231 A. H. Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuẓā'ī, who was accused of having conspired against the Caliph and of having maintained that the Qur'ān was not created, contrary to the view laid down by al-Ma'mūn: "It was a blade with a hilt at its end; three nails driven into it attached the blade to the hilt". It is apparent then that the famous al-Şamşāma had nothing of value about it except its great age.

As to the name al-Şamşāma, it is simply an epithet referring to the fine quality of the blade (the "cleaver") like *muṣammim*, which has the same significance. Al-Şamşāma is often used as a common noun, e.g. by al-Farazdaq (*Naḳẓ'id*, p. 385, 4) and by 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib himself (*Ĥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, p. 83, ed. Cheikho, N^o. 237); *Amālī* of al-Kālī, iii. 154, 10), as well as by Muslim b. al-Walid (ed. de Goeje, vi. 18) in a verse which Schwarzlose (see the *Bibl.*) wrongly thought to refer to 'Amr's sword, while the weapon given by Harūn al-Rashīd to his general Yazīd b. Mazyad referred to in the verse is the sword of the Prophet, Dhū 'l-Faḳār (cf. above, i. 959), as is evident from verse 25 of the same poem and the note by Ibn Khallikān, iii. 299 (ed. 1299) = ii. 284 (ed. 1319) = N^o. 830 Wüstenfeld.

Bibliography: al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 119—120; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1984, 1997; *Aghānī* (1st ed.), xiv. 26—27, 2nd ed., p. 27; Ibn Badrūn, ed. Dozy, p. 84; *Ik̄d*, i. 66 (ed. 1293); Ibn Hudhail al-Andalusī, *La parure des cavaliers et l'enseigne des preux*, ed. L. Mercier, Paris 1922, p. 61—62; *al-Mukhaṣṣas*, vi. 19, 28; *Lisān*, xv. 240; *Tađj al-'Arūs*, viii. 370; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 783, 787 (12 A. H., §§ 65, 69; the latter gives the translation of an unpublished passage from the *Kitāb al-Gharawāt* of Ibn Hūbaish, iii. 322 (14 A. H., § 104 note), iv. 632 (21 A. H., § 282); Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, p. 36, 93—96, 129, 192—194. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

ŞAMSÜN, a harbour on the north coast of Asia Minor, the ancient Amisus, also called Amisos by the Byzantines and later, after the conquest by the Saldjūks, Sampson (Akropolites, Bonn ed., p. 14; also Schiltberger, ed. Langmantel, p. 14 [transl. Hakluyt Society, p. 12], who says it was founded by the Samson of the Bible), the Simisso of western seafarers and the Şamsün of the Arabs, was taken from the Byzantines by Kılıdġ Arslān II (1156—1192) (Niketas Choniates, Bonn edition, p. 689, 699); three centuries before (860) it had been laid waste by the Arabs on one of their raids into Byzantine territory (Theophanes contin., Bonn ed., p. 179). Under the Saldjūks and their successors, Şamsün with Sinope conducted the trade with the Crimea and from the time of Mas'ūd II (631—646 A. H.) was a mint of the Saldjūks and later of the Ilkhāns (Aḥmad Tawhīd, *Meskū-kāt-i qadime-i islāmiye Katalōghī*, iv., N^o. 704, 705; Mehemmed Mubārak, *ibid.*, vol. iii. under the coins of Ghāzān Maḥmūd, Khudābende Mehemmed and Abū Sa'īd Bahādur), which suggests a considerable commercial activity. About this time also we find Şamsün first mentioned by the eastern geographers as a "famous harbour" (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Bulḍān*, ed. Reinaud, i. 32 sq., 215, 392; al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 146; Ḥamd Allāh

Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥat al-Kutub*, ed. Le Strange, p. 96). Alongside of the Muslim Şamsūn there was at the beginning of the xiiith century an independent Greek enclave (Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. 56 sqq.), the so-called "Christian Şamsūn" (*Kiāfir Şamsūni*), and formed, as in Smyrna (see the art. IZMİR, ii. 267), with the Muslim settlement a double town. Both parts were enclosed by walls and only a stone's throw (Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Adḡā'ib al-maḡdūr fī Akhbār Timūr*, Cairo 1285, p. 141) or "half a bowshot" (Schiltberger, p. 16, Hakt. Soc. ed. p. 13) apart. In the early years of the xivth century the Genoese established themselves in Christian Şamsūn and held it for over a century (Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i. 553 sqq., ii. 359 sq., 373); about the year 1425 the last Frankish inhabitants set the town on fire and sailed off in their ships, whereupon the Ottomans entered it (Neshri in Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 475; wrongly in Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii. 359).

After the withdrawal of the İlkhāns Muslim Şamsūn was in possession of the Isfandiār-oghlu of Kaştamūnī [q. v.] and was taken from them in 795 or 797 A. H. by Bāyazid I (Schiltberger, p. 14 sqq.; Neshri, in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xv. 343 = Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, col. 336; Sa'd al-Din, i. 135 sq.; cf. *Tawārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, ed. Giese, p. 34); in 1404 the town still belonged to Mīr Sulaimān Çelebi, the son of Bāyazid I (Clavijo, p. 82); it was then again occupied by the Isfandiār-oghlu (the date 822 A. H. is given) (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 474; Sa'd al-Din, i. 287 sqq.; cf. Ibn 'Arabshāh, *op. cit.*) but shortly afterwards ceded without a fight to Sultān Mehmed I (*Tawārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, ed. Giese, p. 53 = Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, col. 464; 'Ashik Pasha Zāde, p. 89 sq.; Neshri, Sa'd al-Din, *op. cit.*). Şamsūn since then has been under the Turks and became the capital of the sanjak of Djanik, which formerly belonged to the eyālet of Siwās but in modern times has been incorporated in the wilāyet of Trebizond. The harbour still retained with Sinope and Trebizond some importance for trade with the Crimea, had a shipyard of its own, and in the xviith century was again fortified as a defence against the attacks of the Don Cossacks. Local trade was limited to the manufacture and export of hemp ropes etc. and of the popular *nārdenk* (pomegranate syrup). After the cession of the Crimea to Russia in the xviiith century the town began to decline and in 1806 it suffered considerable damage during the fighting between the rival Derebeys, the Çapan-oghlu and the family of Djanikli 'Alī Pasha. It was only with the opening of steam navigation in the Black Sea and the development of tobacco-growing in the adjoining district of Bafra that the town received an unexpected revival of prosperity. Many Greeks and Armenians came to it from the interior, especially from Kaşāriye and Karamān, and Europeans also including many Hellenes settled here; to engage in the export of local products (tobacco, corn and hides). The old parts of the town which were avoided on account of endemic malaria were burned in 1286 (1869) and replaced by modern buildings. New quarters and suburbs also arose on a more healthy site, for example the suburb of Kaḏi-Köy inhabited exclusively by Hellenes. The town which at the beginning of the xixth century had only 400 houses with a purely Turkish population of

2,000 had a century later over 20,000 inhabitants (10,000 Turks, 8,000 Greeks and Hellenes, 2,000 Armenians) and was the most important commercial town next to Trebizond on the north coast of Asia Minor. We have no more recent information.

Bibliography: Ewliya, *Siyāhāt-nāma*, ii.

77 sq., Constantinople 1314—1318 = *Travels*, ii. 39 sq.; Hādjdji Khalifa *Djihānnūma*, p. 624; Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 796—806 (collection of the earlier travellers' notices; to be added: Peyssonel, *Traité sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire*, Paris 1787, ii. 92 sq.; Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, Brussels 1829, p. 247—251; Moltke, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, p. 196 sqq.; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hannover 1925, p. 80 sqq.; van Lennep, *Travels in little known parts of Asia Minor*, London 1870, i. 38—60; Şakir Shewket, *Tarabāzān Tārikhi*, Stambul 1294, p. 89 sqq.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 92—105; v. Flottwell, *Petermanns Mitt.*, Supplement 114, p. 17, 48; Konstantinos N. Papamichalopoulos, *Περὶ ἡρώων εἰς τὸν Πόντον*, Athens 1903, p. 311—329 (views and pictures of costumes); *Studia Pontica*, Brussels 1906—1910, ii. 111 sqq., iii. 1 sqq.; *Salmāne* of the wilāyet Trebizond of 1322 A. H., p. 150—160 (views of Trebizond). Plan of the town in the *Planatlas von Kleinasien* of v. Vincke, [F. L.] Fischer and v. Moltke, Berlin 1846—1854, Pl. No. 3. (J. H. MORDTMANN)

AL-SAMT, direction, point of the compass, a term in frequent use in Arab astronomy applied to the length of the arc (angular distance) made by any straight line drawn in the horizon through the position of the observer with respect to the line from east to west. As a circle of altitude of the heavens cuts the horizon along a straight line, such sections in their deviation from the east-west line give the direction by which the altitude is characterised. On vertical walls on which the so-called inclined sundials (*munḥarīfāt*) are marked as well as in turning the face towards Mekka (*qibla*) the definition of *al-samt* is of importance. This is one of the problems of spherical astronomy, which the Arabs were able to solve in quite a number of ways.

The plural of *al-samt* is *al-sumūt*. For this we can quote references from the language of one of the greatest Muslim astronomers, namely Ibn Yūnus († 1009 in Cairo). The title of Chap. xxiv. of his famous Hākīmī Tables, for example, is: *Fī l-khrāḡi Khatt Nişf al-Nahār bi 'l-Irtifā' alladhī Samtuhu ḥalāṭhun wa-ghairuhu min al-Irtifā' allatī simūtuhā ma'fūma* (Oxford, MS. Hunt. 331, fol. 43^r). As will be noticed the adjective *ma'fūma* is in the feminine singular, in keeping with the rules of Arabic grammar. An inexperienced translator of Arabic astronomical texts might very well take a plural like this (*sumūt*) for a singular and translate *al-sumūt* by "direction" instead of "directions". According to Nallino in *R.S.O.*, viii., p. 390 sqq. *simūt* is a dialectical form of *simūt*. By contraction in Spanish and French *al-simūt* became *azimut* and in this form and with singular meaning the word has passed into western languages so that we now speak of the azimuth of an altitude of the sun or of a wall etc.

The expression *samt* (or *semt*) *al-ra's* means the direction of the head. Later in Europe the qualification *al-ra's* was dropped so that in the French and Spanish spelling only the word *semt* remained.

Through errors in copying this became *senit*, just as Latin translators of the *astronomy* of al-Farghānī (Alfraganus) made *Henis* and then *Henit* out of Hims, Hems = Emesa.

Since, as already mentioned, the Arabs measured the azimuth from the east-west line, the meridian (*khatt nisf al-mahār*) came with them to be an azimuth of 90°. Its definition is a necessity for finding one's position so that it is never omitted in any Arabic *sidi* and even has *rasā'il* specially devoted to it (the writings on this subject by Ibn al-Haiṭham, *Mémoire sur l'azimut* and *Mémoire sur la détermination de la méridienne avec la dernière exactitude*; cf. F. Woepcke, *L'algbre d'Omar Alkhayyāmī*, Paris 1851, p. 74 and 75, are probably no longer extant).

The arithmetical relation between altitude of the sun and azimuth (when the geographical latitude of the place and the declination of the sun are known) is given in the azimuth-tables (*Qiaḍwīl al-simūt*) which were calculated by various Arab astronomers for the latitude of their homes; cf. e.g. Ibn Yūnus, *Kitāb al-Samt wa'l-Zill li'bn Yūnus mahtūl daḳīqatan daḳīqatan*, MS. Escor., 924.

Bibliography: G. W. S. Beigel, *Bemerkungen über die Gnomik der Araber (Fundgruben des Orients, 1809, i. 429)*; C. A. Nallino, *Etimologia araba e significato di "asub" e di "azimut" con una postilla su "almucantarāt"* in *R. S. O.*, 1919, viii. 389; C. Schoy, *Das 20. Kapitel der grossen Hākemitischen Tafeln des Ibn Yūnis: Über die Berechnung des Azimuts aus der Höhe und der Höhe aus dem Azimut (Annalen der Hydrographie und maritimen Meteorologie, Hamburg 1920, p. 97—112)*; do., *Über die Ziehung der Mittagslinie, dem Buche über das Analemma entnommen, samt dem Beweis dazu von Abū 'l-Sa'id ad-Darir (Ann. d. Hydrogr. u. maritim. Meteorol., 1922, p. 265—272)*.

(C. SCHOY)

SAMUEL. [See UŠHMU'IL].

SAMŪM, the name of a hot wind in several Arabic speaking countries. The word occurs in three passages of the Qur'an, where it is, however, not especially applied to the wind. Sūra 15, 27 it is said that the *Djānn* were created from the fire of Samūm. Sūra 52, 27 the punishment of the Samūm is mentioned; and according to Sūra 50, 41 the "people of the left" were dwelling in *Samūm wa-Hamīm*. Apparently Muḥammad applies the term to infernal heat.

The Ḥadīth uses the word in the same sense; yet the meaning "hot wind" is here coming to the front. It is said that Hell takes breath two times a year: "its taking breath in summer is Samūm". (Tirmidjī, *Djahannam*, bāb 9; cf. Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, bāb 38). In Bukhārī we find reference to the opinion that the hot air during the day is called *ḥarūr*, whereas it is called *samūm* at night (*Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb 4).

In nearly every traveller's book the samūm (simum) is mentioned in the sense of the suffocating wind which is also often called sirocco. From the innumerable references a few may be picked out. C. M. Doughty mentions it in the neighbourhood of Maḍā'in Šālīḥ as "a droughty southern wind" against which the Beduins "covered their faces, to the eyes, with a lap of the kerchief". He again mentions it between Madīna and Mekka and tells us that according to the Beduins weak camels may be suffocated by it

(*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 100, 188).

In Mekka the north, north-east and eastwind are called samūm. When it blows it makes the impression as if it came from a huge fire through the intermediary of gigantic bellows (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, N^o. 76). The season in which the sun enters the constellation of the Virgin (August) has an extremely bad reputation in Mekka, because in this time *ḥōm*, *wamā*, *samūm* and *azyab* blow alternately (*loc. cit.*).

Concerning Egypt, Lane says (*Manners and Customs*, Introduction): "Egypt is also subject particularly during spring and summer, to the hot wind called the "Samoom", which is still more oppressive than the khamāseen winds, but of much shorter duration, seldom lasting longer than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. It generally proceeds from the south-east, and carries with it clouds of dust and sand".

Concerning Kaṣr-i Šīrīn [q. v.] Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, transl. Le Strange, Gibb Memorial Fund, vol xxx/ii., p. 50) says: "Its climate is unwholesome for in the hot season at most times the (hot) Simum blows".

Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, iii. 320 sq. has a legendary report concerning the *Djānn* which according to the verse from the Qur'an mentioned above, were created from the fire of the samūm (translated by R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits & légendes arabes*, Paris 1924, i. 57).

See also A. Musil, *Reisen in Arabia Petraea* (Vienna 1907—1908), iii. sq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

ŞAN, now ŞAN AL-ḤADJAR, a little village in lower Egypt, in the province of Sharkīya in the district of al-ʿArīn to the south of Lake Manzala on the Baḥr al-Muʿīza (or Muwis), the ancient Tanitic arm. The Arabic name corresponds to the Hebrew Šo'an, the Greek *Távις* and the Coptic *Djani*.

This town, which was the capital of the dynasty of the Shepherd Kings, had been long in ruins by the time of the Arab conquest. The ancient town, notably the temples, had fallen to pieces and no Arab author mentions them; their remains nevertheless still form the most considerable group of ruins in the Delta. A single text recalls its fame in quoting Şan among the Towns of the Magicians.

A passage in the Chronicle of John of Nikiu (transl. Zotenberg, p. 540) shows that in the seventh century it was a little town, since the same governor administered Kharbetā (Farbaṭ = modern Hurbait), Şān, Bastā, Balḳā (= Ṭarābiya = Copt. *Ṭagabīa*) and Sanhūr. This district really comprised five contiguous pagarchies, *Φαρβαῖτος, Τάβις, Βούβατος, Ἀραβία* and *Ἡφαίστος*.

The Arab *kūra*, founded on the pagarchy of *Távις*, was called after two places, Şān and Iblil; the latter, which is found in Coptic in the form *reβλil*, cannot, however, be exactly located. The

kūra of Şān and Iblil contained 46 villages (40 in al-Dimashḳī) stretching to the north-east up to the Syrian frontier, and included besides Sanhūr (Hephaistos) the towns of al-Faramā (Peluse) and al-ʿArīsh (Rhincolura). The southern boundary ran north of a line Hurbait — Fāḳūs, although

the latter formed part of the *kūra* of Ṭarābiya. The *kūra* of Tumaïy (Tumaïy al-Amdid) bordered it on the west and on the north the *kūra* of Şan and Iblil ended on the banks of the Buḥairat Tinnis (Lake Manzala).

We have almost no historical information regarding the town, which had been the see of a Coptic bishop (there is no mention later than the fifth century A. D.). We only know that bodies of the tribes of *Khushain*, *Lakhm* and *Djudhām* settled in this region. The geographer Yākūt gives no details and one is surprised not to find it mentioned in the censuses of Ibn Mammāṭi, Ibn Duḡmāk and Ibn al-Djī'ān, although in quoting the old lists of *kūra's*, al-Ḳalkāshandī says it is unknown. The notice by 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak is simply a translation of an article by Quatremère. It is not known at what period Şan received the surname of *al-Ḥadjjar* (Şan "of the stones"), which is found in Egypt attached to several places near which there are important ruins, e.g. Bahḫit al-Ḥadjjar (Tseum), Şa' al-Ḥadjjar (Saio).

Bibliography: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, ed. Torrey, p. 142—143; *Synax. éthiop.*, in the *Patrol. or.*, vii. [212], 228; Yākūt, *Muḏjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 99, iii. 364; al-Ḳalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iii. 386; al-Makrizi, *Khitaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii. 194; *Guide Joanne*, p. 372; Baedeker, *Egypt*¹, p. 172; J. Maspero, *l'Organ milit. de l'Ég. byzantine*, p. 135—136; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour serv. à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, p. 2—3, 107, 116, 119, 137, 174—177, 179—180, 183, 184, 186, where the remainder of the literature is given.

(G. WIET)

SAN STEFANO, in Turkish Aya Stefanos, a little town on the sea of Marmora, twelve miles west of Constantinople. It probably takes its name from an old church (according to von Hammer) but it is not certain whether San Stefano is the ancient Hagios Stephanos, which was one of the places which Meḥammed the Conqueror occupied before the investment of Constantinople (Ducas, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1834, p. 258, speaks of the *πύργια τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου σὺν πολέμῳ*). The Crusaders landed in its neighbourhood on June 23, 1203, before the Latin conquest of Constantinople. San Stefano lay off the great road from Constantinople to Adrianople, which passed through Küçük Çekmedje (Ponte Piccolo) 2½ miles to the east of it and has never been of any strategic or economic importance. Ewliyā Çelebi does not mention it. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century wealthy inhabitants of the capital have been building country-houses here so that it has now become a pleasure resort for the citizens of Constantinople, easily reached by railway. The population itself is entirely Greek and numbers about 2000 souls.

The town acquired a place in history by the preliminary peace of San Stefano which was signed there on March 3, 1878, between Turkey (represented by Şafwet Pasha and Sa'd-ullāh Pasha) and Russia (represented by Count Ignatieff and Nelidoff), a truce having previously been agreed upon at Adrianople on the previous January 31.

The Russian headquarters were in San Stefano on this occasion; the house where the treaty was signed has been destroyed by an earthquake. The conditions of peace (text in *Nouveau Recueil Général de Traités*, 2nd Series, iii. 246—256) were

very harsh for Turkey on account of the great area of territory which was given to the newly formed principality of Bulgaria and the huge indemnity demanded by Russia. The Berlin Congress, summoned on the initiative of England, considerably ameliorated the conditions of the preliminary peace and annulled the latter. Peace with Russia was finally concluded in Constantinople on Feb. 8, 1879.

In 1909 San Stefano was again in the public eye after the Turkish counter-revolution of March, which ultimately led to the deposition of 'Abdul-Ḥamid. On April 19 of this year the first constitutionalist troops hurriedly appeared here from Salonica. Immediately the deputies of the committee "*İttihād-u Teraḳkî*" went to San Stefano and constituted the national assembly in the Yacht Club under the presidency of Abu 'l-Diyā Tewfik Bey, who was succeeded as president by Ahmed Ridā on April 21. Next day the whole senate joined the assembly which placed all power in the hands of the army. Maḥmud Şewket Pasha became commander-in-chief and on April 24 Constantinople was entirely in the hands of the constitutionalists. During these events the whole Turkish fleet appeared before San Stefano to submit to the army.

Bibliography: von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus*, Pesth 1822, ii. 9 sq.; Sāmī, *Kāmiūs al-A'lām*, i. 505; F. Schrader, *Konstantinopel*, Tübingen 1917, p. 115; de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1914, ii. 242 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

ŞAN'Ā', the capital of Yaman, lies on the eastern Sarāt in a mountain valley which is open to the west as far as the chain which belongs to the *Djabal 'Aibān*, while immediately to the east the town is overshadowed by the *Djabal Nuḡum* which rises 1600 feet above it. Its situation is 15° 23' N. Lat. and 44° 12' E. Long. As the town is 7200 feet above sea-level the climate is temperate, particularly as in summer regular winds blow through the day. In winter the temperature falls to zero at night which brings ice, which, however, disappears again with day. In spring and in mid-summer, especially July, it rains a great deal. Very dry summers are a rare but disastrous exception. Two streams run under cover through Şan'ā' to the Wādī 'l-*Khārid*. They are only full after rain. A regular supply of good water is provided by an aqueduct from the Nuḡum. The soil of the plateau is of volcanic origin but earthquakes are very rare (e.g. one in 657 = 1259) and those insignificant. Lava forms the building material of the better houses while the humbler, and even the city wall, are built of mud. The scanty wood supply of the plateau, little tamarisks (*ṭalḥa*), *dawm*-trees is only of importance as a supply of fuel for the market in Şan'ā'. Thin transparent sheets of marble are still used, as they once were on the citadel of *Ghumdān*, as windows in the upper-class houses. The industries for which the town was noted in the middle ages, like the smelting of silver and the manufacture of the once famous Yamanī cloths have declined considerably. The short curved Yaman swords generally worn, with bone hilts adorned with silver, are still made there. Large well kept gardens are also found within the formerly more thickly populated town. All the fruits of the temperate zone are cultivated: apricots, peaches, apples, quinces, wine-grapes and fragrant herbs. The

Turks have also acclimatised all kinds of vegetables including the potato. The date-palm is only ornamental at this high level. Coffee is grown, notably on the slopes of the Nuḳum.

The present town, the population of which is estimated at 18,000, has three quarters. The Arab quarter stretches from the citadel at the foot of the Nuḳum westwards until it joins up with the once separate suburb Bīr al-Aḏḥab with fine gardens and the official buildings and public offices. About 5,000 Jews live away to the west in the crowded Ḳā' al-Yahūd. Outside the south wall lie the barracks and close to the north wall the tiny town of Sha'ūb. Of the dozen gates only four are usually opened. The chief mosque with two minarets, the so-called "little Ka'ba", probably the old "Ḳalis" (see below), is almost in the centre of the Arab town, which still contains many palaces built by various ruling families that have succeeded one another here. The most important of these is the residence of the Imāms, Bustān al-Mutawakkil, in the north-west of the Arab town. Among public buildings Şan'ā' has a large hospital, a dispensary, about 12 baths, 3 schools, including a technical school and a printing-press.

The routes for traffic are very difficult through the mountainous country. The descent towards the Red Sea is made towards Hudaida. With a view to safety the roads generally lead round the tops of the valleys, for example the Wādī Şunfur with its gentle descent. The road, for example, at Ḳarn Wa'l (Deer-Horn) south of the Djabal Ḥaḏūr Nabī Şu'aib rises to about 9,000 feet and then descends to about 5,000, climbing through the passes of the coffee-growing range of Ḥarāz at Manāḳha to a height of 7,200 feet again and drops down to the Tihāma just outside of Bāḏjil. It takes the regular Turkish post, carried by riding camels in the Sarāt, 2½ to 3 days to cover the distance from Şan'ā' to Hudaida, which is about 100 miles as the crow flies. This route has also a telegraph line which links up with the Syrian-Arabian system. The road to the site of the ancient Ma'rib [q.v.], which is 75 miles E. N. E. in a straight line, and from the region of which salt is still brought to Şan'ā', begins by going round either north or south the outer spurs lying east of the town and then descends to the Djabwī through the Wādī Dhāna with its plentiful water-supply. For the road from north to south via Yarim, the ruins of Zafār, Djanad and al-Ḥūṭa to 'Adan and via Şa'da, Bisha and Turaba to Mekka see above, i. 368 sq. But the pilgrim and commercial traffic to Mekka instead of following this route through the mountain along, begins by striking straight across in the direction of the Wādī Surdud, and from al-Mahḏjam, about 25 miles N. of Hudaida, onwards and then uses the Tihāma road running northwards from 'Adan via Zabīd.

Although Şan'ā' is a very ancient town, no mention of it has as yet been found in the Minaean and Sabaeen inscriptions so far studied, and there is just a possibility that it is mentioned in the Ḥimyar period if the *Şnu* mentioned in the inscription Glaser 424, line 13, is our Şan'ā'; this inscription would date from the middle of the first century A.D. if the king of Saba' and Dhū Raidān in line 3, Ilīsharḥ Yaḥḏib, who wins a victory at or over *Şnu*, can be identified with the Elisar of the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 26 (see E. Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, 1895,

p. 117 sqq.; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, 1909, ii. 150 sqq.). Legend and poetry have more to tell us, inspired by the vast ruins of the castle of Ḡhumdān [q.v.]. Shem was the builder of the town and castle and Azāl their ancient name. As this latter was possibly only taken at a later date by Jews and Muslims from Genesis, x. 27, the suggestion that in Şan'ā' we have the Ūzāl of the Bible is as uncertain as Sprenger's explanation (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1875, § 294) of Şan'ā' as the *Menambis basileion* of Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, book vi., chap. vii., § 38, or Glaser's assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 122, and *Skizze d. Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, ii. [1890], p. 310, 427) that the old name was Tafidh and that the present name has been brought from the region of Ma'rib.

It was only when with the Abyssinian invasion Yaman became involved in the struggle for world supremacy between Rome and Persia that Şan'ā' is definitely known to have assumed the prominent part which it henceforth played down to the present day in Upper Yaman and with occasional interruptions in the whole of Yaman. Only a few of the events of these fourteen centuries, in which the history of Yaman is reflected in the story of this single town, can be briefly given. About 530 A.D. after the overthrow of the Jewish king Dhū Nuwās, who is said to have persecuted the Christians in Şan'ā' also, Abraha arose and after disposing of his Abyssinian rival Aryāt made the town the seat of the Abyssinian viceroy. He enriched the town with the Christian cathedral, the Ḳalis or Ḳulais (*ekklesia*). The materials are said to have been brought from the ruins of Ma'rib and the workmen and the mosaics to have been sent by the Byzantine emperor. Summoned by the old Yamanī ruling family of Dhū Yazan, Wahraz, Khusrāw I Anūsharwan's general, about 570 drove the son and second successor of Abraha, Masrūk, from the town and established there at first a system of joint administration with the Dhū Yazan, then Persian rule alone, which was, it is recorded, in the hands of his son, grandson and great-grandson after him. In the year 10 (631), according to some stories two years earlier, the fifth governor, Bāḏjām, adopted Islām. In the same year 10, Muḥāḏjir b. Abī Umaiya b. al-Mughīra was sent to Şan'ā' to collect the taxes for the Yaman. In the following year the town was for three months in the hands of the anti-prophet 'Abhala b. Ka'b al-Aswad, who entrenched himself in Ḡhumdān. On the death of Muḥammad, his rising became merged in the general struggle for the independence of the Yaman, the principal champion of which was again one of the Dhū Yazan, 'Amr b. Ma'ḏi Karib. The Medina government found most support with the arabicised Persian nobles, the Abnā' [q.v.]. In 11 (632), Fairūz the Dailami, with the help of al-Muḥāḏjir, was able to restore Muslim supremacy in Şan'ā' and Upper Yaman. It was probably in this fierce fighting that the fortress of Ḡhumdān was destroyed, which, according to the legend, must have been rebuilt once before in the Ḥimyar period by 'Amr b. Abī Sharḥ b. Yaḥṣab, who is known from inscriptions. After the conquest comparative quiet prevailed, particularly as the leaders in Medina dealt gently and tactfully with the notables in and near Şan'ā'. Ya'īla b. Munya whom 'Umar I appointed successor to al-Muḥāḏjir was still in this office on the accession of 'Alī. The latter dismissed him and appointed

'Ubad Allāh b. 'Abbās as, at least so al-Ya'kūbī, ii. 208 *sq.*, tells us, Ṭalḥa refused to be moved to the provincial office to Şan'ā', but with al-Zubair seized all the taxes of the Yaman, which Ya'la had taken with him from Şan'ā' to Mekka. But 'Ubad Allāh or his successor was driven from Şan'ā' by Busr b. Aryāt by order of Mu'āwiya I, according to some versions as early as 40 (660), that is even before the assassination of 'Alī.

There are proverbial sayings such as "farther than Şan'ā'" or "everyone, even the shepherd on the hills of Şan'ā'" (al-Ṭabarī, i. 2752; iii. 2472). When the centre of Islām was removed to Syria and then to the 'Irāk, Upper Yaman appeared even more remote, and its history was in keeping with this. Three forces were resisting the Caliphate, fighting one another, or in certain cases supporting one another: native princes, ambitious governors and leaders of sects, who taught their views far from the capital and endeavoured to put them into practice by founding states; even the arch-heretic 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā [q.v.] is described as "one of the men of Şan'ā'". Although lack of notice is no proof of quiet in this remote town, the Umayyads seem to have had a firm grip of Şan'ā'. Even when the Umayyad Caliphate was breaking up, the general Ibn 'Aṭṭiya was able in 130 (747—748) to send to Marwān II from Şan'ā' the head of 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, who had set himself up there as Khārījī caliph. The situation soon became more difficult under the 'Abbāsids. Homage was not paid to al-Hādī at all. Under Hārūn al-Raṣīd, his fifth governor, Ḥammād al-Barbarī, only succeeded after a nine years' struggle in bringing the rebel Hamdānīd al-Haiṣam b. 'Abd al-Maḍjīd a prisoner from al-Sarāt to Şan'ā'. At this time, about 188 (803), the town was almost in ruins. Things became no better at the beginning of the third century when the 'Alid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Dja'far al-Djazzār (the "butcher") ruled from Şan'ā' to Mekka, half as an adventurer for his own hand and half as an official governor. The attitude of his opponent, the Walī Ḥamdawaih b. Māhān, was no less ambiguous. In the end the government had to resort to Turkish praetorian generals. Not later than 256 (869) the Ya'furids of the tribe of the Ḥiwālī became masters of Şan'ā' by a compromise, it is true, by the terms of which Muḥammad b. Ya'fur gave the caliph al-Mu'tamid mention in the *khutba* and paid tribute to the Ziyādids at Zabīd. Even their rule was often interrupted in the town itself. On the accession of Muḥammad's son, Ibrāhīm, in 279 (892) his palace was set on fire by citizens of the rival tribe of Shihāb and the Abnā', who were usually at enmity with the latter. Two bodies of Shi'īs then attacked Şan'ā'; from the north, from Ṣa'da, the Zaidī Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain who occupied the town for the first time for four or five months in 288 (901); from the south, with the fortress of al-Mudḥaikhira (see above, i. 369a) as his base, the Ḳarmaṭian 'Alī b. al-Faḍl controlled the town at the beginning of 293 (905) at first for two or three months from its castle. In the never-ending struggle between Ya'furids, Zaidīs, Ḳarmaṭians, mutinous clients of the Ya'furids of the family of Ṭarīf, 'Abbāsīd governors and generals, Şan'ā' was taken no less than twenty times in the twelve years from the first entry of Yahyā to the end of the century (913 A.D.); it three times surrendered after negotiations, and was besieged unsuccessfully some

five more times. According to al-Mas'ūdi, ii. 55, Şan'ā' had a quieter and brilliant period after the death of the Ḳarmaṭian, under the Ya'furid As'ad b. Ibrāhīm, from 303—332 (915—943). On his death family dissensions brought back the old turmoil. The Zaidī Mukhtār, grandson of Yahyā, took the town in 345 (956) but was murdered in the same year. The streets and quarters of the town became a battlefield for the feuds of the two tribal groups of Khawlān and Hamdān. Behind the chief of the latter, al-Daḥḥāk, was the now restored power of the Ziyādids of Zabīd. But in 377 (987) or 379 (989) the last important Ya'furid of Şan'ā', 'Abd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān, was once more able to exact retribution and destroy Zabīd. 'Abd Allāh had been able to secure the support of the still numerous Ḳarmaṭians and officially recognised the caliphate of the Fāṭimids. The Ṣulaiḥids followed the same policy; the first of them, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, as Fāṭimid *dā'i* made Şan'ā' his headquarters about 453 (1061) and after half a century put an end to the unrest which had been increased by the fact that the Zaidī Imāms, who penetrated among the hostile tribes from Ṣa'da from time to time, quarrelled among themselves. When Queen Saiyida Ḥurra moved the seat of government to Djubla in Lower Yaman, her relations, the Yāmid, held the town for her for another decade or so, until in 492 (1098) Ḥatīm b. al-Ghashīm made himself independent there. His dynasty, the Hamdānīds, reigned till the invasion of the Yaman by Saladin's brother Turānshāh in 569 (1174), interrupted in the usual way by family quarrels, by another Yāmid interregnum, and especially by the Zaidī Imām of Ṣa'da and Naḍjrān, Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Mutawakkil.

But even the fifty-five years of Ayyubid rule showed that Şan'ā' could not be held firmly by a distant power. The Hamdānīd 'Alī al-Wahīd b. Ḥatīm, who had established himself in the mountain fortress of Birāsh about two hours to the east of Şan'ā', in 583 (1187) destroyed the city walls, the castle and the greater part of the town of Şan'ā'. In 595 (1199) and again in 611 (1214) we find the Imām 'Abd Allāh al-Manṣūr holding the town for a brief period. The suzerainty of the Rasūlids [q.v.] of Ta'izz over Şan'ā' began in 626 (1229) at first with vigour. The governors, usually princes or Kurd officers, visited the town and the sultāns themselves often came also. It was at first rarely and only for brief periods captured by the Imāms e.g. in 648 (1250) or 671 (1271). It was not till a century later that Zaidi power was again restored. The Imām Salāḥ b. 'Alī was not only able to make himself secure in Şan'ā' but repeatedly to attack Zabīd, 'Adan and Ta'izz from it in the years 777—793 (1375—1391). His successors were able to ward off successfully the new Ṭāhirid kings of lower Yaman; the first of these, 'Amīr b. Ṭāhir b. Mu'awwada was only able to enter the town temporarily in 861 (1456). In 913 (1507) the Kurd al-Ḥusain, admiral of the second-last Mamlūk Sulṭān Ḳānṣūh [q.v.] al-Ghūrī, took the town to which the latter sent the Mekkan Sharīf Barakāt II b. Muḥammad b. Barakāt I as Walī in 922 (1516); but in the very next year it was regained by the Imām Yahyā Sharaf al-Dīn. When the Ottomans put an end to the Mamlūk dynasty they had to fight to gain the Mamlūk possessions. In 953 (1546) Özdemiş Pāshā entered Şan'ā'; in 1038 (1628) Ḥaidar Pāshā capitulated to the Imām Muḥammad

of the Kāsimī line which held the town till 1087 (1676). Then followed a period of fighting among rival Imāms; the native notables, the Bedouin tribes and the never completely exterminated Ẕarmāṭians thereby gained considerable freedom of action and foreign powers also seized opportunities for intervention. Devastating Bedouin invasions in 1233 (1818) were repeated in 1251 (1835), which induced the Imām al-Nāṣir in 1253 (1836—1837) to negotiate for the sale of the town to the Egyptian Pāshā Mehmed 'Alī. The Turkish general Kībrisli Tawfīk Pāshā was admitted to the town by the Imām in 1265 (1849). His troops were massacred within two days and next year the Imām was deposed by the Mekkan Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Awn who intervened. He appointed a rival Imām who was, however, not able to protect the town; in 1267 (1851) and 1269 (1853) the town was again invaded. During the Ottoman reconquest by Mukhtār Pāshā, Şan'ā' was taken by storm in 1288 (1871) and made the capital of the wilāyet of Yaman and headquarters of the viith Ottoman Army Corps. But the Zaidis were not disposed of. In the spring of 1905 the Ottomans had to vacate the town and the country round before the Imām Maḥmūd Yaḥyā b. Hamid al-Dīn. Although they regained it in the autumn, it took fully five years to secure a rather parlous restoration of the Turkish position. After the Great War Maḥmūd Yaḥyā was recognised as Lord of Şan'ā' and Yaman by the Treaty of Sèvres on Aug. 10, 1920.

In spite of its remoteness and its turbulent history, Şan'ā' has been able to make its contributions to Muslim learning. It was here that 'Abid b. Shariya, by his historical tales, laid the foundation for the fame which induced Mu'āwiya I to summon him to his court. His younger colleague Wabb b. Munabbih, who died in Şan'ā', was also celebrated by his fellow-citizens as their first authority on the Qur'ān. In the second century Şan'ā' was visited by many collectors of traditions, including Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, who studied with 'Abd al-Razzāk b. Hammām b. Nāfi', who died in Şan'ā' in 211 (827). Şan'ā' is also noted as the place of birth and death of the poet, grammarian and historian, but above all genealogist and geographer, al-Hamdānī [q.v.]. Of the Imāms of Şan'ā' very many of them have done something to increase the bulk at least of literature; this very fact provoked the other factions to a similar activity. Christians survived for a long time among the various groups of Muslims and the Jews, or they may have settled again there at the time of the greatest expansion of the Nestorian Church; thus, for example, about 225 (840) Thomas of Margā (*The Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, i. 238) mentions Mār Petrus as contemporary bishop of Yaman and Şan'ā'.

The first European to reach Şan'ā' was the Italian Barthema as a prisoner in 1508. The first explorer whose goal was either Şan'ā' or to reach the country of Ma'rib from it, was Carsten Niebuhr in 1763. While the yield of inscriptions from Şan'ā' and vicinity has been slight, valuable collections of manuscripts were obtained there by Glaser, Landberg, Caprotti and Burchardt.

Bibliography: Şan'ā' is often dealt with by Arab geographers and travellers. In addition to Yāqūt we may mention as valuable for economic details also al-Muḥaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii.),

Ibn Khordādhbih (*ibid.*, iv.), Ibn Ḥawkal (*ibid.*, ii.), Nāṣir-i Khusrāw (ed. Schefer, 1881); Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Deffrémery and Sanguinetti, 1853—1858; especially al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat Dīarīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, 1884; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens* (*S. B. Ak. Wien*, vol. xciv. and xcvi.). — In addition to the Arabic universal histories cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber z. Zt. der Sassaniden*, Leiden 1879; Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892; al-Khazraǧī, *The pearl-strings*, introd. and transl. by Redhouse; ed. Muḥammad 'Asal in the Gibb Memorial Series, vol. iii.; C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919; Aḥmad Rashid, *Tārikh-i Yemen wa-Şan'ā'*, Istanbul 1921; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, ii., Leipzig 1909; historical survey in Yaḥyā b. al-Husain b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Yamanī, *Anbā' al-Zamān*, MS. Berlin N^o. 9745; al-Kibṣī, *Al-Laṭā'if al-saniya*, *ibid.*, N^o. 9746. — C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, i. 410 sqq.; U. I. Seetzen in F. von Zach, *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1813, xvii. 180 sqq., xviii. 353 sqq.; Ch. J. Crutten-don in the *Journal of the London Royal Geogr. Soc.*, 1838, viii.; Jacob, Saḥr, *Eben Saḥr*, i., Lyck 1866 (Hebrew). See also the narratives of the journeys through Şan'ā' by Arnaut and Halévy in the *J. A.*, 1843 and 1872; Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit hundert Jahren*, Halle 1875, p. 56 sqq.; Manzoni, *El Yemen*, Rome 1884, p. 100 sqq.; Glaser in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1886, xxxiii. 1 sqq.; Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905; H. Burchardt in the *Z. G. Erdk. Berl.*, 1902, p. 593 sqq.; A. J. B. Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim in Mecca and a siege in Sanaa*, London 1912, p. 228 sqq. (R. STROTHMANN)

SANAD. [See ISNĀD].

SANĀ'Ī, ABU 'L-MADJID MADJĪD B. ĀDAM, of Ḡhazni, was one of the most famous poets at the court of the later Ḡhaznavid kings, where his contemporaries were Saiyid Ḥasan, 'Uḥmān Mukhtārī, 'Alī Fathī and Maḥmūd Warrāk. He gained his livelihood as a court poet by writing verses in praise of the king and of the leading men in the state, but one day, overhearing a well-known eccentric of Ḡhazni drink confusion to "the wretched Sanā'ī, who spent his time in composing mendacious verses in praise of the great and would be obliged to remain silent when asked, at the Day of Judgement, what he had done for God", he was overcome with remorse and left Ḡhazni for Marw, where he led the religious life as a disciple of the Shaikh Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf. This occurred in the reign of Ibrāhīm (1059—1099), the eleventh king of the Ḡhaznavid dynasty.

Besides a *Dīwān*, containing 30,000 verses, Sanā'ī wrote the *Ḥadiqat al-Ḥaḥika*, a didactic poem on morals and religion, of which the doctors of the law at Ḡhazni disapproved so strongly that they sent it to Baghdād, with a view to its condemnation by the leading jurists and theologians of Islām, but were disappointed by a decision which pronounced the book to be orthodox. After this Sanā'ī returned to Ḡhazni, but continued to lead the religious life. [Besides the *Ḥadiqat* Sanā'ī has left six more *Mathnawī's*, viz. *Tārik al-Taḥīk*, *Ḡharīb-nāma*, *Sair al-'Ibād ilā 'L-Ma'ād*, *Kār-nāma*, *Isḥāq-nāma* and *'Aḥl-nāma*. The *Ḥadiqat*

was commented upon by 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Abbāsī, who wrote in the time of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Dījhān].

It is said that Bahram (1118—1152), the fifteenth king of the Ghaznawid dynasty, offered his sister in marriage to Sanā'ī, who begged that he might be excused, as he sought neither wealth nor worldly rank. As the year of his death 526 (1131) as well as 576 (1181) is given; the latter is, however, very improbable.

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(T. W. HAIG)

ṢANAM (A., plur. *aṣṇām*) is explained in the dictionaries and the commentaries of the Qur'ān as meaning "an object which is worshipped besides God", and it is as a rule distinguished from the word *wathan* (plur. *awṭhān*) as being a thing having shape and made of stone, wood or metal, while the latter is almost synonymous with "picture or painting". This is also the explanation given by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Kitāb al-Aṣṇām*. The Arabic dictionaries state further that it is a word of foreign origin, derived from the word *shanam*, but do not know the language from which it is borrowed. According to the European philologists, it is etymologically identical with Hebrew *šēlem* "image". A deity named Š-l-m occurs in the Aramaic inscription of Taimā'. Cf. further J. Hehn in *Festschrift-Sachau*, Berlin 1915, p. 36 sqq. The word occurs five times in the Qur'ān (vi. 74; vii. 134; xiv. 38; xxi. 58 and xxvi. 71) and is frequently mentioned in traditions, though not as often as the word *Wathan*. From the description of the idols worshipped by the pre-Islamic Arabs, enumerated by Ibn al-Kalbī, the word Ṣanam appears to apply to objects of very varying character. Some were actual sculptures like Hubal, Isāf and Nā'ila; so were the other idols set up round the Ka'ba. Muḥammad when he entered Mekka as victor is stated to have struck them in the eyes with the end of his bow before he had them dragged down and destroyed by fire. Others were trees like al-'Uzzā and many were mere stones like al-Lāt. Stones are well-known as objects of worship by the Semites in general and the traditionist al-Dārimī states early in the first chapter of his *Musnad* that in the time of paganism

the Arabs, whenever they found a stone remarkable for its shape, colour or size, set it up as an object of worship. These stones called *Nuṣub* (plur. *Anṣāb*) had libations poured over them and were circumambulated as a special act of worship. There can be no doubt that the Black Stone in the Ka'ba is but a survival of this stone-worship. Ibn al-Kalbī states that the Arabs were not content with setting up stones for idols, but even took such stones with them on their journeys. The word Ṣanam, however, does not mean a "god"; it always appears to have a derogatory meaning. For this reason it is found only very rarely in verses ascribed to poets of the time of paganism. The passages are so few which I have found that I can enumerate them; the verses are by Zaid b. 'Amr b. Nufail (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣṇām*, p. 22, 2 = Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 145, 10), Kāshid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sulamī (*Aṣṇām*, p. 31, 10 = *Khizāna*, iii. 245, 12), and most instructive of all is the verse of 'Abid b. al-'Abras (*Diwān*, ed. Lyall, ii., verse 6 = *Aṣṇām*, p. 63, 4): "And they took in exchange for their god Ya'būb an idol". In the poetry after Islām the word is used by al-Kuṭāmī (*Diwān*, ed. Barth, 23, verse 25) and Ibn Kaīs al-Ruḳaiyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis, 61, verse 27) in the ordinary meaning of "idol, Götze". The numerous names of Arabic idols with all that can be traced about them in ancient Arabic literature are found in the works named in the bibliography. In the Qur'ān are named as idols of the past Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq and Nasr. The chief idols still worshipped in the Ḥidjāz at the time of the Prophet were al-'Uzzā, al-Lāt, Manāt, which were female godheads, and Hubal, who seems to have been the chief male idol; his statue was of red granite.

The enumeration of the names of the idols does not really belong to this article as the proper name for them is probably covered by the word *Nuṣub*. As deities the various idols had special attendants (*Sādin*, plur. *Sadana*), whose office was in most cases hereditary and who accepted sacrifices brought by the worshippers, performed the sacrifice and smeared the idol with the blood of the victim. The worship was not continuous, but appears to have been once or twice a year at the beginning of autumn and spring. Then the worshippers in their circumambulation would touch or kiss the idol, the object being to derive from the godhead some of its latent powers. These festivals of worship were the cause of the peculiar Semitic custom of pilgrimages to venerated deities. Though the gods had their special places and were particular to certain tribes, other tribes would come to them from great distances during the so-called Holy Months when warfare was suspended. In this way long before Islām the various Arab tribes maintained continual communications. Growing Islām was from the very beginning intent upon the destruction of all traces of pagan idolatry and was so successful that the antiquarians of the second and third century of the Ḥidjra could glean only very scanty details. Some of the idols were made use of for other purposes, as for example, the idol *Dhu 'l-Khalasa*, a white piece of marble on which a kind of crown was carved and which was worshipped at Tabāla, a place on the road from Mekka to Yaman, was in the time of Ibn al-Kalbī (about 200 A. H.) used as a stepping-stone under the door of the mosque at Tabāla. Other stones which had been worshipped as idols were actually used as

corner-stones of the Ka'ba and as such we must consider also the Maḳām Ibrāhīm.

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(F. KRENKOW)

SANĀR (P., a corruption of *sad ainār*), the name given in the reign of Fāṭh 'Alī Shāh of Persia (1212—1250 = 1797—1834) to a silver coin, the half 'abbāsī or maḥmūdī; it weighed 36 grains (2.34 grammes). With its multiples it was abolished at Fāṭh 'Alī's reform of the currency in the thirtieth year of his reign.

(J. ALLAN)

SANDĀBIL, said to be the capital of China. The name and description of the town in Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, iii. 451, 5) and Zakariyā al-Kāzwinī (*Adjā'ib al-Maḥlūkāt*, ii. 30 sq.) are taken from the undoubtedly fraudulent story of his travels by Abū Dulaf Miṣ'ar b. Muḥalhil (see the art. *Miṣ'ar*), who claims to have accompanied an embassy of the Chinese king Kālin b. al-Shakhī to the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad († 331 = 943) from Khurāsān back to China. J. Marquart (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 84 sqq., esp. p. 89) endeavours to show that Sandābil and Kan-čou (cf. the art. *KANSU*) are identical and that we have to see in the sender of the embassy "not a prince of one of the short-lived dynasties after the fall of the T'ang dynasty but the Khagan of the Uigurs of Kan-čou". This Khagan is said "to have felt threatened by the steadily increasing power of the Kitan", and "to have sought support and an alliance from the powerful Sāmānid". On the question of the origin of the name Sandābil for Kan-čou, Marquart only gives the suggestion made to him by de Goeje that Abū Dulaf confused Kan-čou with Čing-tufu (in Marco Polo Sindafu), well known as the capital of the province of Sz'čwan, where a separate dynasty actually did rule at that time. According to Marquart, "the latter town must be considered to have been the starting point of the return journey", which is obviously impossible as the return journey is described as being made by sea. So long as Abū Dulaf's story is not confirmed from any other source, the question will remain unsettled what relation his story of his journey and the alleged reason for it bears to historical facts. Nowhere is there the slightest mention of embassies from China to Khurāsān or vice versa nor of the matrimonial alliance said to have been arranged (Yāqūt, iii. 45, 22).

(W. BARTHOLD)

SANDAL, Sandalwood. According to al-Nuwairī, numerous varieties are distinguished. The majority, especially the white, yellow and red kinds, are used for the manufacture of fragrant powders on account of their pleasant smell; they are also used in medicine, while other varieties again are used by turners and furniture-makers or for the manufacture of chessmen, etc. At the present day the *pterocarpus* imported from Southern Asia, the

islands of the Malay Archipelago and Africa is used for fine furniture and the waste as dye-woods.

Bibliography: O. Warburg, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, ii. 220; Abū Maṣūf Muwaffaq, ed. Seligmann, p. 164; transl. by Abdul-Chalig Achundow, p. 227; al-Kāzwinī, *Adjā'ib al-Maḥlūkāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 258; Ibn al-Baitār, transl. Leclerc, ii. 383; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xlix., *S.B.P.M.S. Erl.*, 1916, p. 38 (al-Nuwairī). (J. RUSKA)

SANDJAK (T.), 1) flag, standard, banner (Arabic *liwā*), especially of a large size (more important than the *bayrak*, Ar. *rāya* or 'alam) and suitable for fixing in the ground or hoisted permanently on a monument or a ship; 2) (nautical term) ensign; pennant (*ikindji sandjak*), starboard; 3) formerly a military fief or *khas* of a certain extent in the Ottoman empire; 4) a Turkish administrative and territorial division; 5) (in the expression *sandjak tiken-i* or *diken-i*, from the Turkish translation of *burhān-i kāfi*, p. 88, 25) a synonym of *sindjan tiken-i* (on this plant see Barbier de Meynard [ii. 101], who gives it as a Persian word).

As al-Kālkashandī pointed out in the xvth century (*Subḥ al-a'shā*, v. 458), *sandjak* comes from the verb *sandj-mak* (not *sandjī-mak*, as in the author already quoted) which means "to sting, prick, plant, stick a weapon or pointed object in the body of an enemy or in the ground (cf. Sāmī-Bey, *Kāmūs-i Türki*). The form *sandjak* found in Čaghatai (Boudagov) and even in an old Serbian loanword (Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost-europäischen Sprachen*, Vienna 1884, ii. 50) corresponds to the verb *sanč* of the Orkhon inscriptions (v. Thomsen, p. 42; Radloff, p. 132). Cf. also F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii. 78, 30 and 86, 48. In Kirghiz the form used is *shansh* (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv. 949) and in Uriankhay *shanish* and *zanish* (Katanov, *Opit izledovania*, p. 429 and 779, with the meaning "to prick, stab, erect, fix"). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (xth cent.), *Diwān Lughāt al-Türk*, ii. 171, 180, 182 and iii. 310, also gives (iii. 108) *sandjghan* equivalent to *sandjan* (*sindjan*) already quoted, which is a Turkish participle used as the name of a prickly plant.

The word *sandjak* belongs to a family of derivatives which all contain the idea of "point" and mean (the word itself sometimes): harpoon, fork, piercing pain, colic. Such are *sandjgh*, *sandjikkh*, *sandjikkh*, *zanikkh* (Tobolsk), *shanishkik* (Kirghiz), *sandjighi*, *sandji* (whence *sandjī-mak* in Othmanli). We may add on the authority of Abū 'l-Fidā' and the Turk.-Arab glossary published by Houtsma, Leiden 1894, p. 80 and p. 29 of the Arabic text, the proper name *Sandjar*, glossed *vaṣ'an*, in preference to the usually accepted etymology from *Sindjar*, the name of his place of birth (cf. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, i. 1872; cf. Index under *Sindjar*).

Sandjak has passed into a certain number of other languages; more recently into the Balkan languages (cf. the work by Miklosich quoted above and Saineanu, *Insumenta Orientalia*) and earlier into Arabic (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*; cf. also W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe de Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, p. 270, 90, 92) and into Persian where, according to the *Burhān-i kāfi*, it means or meant a "flag, a large metal pin intended to keep on the head a kind of hood worn by women"; "a kind of girdle". In Modern Persian *sandjak* (sic) simply means "pin" (in opposition to "needle") (cf. Nicolas,

Dictionnaire français-persan, under the word "pin"). Freytag took *sandjak* for a Persian word and the Turks still keep the orthography which it has in Persian (*s-n-dj-ā-k*) while they write the verb *şandj* with a *şad*. We may note that in Persian *direfsh* "flag" also means "point" (cf. Vullers), whence the Othmanli word *direwush* (cf. Hind-oglu s.v. "pointe" and "poinçon"). The *Burhān-i kāfī* gives us a variant of *sandjak* in the form *sandjūk*. If it is not a corruption due to the Persian, we have here another example of a Turkish word preserved through its use in Persian. The word *sandj-ūk* is very well explained with the help of the Turkish suffix *-ūk (-ik)* which makes a passive participle from transitive verbs. *Sandjūk* then would mean "sharpened, fixed". The suffix *ak*, with its tendency to designate place-names (which very well fits a flag "fixed" or able to be fixed) seems to have been more in use very early.

The etymological details which are given above without excluding the explanation of *sandjak* by "lance with a pennon" (it is that of al-Ḳalḳashandī who uses the word *rumk*) make very probable the explanation as "flag with a staff sharpened at the foot". Independently of this peculiarity it is difficult to say what was the exact form of the primitive Turkish *sandjak*; did they have a horse's tail (or the tail of a yak of which von Hammer speaks in his definition, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, xvii. 257) or were they always flags? Were they like the *čalış* (or *shalış* mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (for the references see Dozy, *Supplément*, under the word *djālīsh*; it has become *hālīsh* by an error in Djewdet Pasha and Ahmed Rāsim, quoted below in the *Bibliography*)? The meaning of these terms may be more indefinite than we think and varied a great deal with time and place. The word *tugh* [q.v.] which it was allowed to take in the meaning "horse's tail", meant, according to al-Kāshghārī, not only a "flag of silk or orange brocade" but also "drum", another symbol of sovereignty (i. 169; iii. 92). Ibn Khaldūn confuses the flag with the "parasol" of the prince or *djīr*, better *čatr* (Persian) pronounced *čatr* (al-Kāshghārī, i. 340), then *čadr* "tent", by the Turks who have preferred these words to their old *čovač* "silk parasol of the Turkish Khaghans" (al-Kāshghārī, ii. 149, 17 and iii. 45, 15; cf. the Othmanli *čoghach* "a place in the sun" and a passage in Rabghuzi in Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv. 59 under *djawač*!).

Whatever its primitive form was, the *sandjak* appears among the Saldjūks as an insignium of royalty. In the Turkish text of Ibn Bibi (ed. Houtsma, *Recueil*, vol. iii.) the word *sandjak* is always found in connection with the title Sultān (*Sultān-ih sandjaghī*). This standard is mentioned (p. 135—136, 144, 169, 170, 289 and 357) à propos of different sieges of strong places on the walls of which it was placed after capitulation. Sometimes (p. 135—136) it is the besieged themselves who, ready to surrender and no doubt seeing in this banner a guarantee of protection against pillaging, asked for a *sandjak* to be sent. It is not, however, necessary that the Sultān himself should be present and the historian (p. 357) shows us the *beylerbeyi* setting out on an expedition with the standard of the sovereign.

For a long time the neighbouring princes and vassals of the Saldjūks respected their privilege but the Atābeg of Moṣul, Saif al-Dīn al-Ghāzi, son

of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Zangī (d. Nov., 1149), was the first of the *aṣḥāb al-atraf* to have a *sandjak* carried unfurled over his head (Ibn al-Athīr, *Hist. des Atabeks de Mossoul, Recueil des hist. or. des Croisades*, vol. ii., part 2, p. 167).

The Aiyūbids followed the example of their predecessors.

In 1198 the Sultān of Egypt, al-Malik al-'Azīz, conferred on his nephew al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā when he became prince of Damascus "the *sandjak* and the *liwā*" to display throughout the world" (*Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn, Rec. des Hist. des Croisades*, v. 117). In 1250 Aibak the Turkoman, married to an Aiyūbid princess and proclaimed Sultān of Egypt, took part in a procession in which the royal banners were unfurled for him (*al-sanādīk al-sultāniya*; cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 516 of the Arabic text and 515 of the Latin translation). Among the Mamlūks, a distinction was made between the *sandjakdār* "royal standard-bearer" and the ordinary *'alamdār* (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mameloucs*, Paris 1923, p. xcvi); afterwards, in Turkish Algeria this distinction disappeared; cf. *Mélanges René Basset*, ii. 35 (under the press).

At the end of the Saldjūk empire in Asia Minor the *sandjak* became one of the insignia of investiture of new sovereigns, notably of the first Othmanli Sultān. In 1280 after the capture of Karadja Hīṣār by 'Othmān, Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn II to celebrate this conquest sent him by the hands of Aḳ Timur, 'Othmān's nephew, a *sandjak* "with its accessories" (*sandjak yaraghī*), as 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde tells us (ed. Constantinople 1332, p. 8 sq.); Neshri prefers another version (cf. Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1859, xiii. 207—209). 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde mentions in this connection that 'Othmān thus became *sandjak-bey* and we know that it was from this time that the *khutba* was read in his name (for the first time at Karadja Hīṣār by Dursun Faḳīh). According to the same authority, the *sandjak*'s were made of cloth of Philadelphia or Ala Shehir (p. 56).

When they became independent in their turn, the Ottoman princes appointed *sandjak-bey*'s in larger and larger numbers and the *sandjak*, somewhat diminished in splendour, became identified with the territory over which it floated; it appears henceforth as the name of a political division partaking both of the nature of the military fief and of the administrative representative of the central authority. The *sandjak* generally carried with it a *dirlik* (for *dirilik*, "life, livelihood, fief") or, more accurately, a *khāṣṣ* (a name given to a *dirlik* of an annual revenue of over 100,000 aspers). Above were the larger *khāṣṣ*'s of the *beylerbeyi* or governors-general of the provinces; below the smaller fiefs, the *siyāmet*, *timār* and *klīlāḳ*, to give them in their order of importance. Sometimes the Sultāns granted a *sandjak* to their children (d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 755; this is what was called a *sandjagh-a ḳk-mak*, Selānikī, p. 286) or to a *beylerbeyi* or retired vizier (for examples see Na'ima, ii. 23, iii. 336 and passim). The *sandjak-bey* or *mīr-liwā* who had a right to a horse's tail were not in principal the owners of their districts; they had the "possession" or *teşarrüf* of them, and were their *müteşarrif*. This term used from the xviith century (Na'ima, ii. 23, 8, 179, 13 and passim) was destined to become a rank in the administrative service (cf. below).

Sometimes the *sandjak-beyi* was only an official

appointed and given an annual salary (*‘ulūfa*), which meant that his *sandjak* was awarded by *sāliyāne*. This was the case with all the *sandjak*'s of the remoter *eyālet*'s of Asia, like Baghdād, Baṣra, Yemen, Ḥabesh, Laḥsā and Egypt, and for three *sandjak*'s (maritime) in each of the *eyālet*'s of the archipelago and of Cyprus (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, *Toḥfet el-Kibār*, f. 67). At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were 290 *sandjak*'s divided among 25 *eyālet*'s.

In case of mobilisation, the *sandjak-beyi* became military officer (*mīr liwā*²) and presented themselves at the appointed place of assembly (e.g. the plain of Isakci in Rumelia) with the troops collected by their vassals or subjects. The maritime *sandjak*'s were bound to equip a ship and make war by sea (*deryā-ya eṣmek*), sometimes at the same time as by land (*kara-ya eṣmek*). The word *sandjak* passed into the sea-faring language of the Turks and Arabs with considerable variations of meaning which can be found in the various dictionaries, notably that of ‘Alī Seiyidi, *Resimli kāmūs-i ‘Oṯmānī*, Constantinople 1325, p. 55 I (cf. for Arabic Ben Cheneb, *Mots turcs*, p. 48; Brunot, *Notes sur le vocab. mar. de Rabat*, Paris 1920, p. 80; see also *J.A.*, Jan.—March, 1922, p. 109). By an archaism which has survived in administrative language the word *sandjak* has continued to be used in the sense of “symbol of investiture” for a *beylerbeyi* for example (Wāṣif, *Tārīkh*, ed. of 1219, i. 81, copy of a firmān of 1175 A.H.) without taking account of the general meaning of “flag”.

According to Mouradja d’Ohsson, who does not give his authority, it was Murād III (1574–1595) who ordered the division of the empire into *eyālet*'s and *liwā*'s (*Tableau général de l’Empire Othoman*, vii. (1824) p. 276–277; cf. von Hammer, *Hist. de l’Emp. Ott.*, vii. 288–289, 40). Neither Pečewi nor Selānikī mention these reforms.

Sultān Maḥmūd II, having just after the destruction of the Janissaries (1826) suppressed the feudal military organisation, which died a natural death in 1837, the *sandjak* or *liwā* or *müteṣarriflik* definitely acquired the meaning of an administrative subdivision pure and simple. The *müteṣarrif*, governor of the *sandjak*, was henceforth a civil official, distinct from the *mīr liwā* who now became the modern “general of brigade”.

The division into *sandjak*'s or *liwā*'s was maintained by the law of the *wilāyet*'s (the former *eyālet*'s) of Nov. 8, 1864 (the administration of the *sandjak*'s is dealt with in Chapters iv. and v., articles 23–37) and by that of Jan. 21, 1871 (Administration of the *sandjak*'s, articles 35–42 and 90).

The government of the Grand National Assembly abolished the *sandjak* or *liwā* by the fundamental law of Jan. 20, 1921, called *teshkilāt-i esāsiye*, of which article 10 runs: “Turkey is divided, in accordance with geographical necessities or economic relations, into *wilāyet*'s and the *wilāyet*'s into *kaḍā*'s. The latter are divided into *nāhiya*'s”. In practice this arrangement was carried out by turning the old *sandjak*'s into *wilāyet*'s.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted above see: *Tārīkh-i Dīwān*, Constantinople 1309, i. 30–33 (quoting Wāṣif Efendi, but none of the printed editions of this historian gives this chapter); Aḥmed Rāsim, *Oṯmānī tārīkhī*, Constantinople 1326–1328, p. 7; J. von Hammer, *Des osm. Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 244–280; Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Sair al-Kabīr* by Muḥammad

al-Shaibānī, Turkish transl. by Mehemet Munib Aintābī, Constantinople 1241 (1825), i. 43–44; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, ed. Quatremère, 1866, 1/ii. 46 sqq.; transl. de Slane, Paris 1865, p. 48 sqq.; Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*², Paris 1853–1854, i. 44 sqq.; Belin, *Du régime des fiefs militaires en Turquie*, Paris 1870 (Cf. *J. A.* of the same year); George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1905, i. 36, 40, 41, 47, 56, 65 (for the modern laws). (J. DENY)

SANDJAK SHARIF (r. “illustrious banner”), the standard of the Prophet³ preserved in Constantinople. It is 12 feet long, surmounted by a silver cube containing a copy of the Kur’ān said to have been written by the Caliph ‘Uṯmān himself. It is covered with another flag attributed to the Caliph ‘Umar and with 40 covers of taffeta, the whole being in a case of green cloth; in the centre of all these covers is a little copy of the Kur’ān attributed to ‘Umar and a silver key of the Ka’ba presented by the Sharif of Mekka to Selīm I.

This standard brought from Egypt by this Sultān in 923 (1517) was at first deposited in Damascus to accompany the caravan to Mekka; then, in the reign of Sultān Murād III, in 1003 (1594) the Grand Vizier Koḍja Sinān Pasha to settle the continual mutinies in the army had it brought via Gallipoli escorted by 1,000 Janissaries of the Syrian garrisons to the camp in Hungary where it made a great sensation among the troops. Taken to the capital it left again next year. Finally in 1005 (1597) Sultān Muḥammad III going to war had this banner carried in front of him, under the care of 300 amīrs at the head of whom marched the Naḳīb al-Ashraf and the Molla of Galata.

Since then the banner has never left the Serāi except when the Sultān or Grand Vizier commanded an army in person. A tent was reserved for it; it was mounted on a staff of ebony wood ornamented with circles and with silver rings to which the standard was attached. At the end of the campaign it was taken from its fastenings and enclosed in a richly decorated box with many ceremonies, prayers and the burning of incense of aloes and ambergris. It was kept in the palace in a kind of chapel containing other relics of the Prophet such as the *Khirḳa-i Sharif* [q. v.]. Since the xviiith century 40 officers from the corps of the *Haram-kaḥudḍi* have been on guard over it with the title of *Sandjak-dār*.

On Dhu ‘l-Ka’da 18, 1182 (March 29, 1769), the Sultān Muṣṭafā III having sent the standard to the Grand Vizier Muḥammad Pasha with great pomp, the ceremony provoked massacres in which there were Christian victims and even Europeans of high rank. The Austrian internuncio, M. de Brognard, only escaped with difficulty from the fury of the fanatics. On Dhu ‘l-Ka’da 9, 1241 (June 15, 1826), the Janissaries having mutinied, Sultān Maḥmūd II took the *sandjak sharif* in person and gave it to his defenders who planted it on the pulpit of the mosque of Sultān Aḥmad III. This move contributed remarkably to the success of the reformer Sultān’s enterprise.

Bibliography: Es’ad Efendi, *Uss-i Zafar*, transl. Caussin de Perceval, Paris 1833, p. 125 sqq., 135; d’Ohsson, *Tableau de l’emp. othoman*, Paris 1788, ii. 379 sqq.; von Hammer, *Hist. de l’emp. ottoman*, vii. 277, 303, xvi. 203 sqq. (CL. HUART)

SANDJĀN RĀY (or **SUDJĀN RĀY**; cf. Rieu, i. 230; iii. 908), author of a general history of India up to the early part of the reign of Awrangzēb [q. v.], entitled *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*. Nothing is known of his life except the few facts that he mentions himself and the remarks added by transcribers of his book. In his preface (lith. ed., p. 6, 11) he tells us that from his youth upwards he had followed "the profession of drafting letters i. e. of a Munshi" under administrative and revenue officials; he was born at Batāla in the Panjāb (p. 71, 20); he had visited Kābul (p. 86), possibly Thatta (p. 60, 6), and the Pindjāw Gardens at the foot of the Himalayas (p. 35, 16). He based his *Khulāṣa* on a number of Persian historical works, which he enumerates, and having revised it two or three times completed it, after two years' labour, in the 40th year of Awrangzēb's reign, 1107 (1695). But the narrative ends with the events of 1068 (1658). His copyists tell us that he was a *Khatri* (Bhandari or Dhiri), and one states that he was proficient in Hindī, Persian and Sanskrit (Rieu, i. 230, where the passage cited is obviously corrupt); there is, however, no other evidence of the author's knowledge of Sanskrit. The work claims to be only an "abridgement of histories", but is of special interest as being written by a Hindu; it contains a valuable section on geography, the author being particularly well-informed about the Panjāb.

Much of the *Khulāṣa* was incorporated in their own works by the authors of the *Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirin* (Elliot, viii. 194) and the *Akhbār-i Mahabbat* (id., viii. 376). The '*Arā'ish-i Mahfil* by Afṣōs [q. v.] is an adaptation of it in Urdu.

Bibliography: *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*, ed. M. Zafar Hasan (lithographed, Dihli 1918, with an introduction, notes and index); H. Beveridge, *The Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*, J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 733—768; 1895, p. 211; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, viii. 5—12; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, i. 230; G. Sarkar, *India of Awrangzib*, p. xi. sqq., 1—122, Calcutta 1901.

(MUHAMMAD SHAFI')

SANDJAR B. MALIK SHĀH NAṢIR AL-DIN (afterwards MU'IZZ AL-DIN) ABU 'L-ḤARITH, a Saldjūk Sultān. According to the usual statement, he was born on Raddjab 25, 479 (Nov. 5, 1086), according to some, however, two years earlier, on Raddjab 25, 477 (Nov. 27, 1084). His muhammadan name was Ahmad; on the name Sandjar, see p. 148b. After the assassination of his uncle Arslān Arghūn [q. v.] in 490 (Dec., 1096), the young Sandjar was appointed governor of Khurāsān by his brother Barkiyārūk [q. v.]. Some time afterwards, however, the third brother, Muhammad, rebelled against Barkiyārūk; in Raddjab, 493 (May—June, 1100), the latter was defeated and had to retire to Khurāsān. In the meanwhile Sandjar had taken the side of Muhammad, who was his brother on his mother's side also and when Barkiyārūk made an alliance with the Amīr Dādāh, who ruled Tabaristān, Djurdjān and a part of Khurāsān, Sandjar took the field against the combination and inflicted a severe defeat on them. In the events that followed, Sandjar stood loyally by his brother Muhammad. During the war between Barkiyārūk and Muhammad, Badr Khān, lord of Samarkand, tried to take advantage of the absence of Sandjar to extend his rule over Khu-

rāsān, having come to an understanding with one of Sandjar's amirs named Kundoghdi, but was captured and put to death in 495 (1101/1102), whereupon Sandjar appointed his sister's son Muhammad Arslān Khān b. Sulaimān b. Boghrā Khān as prince of Samarkand and the provinces on the Djaiḥūn. Sandjar also came into conflict with the Ghaznawid Arslān Shāh b. Mas'ūd [q. v.]. The latter captured Ghazna (510 = 1117) and installed Bahrām-shāh (see the art. GHAZNAWIDS) as Sultān under Saldjūk suzerainty. After the death of Sultān Muhammad on Dhū 'l-Hijjdja 24, 511 (April 18, 1118), the sultānate was to go to his son Maḥmūd, in accordance with his testamentary instructions; but neither Maḥmūd's brother Mas'ūd, lord of al-Mawṣil and Ādhar-baidjān, nor Sandjar were satisfied with this arrangement. Maḥmūd was able without much difficulty to come to an arrangement with Mas'ūd but it was more difficult to satisfy Sandjar. The latter left Khurāsān with a large army and on Djumādā I 2, 513 (Aug. 11, 1119), a battle was fought near Sāwa. Victory at first inclined to the side of Maḥmūd, but as his troops were thrown into confusion by Sandjar's elephants, the battle ended in the complete rout of the former. After long negotiations an agreement was reached by which Maḥmūd was recognised as governor of the 'Irāk with the exception of al-Raiy, but Sandjar's name was to be mentioned first in the *khutba*. When Muhammad Arslān Khān of Samarkand became crippled he handed over the government to his son Naṣr Khān. The latter was soon afterwards murdered, whereupon his father appealed for assistance to Sandjar. Before the Sultān arrived in Samarkand a brother of Naṣr Khān's had succeeded in putting down the rebellion, whereupon Arslān Khān sent to Sandjar and endeavoured to persuade him to go back. But this aroused the anger of Sandjar, who at the same time suspected Arslān Khān of having designs on his life so that he laid siege to Arslān Khān in the fortress in which he had taken refuge. When Arslān Khān was forced to surrender in Rabi' I, 524 (Febr./March, 1130), Sandjar gave him his life but appointed the Amīr Ḥusain (or Hasan) Tegin and on his death soon after Maḥmūd b. Muhammad Khān b. Sulaimān prince of Samarkand. In Shawwāl, 525 (Sept., 1131), Sultān Maḥmūd died. According to his last will, his son Dā'ūd was to succeed him, but his two uncles, Saldjūk and Mas'ūd, also set up as claimants.

In Djumādā I, 526 (March/April, 1132), the contesting parties agreed that Mas'ūd should be recognised as Sultān and Saldjūk as heir apparent, while the administration of the 'Irāk was to be left to the Caliph al-Mustashid. But Sandjar was not at all satisfied with this arrangement. On the contrary he proclaimed Tughril b. Muhammad, who was with him in Khurāsān, as Maḥmūd's successor and made an alliance with 'Imād al-Din Zankī, whom he appointed governor of Baghdād, and Dubais b. Ṣadaqa [q. v.], who received the principality of al-Hilla. War was now inevitable. On Raddjab 8, 526 (May 25, 1132), Mas'ūd was defeated by Sandjar at Dinawar, whereupon the latter retreated to Khurāsān. In Dhū 'l-Kā'da, 529 (Aug./Sept., 1135), he set out against Ghazna because Bahrām-shāh was endeavouring to make himself independent. But this affair was settled without bloodshed. Bahrām-shāh submitted and

was pardoned. Sandjar also became involved in a long struggle with Atsiz b. Muḥammad [q. v.], lord of Khwārizm. The Qara-Khitāi also endeavoured to take the town of Samarḳand whereupon Sandjar crossed the Djaïḥūn at the head of a large army. On Šafar 5, 536 (Sept. 9, 1141), however, he was defeated and had to take to flight, thus losing the whole of Transoxania. On Sandjar's struggle with the Ghōrid Ḥusain see the art. DJASHĀNSŌZ and GHŌRIDS. In 548 (1153) the Ghuzz [q. v.] also rose. Sandjar took the field against them but was defeated and taken prisoner and only obtained his release in Ramaḍān, 551 (Oct./Nov., 1156). He died on Rabi' I 26, 552 (May 8, 1157). After the death of this clear-sighted and vigorous ruler the Salḍjūk empire began rapidly to approach its dissolution.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 279; de Slane's transl., i. 600; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, x., xi., passim; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii. 312 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Kazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, Index; Vullers, *Mirchondī Historia Seldschukidarum*, chap. xviii.—xx.; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, ii., Index; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 143, 145—147, 216, 224, 227 sq., 231 sq., 263, 270 sq., 273—279; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii. 107, 119, 169 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ŠANHĀDJĀ (Ibn Khaldūn tells us that the pronunciation of the word approaches *Zanāga*; both forms are still known. On the other hand we know that the Šanhādja have given their name to the Senegal which bordered on their territory). The Šanhādja are one of the branches or one of the great confederations of the Berber people. According to the theories of the western Muḥammadan genealogists, they are descended by Šanhādī from Bernes b. Berr like the Ketāma of Little Kabylia and the Mašmūda of the extreme Maghrib. No criterion, linguistic or other, has so far been able to justify this grouping. We do not know what was the kind of life led by the Šanhādja in ancient times and where they lived. In the course of the middle ages their name frequently appears; they were very numerous; their territory extended all over both Maghribs and the Sahara. Among them were great nomads (some still are to this day, notably the Tuāreg of Hoggar) and settled tribes, of whom it is not possible to assert that they previously led a nomadic life; such are the Telkāta. The Šanhādja are contrasted with the other great group, that of Zenāta [q. v.] who in the latter part of the middle ages succeeded in supplanting them. The Šanhādja reached their zenith in the first half of the middle ages or more exactly in the xth—xiith centuries (1vth—vith A.H.). This is the period when those whom Ibn Khaldūn considers Šanhādja of the first and second race appear in the light of history. We must, of course, use the term race with very great reservations. In any case it should be observed that several times the Šanhādja of one of the groups, wishing to secure the help of the Šanhādja of another group, appealed to the sense of solidarity due to common origin.

The first race, that of the Telkāta, in the tenth century occupied that part of the Central Maghrib which now corresponds to the department of Constantine without the Kabylia. The settled tribes and especially the descendants of the Banū Zīri

founded or ruled over centres of which the chief was Ašhīr [q. v.] in the south of Algeria. Supporting the policy of the Fātimids of Kairawān they fought during the whole of the tenth century against their neighbours in the west, the Zenāta, clients of the Umayyads of Cordova. They moved their action to the east as a result of the departure of the Fātimids to Egypt. The family of Zīrids ruled in the name of the Fātimids at Kairawān. A split led to the foundation of the kingdom of the Ḥammādids of al-Qal'a [q. v.]. Much weakened from the second half of the eleventh century onwards these two kingdoms disappeared in the middle of the twelfth, when the Almohad thrust into eastern Barbary was made. A little group of Šanhādja bearing the name survived into our times in the south-east of Algeria.

The second race of Šanhādja is represented by the great nomads who occupied in the xth—xith centuries the desert between the meridian of Tripoli and the ocean. The more important tribes were the "carriers of *liḥām*", Lamtūna and Masūfa, who played a considerable part in the religious and political history of Barbary and Spain under the name of Almoravids [q. v.]. Al-Bakrī gives us curious details regarding their style of life in the desert, their food and their tactics. The Tuāreg form part of this group.

Certain less powerful groups located in the Sūs and the adjoining valleys of the Moroccan Atlas belonged to the same Šanhādī stock. These are the Lamṭa and Gazzūla nomads and the settled Haskūra. The latter joined the Almohad movement.

Finally a third stock of Šanhādja is said to have lived scattered in the extreme Maghrib around El-Qsar, in the plains of the Šāwīya in the region of Tāzā and in the Rif. The Šanhādja Boṭṭuiya and Uryāghol have remained in the last named place to the present day. The name Šanhādja is still borne by one of the two *leff* into which the tribes of Northern Morocco are divided.

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SANTA MARIA DE ALGARVE, or St. Mary of the West, in Arabic *Šhantamariyat al-Gharb* (to distinguish it from Santa Maria of the East, in Arabic *Šhantamariyat al-Sharq* or *Šhantamariyat Ibn Razin*, the modern Albarracín, a town in the province of Teruel in Spain; cf. above, i. 250 sq.), formerly a Muslim town in the south-western part of al-Andalus of which the Portuguese have preserved the Arabic name Algarve = *al-Gharb* (cf. above, i. 256b). *Šhantamariyat al-Gharb* is usually identified with Faro, a little Portuguese sea-port to the north-west of Cape St. Marie, on the railway from Lisbon to the frontier station of Villareal de São Antonio, 35 miles from the latter. The Arabic ethnic from the name of the town is *Šhantamari* (cf. under this name the article on al-A'lam al-Šhantamari).

In the Muslim period, Santa Maria de Algarve belonged to the province of which Silves (Ar. *Šilb*) was the capital. It was a little town of slight importance till the Umayyad Sulaimān al-Musta'in Billāh entrusted the government to a

man of obscure birth, Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Hārūn, a native of Merida, about 407 (1016). The latter in his new residence set up as an independent prince and reigned till his death in 434 or 435 (1042—1043). His son Muḥammad succeeded him and took the honorific title of al-Mu'taṣim, but in 444 (1052) he was deposed by the 'Abbāsid Abū 'Amr al-Mu'taḍid who annexed the little principality of Santa Maria to the kingdom of Seville. But during the brief period of its independence the two princes who reigned there embellished the town and gave it numerous fine buildings, if we may believe the descriptions by al-Idrisi, Yāqūt and al-Ḳazwīnī; it had a cathedral-mosque and other places of worship and a church containing very beautiful columns.

Santa Maria de Algarve from the xiith century shared the lot of Seville and with the conquest of Algarve by Sancho II in 1249—1253 it passed finally to the Portuguese.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Description*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 179, 217; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 364; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 168; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, *Masālik al-Aḥṣār*, transl. Fagnan (*Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924), p. 87; Lerchundi and Simonet, *Crestomatia arábigo-española*, p. 55; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 261; iv. 300—302; do., *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbādidis*, ii. 123, 210—211; David Lopes, *Toponymia araba de Portugal*, extract from the *Revue Hispanique*, ix., Paris 1902, p. 28 sqq.; do., *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano, Notas marginaes de lingua e historia portuguesa*, Lissabon 1911, p. 78 sq.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SANTAREM, in Arabic *Shantarīn* (ethnic: *Shantarīnī*), a town in Portugal in the region of the Estremadura, 41 miles N. N. E. of Lisbon, 350 feet above sea-level on the slope of a hill on the right bank of the Tagus. This town, the ancient Scalabis or Praesidium Iulium of the Romans, takes its name from St. Irene (Santa Irene) who was martyred in 653 and thrown into the river at Thomar 30 miles farther up the river; her body stopped before Santarem and the name of the saint became that of the place. All the geographers of Muslim Spain give Santarem as the chief place in the district. According to al-Idrisi, its citadel on the heights was impregnable; the rest of the town stretched along the Tagus.

Conquered at the same time as the south-west of the Peninsula, it occasionally rebelled against the authority of the Umayyad Caliphs and it was for this reason that it was taken by the Ḳā'id Aḥmad b. Alyās by order of al-Nāṣir in 316 (928). A few years later, in 327 (938), the town was the scene of the rising by Umayya b. Ishāk against the Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III who had just dismissed Umayya's brother Aḥmad from the office of vizier which he held. The rebel made an alliance with the king of Leon, Ramiro II, but Santarem was taken from him by the Caliph's men. At the end of the following century the town and its territory became part of the independent kingdom founded by the Aḥṣāsids (cf. above, i. 178 sq.) of Badajoz at the same time as Evora and Lisbon. On the fall of this dynasty in 485 (1092/93), Santarem was taken by Alfonso V of Castile, but

recaptured by the Almoravid general Sīr b. Abī Bakr b. Tāshfīn in 504 (1111), along with Badajoz and the district of Algarve. Its capture was announced to the Almoravid sovereign 'Alī b. Yūsuf in a letter from the celebrated secretary to the court, Ibn 'Abdūn (cf. above, ii. 354 sq.) the text of which has been preserved for us by the historian al-Marrākushī. Santarem remained in the hands of the Muslims till the fall of the Almoravids and was definitely taken by the first king of Portugal, Afonso Henriquez in 542 (1147) with other Portuguese cities: Lisbon, Cintra, Alcacer do Sal and Evora.

In 580 (1184) after a raid made by the Christian garrison of Santarem into Ajarafe and the defeat of a Muslim army sent from Seville to retake the lost territory, the Almoḥad Sulṭān Abū Yaḳūb Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min decided to lead a force in person against Portugal and made great preparations with this end in view. Leaving Marrākush at the beginning of the year, he went over to Gibraltar, Algeciras and Seville; thence he marched on Santarem, then very strongly fortified and defended by a numerous garrison. The siege of the town dragged on and as the Almoḥad Sulṭān was wounded, probably from a bolt from a crossbow, and died from his wound on Rabi' II 18, 580 (July 28, 1184), the siege was raised. After that date no further Muslim attempts to retake the town are noted by the historians. Among celebrated Muslims born in Santarem may be mentioned the famous historian Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Bassām born in 542 (1147/48), author of a work entitled *al-Dhakhīra* (on him see F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, p. 208 sqq., N^o 171) and the poet Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Šāra al-Bakrī al-Shantarīnī, d. at Almeria in 517 (1123—24) (cf. Ibn Ḳhallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Cairo, p. 331—332).

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AL-SANŪSĪ, ABU 'ABD ALLĀH MAḤMADD (for Muḥammad) B. YŪSUF B. 'UMAR B. SHU'AIB, a learned Ash'arī theologian of Tlemcen, where he was born and died at the age of about 63 on Sunday, Djumādā II 18, 895 (May 9, 1490); his epitaph, however, gives neither day of the week nor day of the month.

He studied Muslim lore as well as mathematics and astronomy in his native town with such teachers as his father Abū Vaḳūb Yūsuf, his full brother 'Alī al-Tallūti, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Habbāk, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Kalasādi, the famous Ibn Marzūq, Kāsim al-'Uḳbānī, etc. He is said to have gone to Algiers where he studied under 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tha'libī. The scholars of the Maghrib, in whose eyes he was the reviver of Islām at the beginning of the ixth century A. H., all agree in praising his merit, his learning, especially theological, his fear of God and his zeal.

Among his disciples may be mentioned Ibn al-Hādjdī al-Yabdarī, Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣaghīr, Ibn Ṣa'd, Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Zawāwī. His works, some of which have acquired great authority in North Africa, are:

1^o. *Aḳīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-mukḥridja min zulumat al-djahl wa-riḳat al-taḳlīd* or *al-'Aḳīdat al-kubrā*; 2^o. *Umdat ahl al-tawfiḳ wa 'l-tasdid*, commentary on the preceding, publ. with it at Cairo in 1317; 3^o. *Aḳīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣuḡhrā* or *Umm al-barāḥin* and, more briefly, *al-Sanūsiya*, published several times in Cairo and Fās, transl. into German by Ph. Wolff, *El Sensus's Begriffsentwicklung d. mohammedanischen Glaubensbekenntnisses*, ar. u. deutsch mit Anm., Leipzig 1848; into French by Luciani, *Petit traité de théologie musulmane*, Algiers 1896; Delphin, *La philosophie du Cheikh Senousi d'après son aqida es-sor'ra*, J. A., Ser. 9, x. 356; Luciani, *A propos de la trad. de la Senoussia*, in the *Revue Afr.*, 1898, xlii., No. 231; 4^o. Commentary on the *Umm al-barāḥin*, Algiers, Bibl. Nat., Nos. 653-662, etc.; 5^o. *al-'Aḳīdat al-wuṣṭā* or *al-Sanūsiya al-wuṣṭā*, and 6^o. his commentary, Algiers, Bibl. Nat., No. 632 (70), Tunis 1387-1393; 7^o. *al-Minhādī al-saḍīd fī sharḥ kifāyat al-murīd*, commentary on the didactic poem *al-Ḳaṣīd fī 'ilm al-tawḥīd* (the text of which was published in Tunis in 1311) of Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Djazzārī, Brit. Mus., No. 628, 901, 1617 (3), Paris, No. 1268, Bibl. Khéd., ii. 35, Bodl., i. 66, 67, Fās, No. 1571, 1575, 1579, my MS.; 8^o. *Ṣuḡhrā 'l-ṣuḡhrā* and 9^o. his commentary publ. in Cairo in 1304, 1322; 10^o. *al-Muḥaddimāt*, publ. on the margin of the preceding with the commentary of al-Bannānī; Luciani, *Les Prolegomènes théologiques de Senousi*, Algiers 1908; 11^o. Commentary of the *Muḥaddimāt*, Algiers, No. 632 (80), 638 etc.; 12^o. *al-Muḥarrir al-mustawfī fī sharḥ farā'id al-ḥawāfi* Algiers, No. 1450 (20), J. A., 1854, i. 175; 13^o. *Muḥḥaṣar fī 'ilm al-manṭiq*, and 14^o. his commentary, published with glosses by Ibrāhīm al-Baḍjūrī, Cairo 1321; 15^o. *Sharḥ mukmil kamāl al-ikmāl*, commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Cairo, on the margin of the commentary of al-Ubbi; 16^o. *Nusrat al-fakīr*, Bibl. Khéd., ii. 172, Tlemcen (madrasa), No. 81, Algiers (Great Mosque), No. 88 (270); 17^o. *Sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*, Tunis, No. 1434(5); 18^o. *Kitāb al-ḥaḳā'iq*, Bibl. Khéd., vii. 620; 19^o. *al-Muḍjarrabāt*, publ. on the margin of *Muḍjarrabāt al-Dirībī*, Būlāḳ 1279, Cairo 1316; 20^o. *al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī*, Brit. Mus., 460, 461, Leiden, 1375, Bibl. Khéd., vii. 145; 21^o. *Hafīza*, Brit. Mus., 119 (2); 22^o. *Umdat ḥawāi*

'l-albāb sharḥ buḡyat al-tullāb fī 'ilm al-istarlāb by al-Habbāk, Algiers, 1458 (2); 23^o. *Sharḥ wāsiṭāt al-sulūk* by al-Hawḍī, Fās, No. 1583, 1585; 24^o. *Ṣalawāt*, Bibl. Khéd., vii. 168; 25^o. *Sharḥ Isāghūdī* (recension of al-Bikāfī), Algiers, 1307(3), 1382(1); 26^o. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukḥārī*, unfinished (my MS.).

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AL-SANŪSĪ, SIDI MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-SANŪSĪ AL-MUḌJĀRHĪ AL-ḤASANĪ AL-IDRISĪ, born in 1206 (1791) at Turḥ near Mostaganem (Algeria) in a duar of the *Ḳhaṭā'iba* (Ulād Sidi Yūsuf) of Zaiyānī Berber stock, and died in 1276 (1859) at Djaghbūb (Cyrenaica), the founder of the celebrated modern military brotherhood of the Sanūsiya (the "Senusis").

Taught at first by Abū Rās (d. 1823) and Belganduz (d. 1829) in his native country he went to live at Fes from 1821 to 1828 where he studied Ḳur'anic exegesis, tradition, the principles of law and jurisprudence. He then performed the pilgrimage, going via Southern Tunisia and Cairo to Mekka where he lived from 1830 to 1843 (except for a sojourn in Sabia); there in 1837 he founded the first zāwiya of his order on the Abū Kubais.

Returning to the west he could not stay in Cairo but settled in Cyrenaica, where he founded first the zāwiya of Rafā'a, then of al-Baiḍā near Derna (Dj. Akḥḍar), then Temessa, lastly Djaghbūb (1855), which he peopled with liberated slaves. There he died and was buried.

He had two sons: S. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (born 1844, d. 1901 at Guro), his successor, and S. Muḥammad al-Sharīf (b. 1846, d. 1896). The elder left two sons: S. Muḥammad Idris (b. 1883, given an estate in the west in 1909; Amīr under Italian protection from 1916 to 1923) and S. al-Riḍā. The younger had six sons, S. Aḥmad Sharīf (b. 1880; head of the brotherhood from 1901 to 1925; he took the side of Germany, went to Turkey and since 1921 has been conducting a pan-Islāmic campaign from Angora), S. Muḥammad al-'Ābid (given an estate in the south, in Fezzan, since 1909, he directed the Saharan rising against France in 1916-1918), S. 'Alī al-Ḳhaṭṭābī, S. Ṣafī al-Dīn (president of the Italian Parliament of Cyrenaica in 1921), S. al-Hallāl and S. al-Riḍā.

The headquarters of the order after having been at Djaghbūb (1855-1895) were transferred to Kufra (1895), Guro (1899), then back to Kufra

(1902), while the number of *zāwiya*'s rose from 22 in 1859 to 100 (1884).

Sidī Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī left, in addition to instructions regarding initiation into his order (types of *wird*; *sirr*: *yā Laṭīf*, repeated a thousand times), four works; one on the *uṣūl*, one on a harmony between the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth (established without taking account of the *taḥlīd* of any of the four rites; although the author calls himself a *Mālikī*, he postulates *idj-tihād*) and two on mysticism, *Fahrāsa*, the enumeration of his "chains of support" (canonical; 150, of whom 64 were mystics) guaranteeing the orthodoxy of his order, and *Salsabil mu'in fi 'l-tarā'iq al-arba'in* containing the *dḥikr* formulae of the "forty" previous orders [see *TARĪQA*] of which his order was to give the quintessence. This last work is the most curious. Although the statements in it are represented as received by oral initiatory transmission, they are, he confesses, taken from the *Risāla* of Ḥasan 'Udjaimī, 1113 (1702), imitated by S. Murtaḍā Zabidī, in his *Ikḍ al-djumūn*; the chapter on the *dḥikr* of the Ḥallādjiya is found word for word in the *Adāb al-dḥikr* of Abū Sa'īd Kādīrī, written in India in 1097 (1686) (MS. Calcutta 1280, cf. the Catalogue by Ivanov) which betrays a common source, probably the *Iḍrākāt* of the Aḥmadi Shinnāwī (d. 1028 = 1619).

His claims to the juridical *idj-tihād* were dismissed at Cairo in 1843 by the learned *Mālikī* Muḥammad 'Alā'ish (*takfir*); the followers of al-Sanūsī do not observe the *Mālikī isbāl*.

Initiated into mysticism at Mostaganem (Kādiriya) and at Fes (Tidjāniya, Taibiya), al-Sanūsī's ideas took definite shape at Mekka, where the influence of his teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsi (d. 1837 at Sabia), founder of the Khāḍiriya-Idrisiya, the ancestor of the present ruling dynasty of 'Asir and teacher of two other founders of modern brotherhoods (Rashidiya and Anūrghaniya).

Bibliography: For the order see the standard works of H. Duveyrier (1884), Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouans*, 1884, p. 481—515. On the founder and his family: Muḥammad ben-Otsmane el Hachaichi, *Voyages au pays des Senoussia*, Paris 1912; A. Le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, p. 257—258; E. Insabato, *Rassegna contemporanea*, vi/ii, Rome 1913; E. Graefe in *Der Isl.*, Berlin, iii. 141—150, 312—313; D. B. Macdonald in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. SANŪSĪ, p. 194—196.

SAR (P.) "head, extremity of anything", figuratively "idea". From the meaning "head" comes that of "chief" (Lat. *caput*), especially in derivatives. *Sar-i 'asker* (vulg. *ser-asker*) is among the Ottomans "commander-in-chief", "minister of war", transformed by the Arabs of Tunis into *Sārī-asker*. *Sar-dār* (q.v.; English transcr. *Sirdar*), "general"; *sardārī* is the plaited frock coat worn by Persians of the upper classes and by most of the officials (*R. M. M.*, 1914, xxviii. 225, note 2; Brieteux, *Au pays du Lion et du Soleil*, p. 360). *Sar-bāz*, "he who risks his head", a name given to the Persian soldiers since the reforms of Fath 'Alī Shāh (Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i. 40). *Sarkār*, "superintendent, surveyor", more frequently used simply as a polite form of address = "Sir", "Monsieur", a title given to the official tax collector in the Euphrates region (*R. M. M.*,

1911, xiv. 256). *Sar-kātīb*, "chief secretary". *Serden ge'di* (Turkish), "he who has renounced his head", a franc-tireur, forlorn hope, marching in the vanguard (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc*, ii. 77). *Sar-lawḥa*, illuminated frontispiece of a Persian manuscript. *Sar-andāz*, a little rug of felt which is placed on the woollen carpet at one end of the room (Chodzko, *Popular Poetry of Persia*, London 1862, p. 99 note).

(CL. HUART)

SĀRA. [See *IBRĀHĪM*].

SARĀ. [See *SERĀY*].

SARACENS. The earliest certain mention of this name is found in the work composed by Dioscurides of Anazarbos about the middle of the first century A. D. entitled *περί ὕλης ἱατρικῆς*, i. ch. 67 (i. 60 of Wellmann's edition, Leipzig 1909—1914) who describes the resin of bdellium (*muḥl*) as a product of a "Saracenic tree" (*δάκρυον ἀπὸ δένδρου Σαρακηνικοῦ*) and adds that it is imported through Petra and is of a quality inferior to Indian bdellium (on this cf. Bretzl, *Botanische Forschungen des Alexanderzuges*, p. 282 sqq.). The most recent editor has, against the evidence of all the manuscripts, not only altered the native name *madlakon* given by Dioscurides, which is vouched for by the Hebrew *be'adlach*, into *mal dakon* but also *Σαρακηνικοῦ* into *Ἀραβικοῦ*. In the contemporary *Hist. Nat.* of Pliny the Elder, vi. § 157, ed. Dellefsen, the Araceni are mentioned among the Arab tribes of the interior whose lands bordered on the Nabataeans, along with better known names like Taveni (Taïy) and Tamudaei (Thamūd); it is natural to find the Saracens in these. Ptolemy (middle of the second century A. D.), v., ch. 17, § 3, mentions the district of Sarakene in Arabia Petraea and locates it west of the "Black Mountains" (*ὄρη τὰ καλοῦμενα μέλανα*) which, according to him, stretched from the Gulf of Faran to Judaea "besides Egypt" (*παρὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον*). On the other hand in vi. ch. 7, § 21 he mentions the Saracens as a people in the interior of Arabia Felix; according to him, the Skenites and the *᾽Οαδίται* (= 'Ād; var. *Θαδίται*) inhabit the heights towards the north and south of them the Saracens and the Thamydens (Thamūd). According to Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v., Saraka is "a district (*χωρά*) beyond the Nabataeans; its inhabitants are called *Σαρακηνοί*"; under *Ταῖνοι* i. e. Taïy the same author says that they live south of the Saracens, giving as authority the Arabian histories of Ulpianus and Uranios. If Uranios, Stephen's authority, to whom the statement regarding Saraka must also go back, belongs to the period of the last Diadochi, as von Domaszewski (*A. R.*, xi. 239 sqq.) endeavours to prove, this would be the oldest reference to the Saracens. In any case, relying on the passages quoted we must seek the original home of the Saracens on the Sinai Peninsula towards the Egyptian frontier and in the vicinity of the Nabataeans, and B. Moritz has recognised their descendants in the little Beduin tribe of Sawārke, who live at the present day along the coast between Pelusium and Ghazza. These Saracens in the narrower sense may still be referred to in the letter preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 42, of the contemporary Dionysios, Bishop of Alexandria, regarding the Christian persecutions in Egypt in the first year of Trajan Decius (249/250): many Christians took refuge in the "Arabian Mountains", where they were sold

by the Saracen barbarians as slaves. In the different versions of the Christian *Διαγεωγραφία* τῆς γῆς, which is based on the Mosaic genealogies and dates from the third century, in the *Liber Generationis Mundi* and in the *Barbarus Scaligeri* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, vol. ix. of the *Auctores antiquissimi*, p. 107), in the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 45, ed. Dindorf), in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius (p. 113, ed. Holl), the Saraceni and Taieni are mentioned as people of some importance. In the tractate of Bardasanes *K'ēlābā d' Nāmōsē d'Atrawāṭā* (ed. Cureton, p. 16 of the Syriac text = p. 24 of the translation), which is placed in the beginning of the third century, the Tayōye and Sarakōye, for which the translation of Eusebius gives *Taianoi* and *Sarakanoi*, are the representatives of the independent nomadic Arab tribes; it seems that about the middle of the third century A. D. the tribe of the Saracens, hitherto little known, came to the front among the smaller tribes, incorporated them and disturbed the Roman frontier. In the ecclesiastical historians of the fourth century, Eusebius and Hieronymus, the Saracens are identified with the Ishmaelites of the Bible: they live outside of the province of Arabia in the desert, at Qadesh, in the district of Faran or Midian where Mount Horeb lies, to the east of the Red Sea; they were first of all called Ishmaelites and later Hagarenes and finally Saracens (Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* composed before 336 under Γεράρα, Κυδάρ, Μαδιάμ and Φαράν; Hieronymus in *Eus., Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 13: Ismahel, a quo Ismahelitarum gentes, qui postea Hagareni et ad postremum Saraceni dicti = *Chron. Pasch.*, 94, 18; do., on *Jes.*, xlii. 11, lx. 7, Ez., xxvii.; Epiphanius, *Panarion Haer.*, iv. 1, § 7: Ishmael founds Faran in the desert; from him are descended the tribes of the Hagarenes, also called Ishmaelites, who are now called Saracens). Henceforth the name Saracens is extended to the other Arab tribes also; the profane historians of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries (Zosimos, Rufius Festus, the Panegyrici, Julianus, Ammianus Marcellinus, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, who, according to modern research, wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Priscus, Malchus, Nonnosus, Eunapius, Menander Protiktor, Procopius) and Socrates and Sozomenos among ecclesiastical historians avoid the Biblical names and prefer to use the term Saraceni and only occasionally "Arabes", Evagrius exclusively *Συνήταί* (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 15, 2: Scenitae Arabes quos Saracenos nunc appellamus, and xxiii. 6, 13: Scenitas Arabes quos Saracenos posteritas appellavit, word for word also in Malchus, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv. 112). The names Saraceni Assanitae (i. e. Ghassānids) should be noted in Ammianus and Saraceni Thamudeni in the *Not. Dign. Or.*, Ch. 28. Finally, the Arabs in the north, in Mesopotamia and on the Persian frontier became known as Saracens (Marcianus Heracl., *Periplus*, Ch. i. § 17; *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ch. 20; frequent in Julianus, Ammianus, Procopius, Menander Protiktor etc.).

After the foundation of the Arabian Empire by the successors of the Prophet, the Byzantines call Saracens all the Muslim peoples subject to the Caliphs, and this name survived into the late Middle Ages even after the decline of the Caliphate of Baghdad, as is shown by the anecdote given by Ibn Battūta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti,

ii. 441), who was greeted in Constantinople by the Emperor as "*Sarākinō*, that is Muslim". The Saldjūks and Turks, on the other hand, are called Persians or Hagarenes. The name Saracens was transmitted by the Byzantines to Western lands through the Crusades and has survived to the present day as the name of the Arab peoples and the products of Eastern lands, as the dictionaries of the Romance amply show.

In striking contrast to the wide distribution of the name Saracen in the west is the fact that the Arabs themselves do not know the name, either for a small tribe or as a collective name for the North-Arabian tribes. The derivation from *saraka* "to rob" (as early as Joseph Scaliger) or *shark* "east" (Relandus) or even from *sharik*, as Sprenger suggested, are all to be rejected; besides, the spelling *sarkī* in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Targum Yerushalmi as well as among the Syrians points to *sarak* as the root, provided that this form is not based on *Σαρακηνός*, Saracenus. H. Winckler (*Altorient. Forschungen*, ii., Ser. i. 74—76) thought he had discovered the word *sharraku* in the meaning "desert-dwellers" in two passages in Sargon's Annals and derived the name Saracens from this. Hieronymus says in his commentary on Ezekiel: Agareni qui nunc Saraceni appellantur falso sibi assumpserunt nomen Sarae ut de ingenua et domina videantur generati; Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.*, vi. Ch. 38), Synkellos (ed. Bonn, i. 187) and others have repeated this interpretation of the name; it is once more dishd up to the credulous reader as late as the xviith century in a modern version in the *Travels* of Macarius of Antioch (ed. Balfour, ii. 169).

The descriptions given in various late classical authors of the manners and customs of the pre-Islamic Saracens, e. g. in Ammianus, Sozomenos, Hieronymus (*Vita Malchi*), Procopius Gazaeus, Priscianus and Procopius of Caesarea ought to be collected and annotated.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN)

SARAGOSSA, a town in Spain, capital of the modern province of this name and formerly capital of the kingdom of Aragon, on the right bank of the Ebro 600 feet above sea-level in the centre of a well watered and flourishing region (la Huerta). The modern Spanish name Zaragoza corresponds to the Latin Caesarea Augusta, a name given in 728 A. U. C. to the military colony founded by Augustus on the site of the ancient Salduba of the Iberians. The name of the town passed into Arabic in the form *Sarakūṣṭa* (*nisha*: *Sarakūṣṭi*) probably through the Gothic form *Cesaragosta*. From the time it was taken by the Muslims until it was regained by the Christians, Saragossa was one of the great cities of the Muslim empire of al-Andalus; its geographical situation gained it the title of "Upper March" (*al-thaḡhr al-a'lā*) of Arab Spain. In the time of al-Idrisī (middle of the twelfth century) it was densely populated; it was known as the "white city" (*al-madinat al-baiḍā*) from the colour of its ramparts built of blocks of tufa. The fruits of its gardens were

reckoned among the best in al-Andalus. The capes of beaverskin made there were famous throughout the Muhammadan world.

Saragossa fell into the hands of the conquering Arabs in 94=712/3 soon after Toledo. Mūsā b. Nušair, having been rejoined by Ṭāriḳ, left this last town and advanced on Saragossa which he took at the same time as the villages and *castillos* which surrounded it. According to Isidore of Beja, it was sacked and its inhabitants treated with the utmost cruelty. It was already a Muslim metropolis when, under the emirate of Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri, al-Šumail b. Hātim [q. v.] was appointed governor in 132 (749). He was soon besieged there by Arab rebels and had to abandon the place to one of them. Throughout the second half of the second century A.H., Saragossa saw successive revolts within its walls, which the historians have recorded for us. This is how it came to be in the hands of the local chief al-Ḥusain b. Yahyā al-Khazradjī when the army of Charlemagne besieged it in 778. The Emperor was suddenly summoned away to the banks of the Rhine; he raised the siege and soon afterwards in the pass of Roncevaux, where the Basques had prepared an ambush for him, suffered the fearful disaster the memory of which is immortalised in the *Chanson de Roland*. Two years later, in 164 (780), the Umayyad 'Abd al-Rahmān I marched on Saragossa and captured it. But it was not long before it slipped from the power of the Caliphs and in 175 (791) Hishām had again to besiege it and take it again through his general 'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Uthmān. Again in 181 (797) a rebel declared himself independent there and successive Caliphs had regularly to send expeditions to the Upper March of their empire to suppress rebellions — with more or less success.

At the same time (end of the eighth century) a Saragossa family, the Banū Kasi, attained great power in Aragon. They had adopted Islām; one of its members, Mūsā son of Fortunio, son-in-law of the first king of Pampeluna, Iñigo Arista, declared for the Caliph Hishām and surrendered Saragossa to him. Later, in the middle of the ninth century, the head of the family, Mūsā II, was governor of Tudela and commanded the armies of 'Abd al-Rahmān II which raided the frontiers of France. He helped this ruler to drive off the Normans who had landed in Portugal and in 852, the year of accession of the Caliph Muḥammad, he had in his power all the Upper March, with Saragossa, Tudela and Huesca. He lived like a monarch, exchanged presents with Christian kings, for example Charles the Bald of France. But he was defeated in 860 by the King of Leon, Ordoño I, and killed two years later by his son-in-law, the governor of Guadalajara. On his death the Banū Kasi cast off the authority of the Caliph of Cordova and the latter, Muḥammad, to counteract them allied himself with the Tudjibids.

This Arab family, settled in Aragon since the conquest, had its tribal rights recognised and its chief, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tudjibī, was officially appointed its head. In 888 on the accession of Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh, the latter learning that a plot was being hatched against him in Saragossa commissioned the son of the Tudjibid chief, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, surnamed al-Ankar (the "one-eyed") to put the governor of the town to death. The latter did so in 890 and became a by no means too dutiful vassal of the Caliph. He

finally destroyed the last Banū Kasi, whose chief, Muḥammad b. Lope, was killed in 898 below Saragossa. Al-Ankar died in 924. His son Hāshim who succeeded him gave his name to all the family and died in 930. His sons, the Banū Hāshim, were well treated by the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III but one of them, Muḥammad, rebelled against him in 934, joined the king of Leon, Ramiro II, and after a pretended submission to the Caliph leagued against him the whole of the north of Spain, including the kingdom of Navarre. 'Abd al-Rahmān set out to overthrow him; he seized Calatayud and then besieged him in Saragossa; Muḥammad b. Hāshim capitulated, the Caliph pardoned him and kept him in his governorship. His son Yahyā was general of 'Abd al-Rahmān III and of al-Hakam II in Spain and in Africa and governor of Saragossa from 975.

Later, in the reign of the ḥadjib al-Manšūr b. Abī 'Amir, a Tudjibid governor of Saragossa, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṭarrif b. Muḥammad b. Hāshim, hatched a plot against him which was discovered and the conspirator executed in 989.

On the fall of the Umayyads a grandson of the preceding, Yahyā, became governor of the Upper March and had a son al-Mundhir, who after fighting with the Slavs against the Berbers of Spain proclaimed himself king and made an alliance with the Counts of Barcelona and Castile. Under his reign peace reigned in Saragossa. The town became flourishing and populous. The glories of his court were celebrated by poets like Ibn Darrādj al-Kastali. Al-Mundhir reigned till 1023.

His son Yahyā who succeeded with the title of al-Muzaḥḥar died soon after his accession and was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir II, Mu'izz al-Dawla (420/1029). The latter was killed ten years later by one of his relatives, the general 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hakam, because he refused to recognise the Caliph Hishām II. This 'Abd Allāh tried to seize the authority but rebellion broke out among the people of Saragossa; and the independent governor of Larida, Abū Aiyūb Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd arrived quickly to restore order in the city and seized the throne of the principality.

He took the title of al-Musta'in and was the founder of the kingdom of the Banū Hūd (cf. the article Hūd) with Saragossa as capital and ruling the districts of Larida, Tudela and Calatayud. He died in 438 (1046—1047). Son succeeded father as follows: Aḥmad al-Muḥtadir Saif al-Dawla till 474 (1081); Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin till 478 (1085); Aḥmad al-Musta'in II killed in 503 (1110) at the battle of Valtierra won by the Christians. His son 'Abd al-Malik 'Imād al-Dawla reigned in his turn till the final capture of Saragossa by the Christians of Sobrarbe on Ramaḍān 4, 512 (Dec. 19, 1118); he took refuge in Rueda. Unfortunately we have very little detailed information regarding the reigns of these princes and the dates given for them by the historians are not always in agreement. Nine years before it fell into the hands of the Christians, Saragossa had been taken by the Almoravids for Sulṭān 'Alī b. Yūsuf on Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1, 503 (May 31, 1110).

At the present day very little survives of the Muslim period in Saragossa, which must undoubtedly have been several times rebuilt in the course of these centuries as a result of the strenuous and heroic sieges it had to endure. The "Seo" or

cathedral is built on the site of the former Great Mosque and there can still be seen on the north-eastern façade an ornamentation of bricks and squares of enamelled faience (*azulejos*) which probably dates from the Arab epoch. According to a tradition recorded by certain chroniclers and geographers, this mosque-cathedral was founded by the *ṭābi* [q. v.] Ḥanash b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣan'ānī who died in 100 (718/719); he was buried with one of his companions opposite the *mihrāb*. The mosque was enlarged in 242 (856), in the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam.

At the present day the most important Arab monument in Saragossa is the palace which bears the name of Aljaferia (no doubt the Arabic al-Djāfariya, from a Djāfar or Ibn Djāfar, whose memory does not seem to have been preserved outside of popular tradition). This palace which has undergone many and far-reaching alterations and was partly destroyed in 1809 is now used as a barracks; it lies as the western end of the town. Of the part dating from the Muslim period there only remains a little oratory 25 yards square with a very pretty dome 45 feet high. It was supported by marble pillars with remarkable capitals, to judge from those that still exist. The *mihrāb* is adorned with a decoration in carved stucco, on a blue ground. Close to the oratory a little tower 80 feet high (called the "troubador's cell") is most probably of the same date. It is probable that the Muḥammadan ruins of Aljaferia date from the dynasty of the Banū Hūd whose palaces were numerous in Saragossa (we only know the name of one of them, *Dār al-Surūr* ["house of joy"], built by al-Mukṭadir b. Hūd). The Aljaferia deserves to be subject of a monograph, for it is a memorial of a period of transition from the beautiful age of the Caliphate of Cordova to the century of the Alhambra.

Among famous Muslims born in Saragossa may be mentioned the great traditionist Abū 'Alī Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Fierro b. Haiyūn al-Ṣadafī, known as Ibn Sukkara, born in 452 (1060) and died "a martyr" at the battle of Cutanda in 514 (1120). It was to his pupils that Ibn al-Abbār in the following century devoted an encyclopaedia (*mu'djam*) published by F. Codera in vol. iv. of his *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* (cf. the references in the *J. A.*, 1923, ccii. 223 and note 1).

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SARĀI, capital of the Golden Horde; cf. the articles *KIPČAK* and *MONGOLS*. The name is in Persian *sarāi* = palace; nevertheless it is frequently written *ṣarāi* in Arabic works. On its foundation by Bātu and the name Sarāi Berke see above, i. 683^a and 709^a. The geographers and historians speak only of one town of this name but on the coins we find a New-Sarāi (*Sarāi al-Djādid*) mentioned: the earliest coin struck in New-Sarāi is dated 710 A. H. The only historical reference to New-Sarāi so far known is the mention of the death of the Khān Özbeg (the date given is 742 A. H.) in New-Sarāi in Shams al-Dīn al-Shudjā'i al-Miṣrī and quoting him in Ibn Kāḍī Shuhba (text in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchysya k istorii zolotoi Ordā*, p. 254 and 445). Two ruined sites on the Akhtuba, which branches off from the Volga, are regarded as the ruins of Sarāi, now called Tzarew and Selitrennoye or Selitrennfy Gorodok. Which of the two was the capital of the Golden Horde and when, whether there were one or two Sarāi's (that is whether New-Sarāi was a new part of the town or a town built on another site) are questions often disputed since the xviiith century by scholars and not yet decided even now. The sources are obscure and contradictory on many points; thus the distance given by Abu 'l-Fidā² (and many others) between the mouth of the Volga and Sarāi (2 days' journey) suits Selitrennoye; on the other hand Abu 'l-Fidā² says in the same passage (ed. Reinaud, p. 217) that the town is built in a plain (*fi mustawīn min al-arḍ*) which is only true of Tzarew (Selitrennoye is built on hills). The same information is found in Ibn Baṭṭūta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 477: *fi basīṭin min al-arḍ*); the description by Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī, according to which there was a pond in the middle of the town, also fits Tzarew (text by Tiesenhausen, p. 220). The excavations conducted for a series of years (1843-1851) by A. Tereshchenko in and around Tzarew show there are certainly the remains of a large town there. It is on the results of these excavations that the view first expressed by Grigoryew as long ago as 1845 is based that the ruins of Sarāi can only be

at Tzarew; and at most at Selitrennoye we have the town built by Bātū and later supplanted by the Sarāi of Berke. Under the influence of Grigoryew's pamphlet Solowjew in his *History of Russia* (edition of the Society "Oūšē. Pol'za", i. 841) located Sarāi at Tzarew and not at Selitrennoye, as Karamzin (vol. iv., note 74; German edition, Riga 1823, iv., note 53, p. 263) had done. The ruins at Selitrennoye have so far been only superficially examined; they occupy almost as large an area as the ruins of Tzarew (both sites are 8 miles long, the ruins of Tzarew 2½ miles broad and at Selitrennoye 2 miles broad) but the finds made there are much less important. The view expressed by G. Sablukov in 1844 (*Očerki vnutrennyego sostoyaniya Kipčakskago tzarstva*, repr. by N. Katanow, Kazan 1895, p. 28) that Selitrennoye is Old-Sarāi and Tzarew New-Sarāi was revived by D. Kobeko (*Zap.*, iv. 267-277) and more recently by T. Ballođ (*Starzy i Novyy Sarai, stolitsi Zolotoi Ordzi*, Kazan 1923); on the other hand A. Spitzfn (*Zap.*, xi. 287-290) locates Old-Sarāi at Tzarew and New-Sarāi at Selitrennoye. According to the narrative of a merchant given in Abu 'l-Fida³, p. 36, there was a village called Eski-Yūrt ("Old Settlement") on the Akhtuba below Sarāi; this may very well refer to Selitrennoye. The finds of coins show that Selitrennoye was perhaps inhabited before Tzarew and certainly continued to be inhabited much later.

Sarāi was destroyed in 1395 by Tīmūr; the skeletons found by Tereshchenko without heads, hands or feet etc. must be regarded as dating from this destruction. Perhaps the settlement at Selitrennoye again became of more importance as a result. In 1472, Sarāi was ravaged by Russian freebooters from Niátka and is said to have been destroyed in 1480 by a Russian force in combination with a Tatar force from the Crimea. About 1554 at the time of the conquest of Astrakhan by the Russians (cf. above, i. 494^b) the towns at Tzarew and Selitrennoye were both already in ruins.

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SARAJEVO. [See SERAJEVO].

SARAKHS, an old town between Mashhad and Marw, where the frontier between modern Persia and Russia turns from E. to S., on the lower course of the Harirūd, which is at this part filled with water for part of the year only and then disappears in the oasis of Tadjān north of Sarakhs. Between the town and Marw lies a part of the desert of Karakūm [q. v.] which belongs to the area of the Teke-Turkomans. The Arab-Persian geographers ascribe the foundation of the town to Kai-Kāwūs, Afrāsiyāh or Dhu 'l-Karnain. The soil is considered good but, as a result of the drought, is devoted to pasture only and there are few settlements in the neighbourhood. Camel-rearing was the principal industry of the inhabitants and the weaving of veils, ribbons etc. was for

a long time prosperous. The town consists of houses of mud or brick without any important public buildings. It was the birth-place of al-Faql b. Sahl, the famous vizier of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who is said not to have adopted Islām until 805/806 A.D. and was one of the most influential representatives of the Persian genius. He was murdered in his bath in Sarakhs in 818/819 A.D.; his brother al-Hasan died there in 850/851. The physician and mathematician Aḥmad b. al-Ṭaiyib, a pupil of al-Kindi, later the confidant of the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid, was also born in Sarakhs.

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AL-SARAKHSI, SHAMS AL-A'IMMA ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ SAHL, the most important Hanafi lawyer of the fifth century in Mā warā' al-Nahr. Little is known of his life. Probably born in Sarakhs, he studied under 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hālwanī († 448 = 1056) in Bukhārā. He then came to the court of the Qarakhanids in Uzdjand. There he was thrown into prison by the Khaḡān Ḥasan, probably because he alone of all the 'Ulamā' stigmatised as illegal the conduct of the ruler when he married his manumitted *umm walad*'s without observing the 'idda. Here he languished for over ten years and dictated to his pupils, who sat before his prison, his most important works, the *Mabsūṭ* (14 vols.), the *Uṣūl al-Fiḡh* (2 vols.) and the *Sharḡ al-Siyar al-Kabīr* (in 4 vols., printed at Haidarābād in 1335-1336), entirely from memory without using a book. Parts of the *Mabsūṭ* are dated from the prison in the years 466 (1073) and 477 (1084). When he had reached the fourth part of the *Siyar* he was released. He completed this work at the court of the Amīr Ḥasan in Marghinān in Djumādā I of the year 480 (Aug., 1087) and died in 483 (1090). His pupils were: Burhān al-A'imma 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. Māza, the father of al-Ṣadr al-Shahid († 536 = 1141), Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Uzdjandi, the grandfather of Qāḍikhān († 592 = 1196), 'Uṭmān b. 'Alī al-Baikandī († 552 = 1157) etc. His *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ* (vols. 1-30, Cairo 1324-1331) is one of the most comprehensive of the earlier Fiḡh-books. It is remarkable for the way in which the author works out general legal principles. Besides the works already mentioned he wrote commentaries on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ṭahāwī († 321 = 933), the *Kitāb al-Hiyal* of al-Khaṣṣāf († 261 = 875; printed in the *Mabsūṭ*, vol. 30), the *Kitāb al-Kasb* of al-Shaibānī (printed in the *Mabsūṭ*, vol. 30) and on numerous other works of al-Shaibānī. His books are still very common in the east; his *Siyar*, for example, is in almost every library.

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SARANDIB. [See CEYLON].

SARĀT, the mountains which run along the western side of the Arabian plateau. Al-Hamdānī, the greatest authority on the Arabian peninsula among the Arab geographers, says that the termini of the range, which divides the highlands (Naǧd) from the plain (Ǧhawr, Tihāma) and was therefore also called Ḥiǧǧāz by the Arabs, are the extreme south of the Yaman and Syria; al-Aṣmaʿī makes it stretch to the Armenian mountains. This mountain chain, which al-Hamdānī already knew not to be a single range, but a succession of hills immediately adjoining one another, is, according to the old records, four days' journey in breadth on an average, varying by a day or part of a day here and there. In his description, al-Hamdānī distinguishes the main ridge (*ǧāḥir*), then the lofty part, not belonging to the main ridge itself (*aʿlā 'l-Sarāt*) and the western spurs (*awsaṭ, ǧhawr, asfal al-Sarāt*). The average height of this great range, which the Arabs regarded as created by God to be a backbone for the earth, according to a story recorded by Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyab, is 8,500 feet. In the north-west the greatest elevation is the *Djabal Dibāgh* (7,200 feet), in the south-west there is a series of peaks which reach 10,000 feet, and, as in the case of the *Djabal Nabī Shuʿaib*, occasionally snow-covered in winter (10,800 feet), the highest peak in the Sarāt forming part of the huge Maṣānaʿa massif, even surpass it. The whole range consists of sedimentary rocks with a substratum of granite and gneiss and numerous volcanic cones between which often stretch wide plains strewn with black lava, which are called *ḥarra* in the northern part of the Arabian peninsula and *faish* in South Arabia. To the west the range falls sharply down to the Tihāma, which is a plain sloping from a height of 2,300 feet to sea-level, out of which rise recent volcanic upheavals in the form of peaks. On the east the hills slope gently down to the Persian Gulf. The Sarāt as a whole does not show any marked uniformity of direction but is cut up into large and smaller ranges which intersect in all directions. It is in general treeless and uninviting in appearance with black rocky ravines, ridges, peaks and pinnacles, round and sharp or jagged, showing all possible forms but always bare. There are mountain villages away high up on almost inaccessible heights which consist of stone houses of two to five stories, sometimes square and sometimes round, and form self-contained often quaint citadels, surrounded by yawning gulfs on all sides. Breakneck paths and bridle paths often hardly traceable on the rock lead up to the narrow gates which open into the villages; there are well cultivated fields on the slopes and in the valleys, laboriously erected terraces along the slope sink like steps down the valley. The valuable soil is kept in place by a wall built of large stones, rarely bound with mud and always without lime, and protected from being swept away. The rain-water is fully utilised for these plots and runs from the upper terraces to the lower ones. On these fields, which are protected from the great heat of the sun by shade-giving trees, the best coffee in the world is grown, and grapes and sugar-cane also flourish here. The long chain of the Sarāt is interrupted occasionally by broad plains. For example, the plain of Ṣanʿāʾ runs 15 miles to the south and about 7 miles to the north; the southern tongue of this plain runs after a short interruption through the Naḳīl al-Yaslaḥ into the broad plain

of *Dhamār*, the most fertile part of the Yaman and the richest in water.

The Sarāt owes its origin to those great volcanic convulsions which caused the young tertiary Erythraean subsidences, and created the great fault on which the Arabian desert sank with its hitherto undisturbed horizontal deposits. Weathering, wind-erosion, and erosion by running water then tried their strength on the steep western slope of the tableland which was transformed into a mountain system of erosion or highlands, which can be divided into an inner and an outer system of valleys and is furrowed with numerous valleys which on the western slopes run from east and north-east to west, on the south side run consistently from north to south and south-east and cut the highlands into separate tongue-like peninsulas which are again cut up by smaller valleys, the origin of which probably is also as old as the pluvial period. These side valleys have transformed the Sarāt peninsulas into hills of erosion or chains of hills, which has contributed to the very varied forms of the hills, which in part owe their existence to volcanic forces also, like the necks which often occur.

In summer the western slope of the Sarāt shows very slight variations of temperature; the heat is tropical and rises from 88° F. in June to 99° F. in August; in the winter it reaches a more endurable maximum of 77° F. At night, however, the temperature sinks to 36°–27° F., and in the high mountains in the winter to 23° F. so that the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow. From the middle of June to the end of September is the rainy period. The spring rains fall in April; thunderstorms are not uncommon in the main rainy season and in the winter months water freezes on the higher slopes, especially with a strong east wind, even when the thermometer is several degrees above freezing-point. A further peculiarity of the climate of the Sarāt are the Tihāma fogs which come in summer down to the bottom of the valleys, which the Arabs call *umma* or *sukḥaimānī*, and only disappear after the temperature has reached its maximum so that they bring their own mitigation with them, which is exceedingly beneficial to vegetation. The climate of the eastern slopes of the Sarāt is extremely dry in contrast to the very moist climate of the western Sarāt. In Ṣanʿāʾ the relative humidity sinks to 20%. Here also the rainy season falls into two parts (March, and July–September). Throughout the whole year it is possible to sow and reap, which is true not only of cereals but also of vegetables and fruit, which are ready at every season in some one of the numerous sorts. The vine, for example, flourishes all over the mountains of Arabia, although only in the river-valleys. The eastern slope of the Sarāt has an almost European character with respect to agriculture although the good soil is limited to the artificial terraces, which are also artificially irrigated. The valleys which have a perennial water-supply show that incredible wealth in fruit and cereals which was described so enthusiastically by al-Hamdānī. The occurrence of tamarisks, acacias and mimosas is characteristic of the desert-like eastern slopes of the Sarāt, but in addition to the *yāb-tree* we also find date-palms, numerous varieties of fruit-trees and the cotton plant as well as a great variety of medicinal and garden plants, among which the aromatic are especially important on the classic soil of Arabia Felix. The celebrated frankincense

tree now only yields resin in a few parts of the Yaman; on the other hand cactus-like euphorbias, balsam trees, 'Aden shrub, Dōm palms, tamarinds, rāk and a variety of resin- and gum-yielding trees, acanthaceae and sweet scented plants and shrubs are widely disseminated. Besides the most valuable cultivated shrub in Arabia, the coffee-plant already mentioned, the vine, the date-palm and countless varieties of fruit, there also grow in the Sarāt region rye, wheat, oats, barley, maize, sugar-cane, tobacco, *ḡāt* [q. v.], potatoes, cabbage, beans and figs. But these fruits of the earth do not drop into the countryman's lap; on the contrary, they are often won from the soil only after a hard fight. Only thousands of years of labour have made this remarkable district, which has landscapes rivalling the Alps in splendour, what it is to-day economically.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-SARĀṬĀN (the crab), Cancer, in astronomy the name for the northernmost constellation in the ecliptic which the sun enters at the beginning of summer. The *ṣūrat al-sarāṭān* (Greek: *Καρκίνος*, Latin: Cancer) with the Arabs (exactly according to the *Almagest* of Ptolemy) consists of nine stars with an additional four outside the actual figure of the crab. Even the brightest stars in the constellation are only of the fourth magnitude; four of them form a smooth upright curve, the two outer being on the pincers (*al-sabānī al-djānūbī* and *al-sabānī al-šimālī*) while the two central ones, forming the eyes of the crab, are called the little asses (*al-ḥimārān, asini, aselli*); between them is a group of stars, the Beehive (*al-maʿlaf, braesepé*), looking like a little cloud to the naked eye but showing about 40 stars when seen through a telescope. In the centre of an opposite curve on the hind-legs of the crab is the celebrated and much studied multiple star ζ Cancri.

With the entry of the sun into the head of Cancer it reaches its greatest (northern) declination which is equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic E (Arabic: *al-maʿl al-aṣṣam*). But this figure (now = 23° 27') is not a constant magnitude; it alters with time within moderate limits. Astronomical

calculation has shown that it can be found from the formula

$$E = 23^{\circ} 27' 8''.26 - 46''.845 T - 0''.0059 T^2 + 0''.00181 T^3$$

where T is reckoned in units of 100 tropic years and from the initial year 1900.0. Thus, for example, for the year 1000 A.D. $E = 23^{\circ} 34' 8''.07$ (cf. S. Newcomb, *Elements of the four Inner Planets and the fundamental Constants of Astronomy*, Washington 1895, p. 196). This variation in E, which from a present diminution will again pass into an increase, was well known to the Arab astronomers. The Fātimid astronomer Ibn Yūnus († Cairo 1009) has given us in his *al-Ziḡ al-kabir al-Ḥākīmī* (MS. Leiden 1057, Chap. xi., f. 222) a historical account of the measurements of the obliquity of the ecliptic by the Arabs, from which the following is taken. According to Ptolemy, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus had estimated the obliquity of the ecliptic at $\frac{1}{4}$ of the circumference = 23° 51' 20", "and I do not know of any observation for the greatest declination between Ptolemy and the authors of the tested tables (*aṣḥāb al-mumtaḥan*) except this one which was made in the year 16. of the Hidjra (i.e. after 776 A.D.) and its observer mentions that the greatest declination is 23° 31'." Al-Ma'mūn's astronomers from their observations at al-Shammāsīya (a quarter and gate in Baghdad) found that $E = 23^{\circ} 33'$ and the same figure is given by Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Kh̄wārizmī in his *Ziḡ* and Muḥ. b. Kathīr al-Farḡānī in his book "On the Use of the Astrolabe". The astronomers Kh̄alīd b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Marwarrūdhī, Abu 'l-Sanad b. Ṭaiyib 'Alī and 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Aṣṭorlābī etc. of Damascus who took observations after the death of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr with the instrument that al-Ma'mūn ordered them to use when he took the field against the Byzantines, mention that they had found $E = 23^{\circ} 33' 52''$. Their measurement was made in the year 201 of the era of Yazdadjird (832/33 A.D.). The sons of Mūsā b. Shākir say that they had ascertained E to be 23° 35' in the year 237 of the same era (868/69) at the gate of the round wall of Baghdad. In the tables of *al-Taḥwīm* (restoration) Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Habash gives the following two values for the obliquity of the ecliptic: 23° 35' and 23° 33', "but there must only be one". In 243 A.H. (226 Yazdadjird = 857/58 A.D.) al-Māḥanī fixed E at 23° 35' 30": "And Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Qurra said: I have found old methods of observation before Ptolemy, which show that the greatest declination is 23° 35', and Muḥ. b. Djābir b. Sinān al-Battānī says that from his own measurements he has found it to be 23° 35'". The Sharif al-Fāḍil Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain Muḥ. b. Abī 'Isā, who is known as Ibn al-'Alam and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Šūfī 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar, found the value of E to be 23° 34' 2" and 23° 34' 45". Ibn Yūnus then gives his own calculation of the obliquity of the ecliptic to which he had devoted great care and found $E = 23^{\circ} 35'$. It may be further noted that al-Bīrūnī also took $E = 23^{\circ} 35'$ (*al-Kānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, Berl. MS. Or. 8° 275, fol. 85r), Ibn al-Shāṭir about 765 (1363/64) $E = 23^{\circ} 31'$ and Ulugh Beg in 1437 A.D. at Samarkand $E = 23^{\circ} 30' 17''$.

As the extreme daily orbit that the sun can describe in the heavens (in northern latitudes the longest day), the day of entry into Cancer (*al-*

Saraṭān al-arwaḥ) as well as into the Aries and Capricorn is an auspicious one. Therefore the representation of these three regions and their division into hours (*sā'a*) on the face of a sundial is of special importance. The symbol of Cancer (and of Aries) is a conic section, the exact shape of which depends on the latitude of the place and the position of the dial.

The name Cancer (*Kapvinox*) no doubt dates from Greek times. According to L. Ideler (see below), the name Lernaean is also found because he (the crab), according to the fable, crawled out of the swamp of Lerna to injure Hercules in the foot when he was fighting with the Lernaean Hydra. The name "Crab" is found on the famous circle of the Zodiac at Dendera (Egypt) which, however, dates from the late Egyptian period and must certainly have been made under Greek influence. In Babylonian the constellation (without β Cancri) was called (Mul) AL-LUL = Kakkab šittu, which probably is the name of an animal, but hardly crab. In the later texts of the Seleucid period instead of AL = LUL we always find the ideogram for carpenter (cf. F. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Münster 1913, p. 6, 54, 209, 210).

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p. 158 sqq.; F. W. V. Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Sternnamen*, Leipzig 1796, p. 75, where Persian, Turkish and Syrian names for "Cancer" are also given. The passage in Yünus on the definition of the obliquity of the ecliptic is translated in C. Schoy, *Die Bestimmung der geographischen Breite eines Ortes durch Beobachtung der Meridianhöhe der Sonne oder mittels der Kenntnis zweier anderen Sonnenhöhen und den zugehörigen Azimuten nach dem arabischen Text der Hukimilischen Tafeln des Ibn Yünus (Annalen der Hydrographie und maritim. Meteorologie, Hamburg 1922, p. 10 sqq.)*. A table of the observations on E made in earlier centuries is given in C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatēnī Opus Astronomicum*, Milan 1903, i. 160; for the gnomonic representation of Cancer, Aries and Sagittarius, cf. C. Schoy, *Gnomonik der Araber*, Berlin 1923, p. 26 and do., *Sonnenuhren der spätarabischen Astronomie*, in *Isis*, No. 18 (1924), p. 354.

(C. SCHOY)

AL-SARAṬĀN (A.), the crab; the name is applied to the fresh water crab as well as to the sea-crabs, *saraṭān nahri* and *bahri*. Al-Damiri describes the crab as follows: "it can run very quickly, has two jaws, claws and several teeth and a back as hard as stone; one might think that it had neither head nor tail. Its two eyes are placed on its shoulders, its mouth is in its chest and its jaws are sideways. It has eight legs and walks on one side. It breathes both air and water. It casts off its skin six times a year. It builds itself a hole with two doors, one opening into water and the other on to dry land. When it casts off its skin, it closes the door which is on the water side from fear of fishes of prey and opens the land door so that the wind may reach it and dry the new skin". Al-Kāzwīnī gives a similar account of the animal among beasts of the sea. The uses in magic and medicine are innumerable.

Cancer is also called *al-saraṭān* (after the

Greek). According to the *Ḥāmūs*, it is a tumour of black gall, at first no bigger than an almond; as it grows, red and green veins appear on it like crabs' feet. The disease is incurable and at best its course can only be prolonged; it attacks both men and animals.

Bibliography: al-Damiri, *Ḥayāt al-Hayawān*, Cairo 1319, ii. 16; transl. Jayakar, ii. 43; al-Kāzwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 135, transl. H. Ethé, p. 277; Ibn al-Baitār, transl. Leclerc, ii. 244. (J. RUSKA)

SARĀY. [See SERĀY.]

SARDĀR is a Persian word (see SAR), the etymological meaning of which is "holding", or "possessing the head", i.e. the first place, its current meaning being a chief or leader and hence a military commander. It has been borrowed in this sense by the Turks, who, however, sometimes derive it in error from *sirr-dār* ("the keeper of a secret"). Through Turkish it has reached Arabic, and in a letter written in 1581 by "one of the princes of the Arabs (of Yaman)" occurs the phrase "*wa-‘ayyana sardārān ‘ala l-‘asākir*" ("and he appointed a commander over the troops") on which Rutgers comments "Vocabulum *sardār*, quod Persicae originis est, ducem exercitūs significat". The abstract substantive *sardāriyyat* in the sense of the post or office of commander of an army also occurs; and it was doubtless owing to the familiarity of the Arabic-speaking people of Egypt with the borrowed word that it was selected as the official title of the British commander-in-chief of the Egyptian and Sudanese armies. In Persia the word was until recently much used as a component part of honorific titles, such as *Sardār-i Zāfar* and *Sardār-i Dīang*. In India it is used generally of the (Indian) commissioned officers of the army as a class. *Sardār log* means "the (Indian) officers of a corps or regiment". It was formerly applied to the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, and it is still applied to the valet or body-servant of a European in northern India, as the chief of his household servants. *Sardār Bahādur* is a title of honour attached to the first class of the Order of British India, an order confined to Indian commissioned officers of the army.

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SARDINIA (in Arabic sources SARDĀNIYA, SAR-DĀNIYA), an island in the Mediterranean Sea, lies $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles South of Corsica and 138 miles South West of the Italian Civita Vecchia, and has an area of 9,187 square miles. It is mountainous, and has a peak as high as 6,016 feet. Throughout the 160 miles of its length and the 68 of its breadth it consists chiefly of ranges of granitic rock or high plateaux. These ranges of dark hills convey an appearance of wildness to the island and make it anything but attractive, which probably accounts for its comparatively uneventful history.

The Nuraghi or circular towers, of which 6,000 have been traced on the island, bear unmistakable evidence that the island was well inhabited in the Bronze Age, but it is only when we come to the Phoenician period that we have definite information regarding the island. These invaders certainly did

conquer the island at about 500—480 B.C., and they were the first of a succession of overlords, who made the island contribute to their granaries. The Roman occupation bore more heavily on the Sardinians; as they had no free city on the island, they were compelled to supply much of the corn for Rome, and they were obliged to contribute a money tax. Little wonder that there was an insurrection of 80,000 slaves in 181 B.C. The island was useful to the Romans, moreover, as a place of exile. We read that in 355 A.D. Constantius banished 3 bishops to Sardinia, one of whom was Lucifer of Calaris. In 440 the Vandals prepared to attack the place, seeing, as they did, that it gave food supplies to the Empire, and in 476 the island had to be ceded to them. A governor of German nationality was installed to discharge all relevant duties both military and civil. Justinian finally recovered the prize for Byzantium, until the 10th century.

Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam in his *Futūḥ Miṣr wa 'l-Maḡrib wa 'l-Andalus* seems to put it beyond question that Sardinia was invaded at the same time as Spain, c. 92 A.H. He says that the Sardinians used their harbour to trick the Arabs out of plundering their valuables, and this seems not at all unlikely. That the Arabs made one of their usual raids on the island is certain, but they did not prolong their stay there. They paid another visit in A.H. 98 and 118 and carried through the same programme, but they never even attempted to maintain themselves in the place, nor is it hard to understand that such a place would little appeal to those who were born to the desert and the heat. In 130 A.H., however, they went a step further, and imposed a tribute on the island, which they succeeded in extracting from the enfeebled people. Meantime in 725 A.D. Luidprand, fearing these repeated raids, obtained the body of Saint Augustine, and succeeded in removing it out of danger to Pavia. This great treasure of the Church had lain at Cagliari since the 6th century. Once again before the 8th century was ended Sardinia suffered another plunder at the hands of the Arabs (143 A.H.). The Saracens never used the island for purposes of grain-producing, as had the previous conquerors, but in 227 A.H., when they made their daring attack on Rome, they used Sardinia as their rendezvous, before making the final onslaught on the capital. Not even in the 10th century A.D. did Sardinia cease to be the quarry of the Arabs, for we read that, when 'Ubaid Allāh the Mahdī was plundering Genoa, in 332/3 A.H., he did not forget to take what plunder he could from Sardinia. The last mention of Arab influence in the island is when Mudjāhid of Denia, in Spain, subjugated it in 393 A.H. Never again were the formidable raiders of the Mediterranean Sea to strike terror into the inhabitants of Sardinia, and it seems strange that in exchange for all their plunder the Arabs gave neither culture nor trade, religion nor art, as a recompense and a memorial of their presence.

Pisan supremacy followed that of the Arabs, and this again was succeeded by that of Aragon. In modern times the island has changed hands several times, having been Spanish and French and Austrian. Its ties, however, are all with the present possessors, and Italy seems to be inaugurating a new regime.

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(T. CROUTHER GORDON)

SARĖKAT ISLAM (*sarĕkat*, Javanese pronunciation of the Arabic *sharika*, a brotherhood or guild), a political combination of Muhammadan Indonesians formed in Surakarta (Java), which has played an important part in the history of the development of the native population of the Dutch East Indies and in Dutch colonial policy in the last fifteen years. Its object was to secure for the native element a more prominent position socially, politically and economically, at the same time retaining Islām, which is the natural bond that links together the very diverse elements of a great part of the native population of the Dutch Indies. The leaders of the Sarĕkat Islam would not, however, themselves subscribe to this, but would give other definitions and estimates of its objects according to local conditions, if indeed they give any reply at all when asked about the objects of their organisation.

Early History. While the position of the masses of the Javanese natives as regards their own rulers had from the earliest times been characterised by extreme subservience, during the nineteenth century the independence of both the people and their lords became more and more limited by the gradually increasing influence of the Dutch. The national pride with which they looked back on a past in which the whole Indian Archipelago was under a Javanese hegemony was more and more supplanted by a feeling of dependence and inferiority to foreigners (Dutch, Arab or Chinese), of whom the Dutch in particular and later on the Chinese only rarely concealed the slight estimation in which they held the natives. When about the end of last century a few progressives among the *priyayi*'s (aristocracy) of Java for the first time wished to give their sons a European education, they did, it is true, receive support from a few Dutchmen, but a considerable majority of the officials offered marked resistance to this innovation, and the few who made the experiment found it made very difficult for them to find a place in society in keeping with their newly acquired qualifications. Nevertheless, a small body of educated Javanese was gradually formed, and naturally it was they who least appreciated foreign tutelage. Then came the events in the Far East and their reaction on the situation in the Dutch Indies. Even before the Russo-Japanese war (1904—1905) the Japanese had been granted equality with the Europeans in the Dutch East Indies. After the foundation of the Chinese Republic in 1911, Chinese warships visited Java and Chinese officials came to enquire into the position of their compatriots; the Chinese in the Dutch Indies were granted (from 1908) the Dutch-Chinese schools which they had desired for some years, the restrictions on their freedom of movement were abolished (1910) and more satisfactory arrangements were made for the administration of justice (1912). The Arabs also

shared the advantage of the new legal position of the Oriental foreigners, but the position of the Javanese remained the same.

In 1908 the League of Young Javanese *Budi Utama* ("noble endeavour") was founded by students of the Dokter-djawa (native medical) school in Batavia, the first modest attempt to obtain from the authorities the fulfilment of some of their desires by organisation, particularly more and better education. The father of the movement, which was regarded with suspicion not only by the Dutch but also by many conservative Javanese, was the "Dokter-djawa" Wahidin = Sudira-Usada. Such adherents as this first Javanese organisation found belonged to the higher classes of Javanese society; the masses did not join it, but they also began gradually to desire a reorganisation of social conditions and for a number of reasons.

a. Their social position was thoroughly unsatisfactory. In contrast to the foreign Orientals the Indonesians had to pay marks of homage to their European or native masters (*hormat*, Ar. *hurma*). It is true that the central government repeatedly ameliorated these *hormat* but the practice for the most part continued. The administration of the law very much favoured Europeans; detention for examination, applied not only to accused persons but for convenience often to witnesses also, was an evil which had not yet been entirely abolished; trial and punishment by the police were not always just and were imposed only on natives; the security of private property was often very slight; cases occurred in which a man preferred to say nothing about a robbery of his possessions rather than bring down upon his head the unpleasant efforts of the authorities. The few rights were not equal to the hardships of forced labour and the frequent ill-treatment of the native workers in European businesses. Education was very insufficient. In addition, as a result of the progressive development in China, the attitude of many Chinese, especially newcomers, to the Javanese became so presumptuous that the latter felt deeply hurt; excesses against the Chinese showed how deeply.

b. Their economic position had gone from bad to worse. The free development of native industry was much restricted when about 1830 the plantation system (Dutch "Cultuursysteem") especially for coffee, was introduced, which became a misfortune for the native population; when in 1877 the system was abolished, it had brought the Dutch government 832 million gulden — 21% of the State expenses (the so-called Indian Surplus). In the period that followed, the middle classes and the peasants were more and more deprived of their economic independence by the keen competition of European industries and plantations, while the retail trade had long been mainly in the hands of Chinese and Arabs. With however much tenacity they endeavoured to resist foreign competition, the decline was considerable, especially after the mainly native batik industry (turnover about 10 million gulden yearly; a short account of the native industry in *Koloniaal Verslag van 1920*, col. 7) was forced to use imported aniline dyes and textiles in place of the indigenous raw material (full details of this economic decay in *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart der inlandsche*

bevolking op Java en Madoera, Report of the Commission, Batavia 1905—1914, 32 vols. folio).

c. In the third place may be mentioned the fear of conversion to Christianity, although this factor had only been in operation a very short time and the movement among the Muslim population aroused by the activity of the Christian missionaries was quite different both in time and place. But the fact that Christian propaganda was more active, and found open approval with some members of the Dutch parliament, and that a warning had been issued from Mekka against it, was used by the leaders of the Sarékat Islam to arouse the masses in a way which would result in their joining the Sarékat Islam.

A comparatively unimportant incident is said to have brought about the foundation of the Sarékat Islam in 1910 (there are no reliable accounts of the first years). A case of dishonest practice on the part of a Chinese *kongsi* (company) in Lawéyan (Nglawéyan), a village near Surakarta, where very well-to-do Javanese merchants lived and where competition between them and the Chinese was unusually keen, is said to have aroused such bitterness among the cheated Javanese that the latter combined to bring about a boycott of Chinese goods. Out of this grew the Sarékat Islam, the organisation of which was perhaps modelled on the Sarékat Dagang Islam of Buitenzorg, which had been founded some years earlier by a Javanese and some Arab merchants. The name Sarékat Dagang Islam was at any rate also used in Surakarta. The Surakarta S. I., however, developed quite independently.

The S. I. did not long adhere strictly to its original aims. The movement spread with astonishing rapidity after the boycott of Chinese goods had been successful. The huge increase in membership cannot be explained simply from the hatred of the Chinese, natural at the time, but is rather due to the fact that the Javanese who longed for greater freedom and less tutelage thought that, after the successes won over the Chinese, the new union might assist them to a higher position as regards other foreigners also, i.e. this combination under a Muslim banner — in orthodox Lawéyan the union of the Muslims as such was natural — after it had once given proof that a victory for the Javanese was not an absolute impossibility, filled a gap generally felt in the circumstances described above in a, b, c, and could also bring within its ranks many people who had nothing to do with the boycott of the Chinese. Much more important than the details of its earliest history is the fact that this combination was able to rise and spread so rapidly, just as in the years following it was not single incidents and activities but the development of its aims that attracted attention to it. There is now a great difference between the origin and development of the S. I., which is due to the fact that it was born from the higher needs of the Javanese people, but developed under the deciding influence of external circumstance; — viz. the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the world economic crisis after the war, and collapse that necessarily followed in Europe. Ideas were brought into the Sarékat Islam from outside which were foreign to the Javanese people, who only demanded the fulfilment of modest requests and the satisfaction of local requirements.

The result was a great internal weakness which ended in the SarĀkat Islam losing the great influence it had as quickly as it had gained it.

The history of the SarĀkat Islam may be divided into three periods:

a. Up to the first national congress.

b. The zenith of the national congresses.

c. The decline of the SarĀkat Islam before the rise of the radical SarĀkat Ra'fat.

a. In the first period one can hardly talk of one homogenous SarĀkat Islam. Under the leadership of the vigorous and able Radĕn Usman Saiyid Tjakra Aminata, an inspiring orator, who soon, however, became dazzled by his own unbounded ambition, the movement spread beyond its home, especially in Eastern Java; in Surabaya the SarĀkat Islam newspaper *Utusan Hindia* (Indian Messenger) was founded in December, 1912, which was edited by Tjakra and long continued to be the most important organ of the S. I. Branches were later founded in Sĕmarang, Tjirĕbon, Bandung and Batavia. Admission was made very easy; the curiosity of the masses, the suggestive effect of the ceremonial secret oath, and the rapidly increasing popularity of the SarĀkat Islam brought it more and more new members. In the period of first enthusiasm the statutes adopted at the official foundation on Nov. 9, 1911 (the members were to promote a brotherly feeling for one another, to give assistance to Muslims, to work for the social elevation and economic advancement of the people by all legitimate means), were fairly generally observed. Soon, however, each local S. I. began to work only for its own local ends, and according to the views of local leaders. There were some which served the material interests of the people, e. g. by forming co-operative associations to strengthen the Javanese power of competition, others endeavoured by their intervention to dispose of the abuses to which the Javanese were exposed from officials and European employers, others again (e. g. the S. I. Batavia, which soon had 12,000 members) preached more accurate fulfilment of the duties of Islām. Expression was given to the desire for an improvement in the position of native women; an S. I. for children (*Sutarsa Mulya*) was even founded.

The successes of the S. I. in the economic field were but short-lived. The co-operative societies disappeared as soon as the first ardour of the members had cooled off; all economic activities suffered for the lack of financial training among the Javanese; S. I. funds were not seldom selfishly spent by the leaders of the movement. In the field of social progress the S. I. could certainly be credited with a general improvement of the relations between foreigners and Javanese to the benefit of the latter, although many gains were lost afterwards in the general decline of the movement. Interest in their religion was kept active by the leaders probably because they feared apathy. The bond of religion was to avert this evil. Before the National Congresses the S. I. took very little part in politics.

The first contact of the S. I. with the Dutch government seems to have been the temporary suppression of the Surakarta S. I. as a result of excesses against the Chinese (Aug., 1912). On Sept. 14, 1912, Tjakra presented a petition which asked the central government to recognise the

SarĀkat Islam. He received its decision on June 30, 1913. The government had long hesitated over its reply. Recognition of the, in themselves quite innocent, statutes involved to some extent a possible change in administration and in the colonial policy hitherto followed, which was based on the principle of the dependence of the native subjects. The leaders of the S. I. had shown themselves too weak to prevent the outrages against the Chinese; practice might very soon be in great contrast to their fine promises. An official recognition of the statutes which would give the S. I. a legal standing would be regarded by the simple populace as complete approval of all the activities of the S. I. or at least would be interpreted to mean that by its leaders. In a discussion between the Governor-General and a deputation of the S. I. on March 29, 1912, the former emphasised his personal sympathy with the S. I. but pointed out dangerous weaknesses which stood in the way of approval of the petition presented, such as, for example, the bad management of financial business (which has always been a weak point). Finally the edict of June 30 refused the S. I. the desired recognition on practical grounds, but called the attention of the petitioner to the fact that requests for recognition and legitimisation by local S. I.'s would perhaps not be refused; these local associations would also be able to combine to form a legitimate central committee of representatives of the local sections. The local S. I.'s were to be responsible, to standardise their formulae of oaths and to draw these up in such a way that they would be regarded as harmless by the government. The S. I. was therefore organised in accordance with these instructions.

The attitude of the officials in the provinces proved in general much more hostile to the SarĀkat Islam than that of the Government in Buitenzorg. This difference between the Government and some of its officials may have sown the seeds or been one of the most important causes of the native population's distrust of the Government, which was soon to appear. The frequent complaints of counter-measures by local officials, some of whom at first, in spite of the official recognition, even went so far as to suppress local S. I.'s, found sharper and sharper expression at the later congresses. The European population at this time was almost wholly against the SarĀkat Islam. A certain nervousness overcame them at times, especially when hostilities with the Chinese had taken place. The tone of the European press was at first in general contemptuous, later hostile; this brought about an increasingly vigorous reaction in the native press, which was growing very rapidly. The Chinese, of course, were hostile to the S. I.; the Arabs at first were on good terms with it and even had a considerable share in its early development; but when in the beginning of 1913 it was decided that only exceptionally could non-Indonesians be admitted to membership of the S. I., and particularly after the development of the S. I. on progressive lines began to hurt their conservatism, they withdrew. The relations between S. I. and *Budi Utama* were good although infrequent; representatives were sent from both to their congresses, etc.

b. In the period that followed, the political element became very prominent in the SarĀkat Islam and relations with the other political parties and movements became closer. The influence

of the growing European radicalism made itself more and more felt; European parties like the I. S. D. V. (Dutch Indies Social Democratic party) endeavoured to gain the S. I. to their side. The official trend of the S. I. became more radical year by year, but within the movement arose strong counter-currents. Tjakra was the representative of the legal, national-democratic movement; Sĕma'un became the leader of the growing left minority. This young man, an ardent follower of the I. S. D. V., made his first public appearance at the first national congress where he advocated "pĕrsèt" (Dutch *verzet*, "resistance") to the government but was hardly able to attract the attention of his audience; yet his speech was notable enough, for he was the only one who had the courage to point to the weak points in the national movement, e.g. the lack of energy. In contrast to the aristocratic Tjakra, he was a simple man of the people, whose work was distinguished by an unselfishness and an honesty unusual among Javanese. By the second congress we find him acting as president of the S. I.-Sĕmarang, where European radicalism had the greatest following, while at the third congress he had become a member of the C. S. I. (Central Sarekat Islam). Tjakra had only very reluctantly admitted him to it but he was afraid that this man, who promised more to the people than he did and had more understanding of their needs, would try to gain control of the business and he thought that he would more easily be able to keep him in check as a member of the C. S. I. In order not to lose his popularity, however, he moved more and more from his original attitude with the result that the opposition of the conservative wing increased. The struggle between Tjakra and Sĕma'un governed the development of the S. I. for the next few years. With great skill Tjakra was repeatedly able to avert a split within the Sarekat Islam but finally circumstances became too strong for him, and when, at the sixth congress, the S. I. was forced to a choice and in Tjakra's absence drove Sĕma'un out of the party, it was too late for the S. I.

A few details regarding the national congresses, where the different opinions and tendencies were able to find clear expression, may now be given.

The first national congress was held in Bandung on June 17—24, 1916. Shortly before (March, 18), the C. S. I. had received official recognition and an attempt to make the west Javanese and Sumatran S. I. branches independent of the C. S. I. had failed. An idea of the extent of the S. I. may be gleaned from the following figures: There were representatives of 52 Javanese branches (representing 273,377 members), 15 Sumatran (c. 76,000), 7 Borneo (5,574), while Celebes and Bali each had one branch. In an enthralling speech in which he dealt with the most important questions of the day, Tjakra emphasised the value of the name "national congress"; the S. I. was to set itself a new goal: the land was to raise itself to be a nation, the S. I. was to cooperate in obtaining self-government for the Dutch Indies soon, or the native elements would be granted greater influence in questions of administration; but he gave praise to the central government which had now really abandoned the old policy and was going to take the first step on the path of "policy and association" (cf. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/ii. 291—306) with the promise that a council composed of European,

native and foreign Oriental members would be given to the Governor-General. — There was a great deal talked of here and in subsequent congresses which the great majority of the delegates did not understand. Statements such as that the "Kur'an is a work of the greatest importance for socialism", that the Prophet (according to a contributor to the *Hindustan Review*!) is "the father of socialism, the 'precursor of democracy'", show on what lines propagandists of European parties endeavoured to gain adherents for their teaching. Perhaps the most important work of the congress was the discussion of the 86 proposals made by the local S. I.'s, which usually referred to local complaints and were published with Tjakra's opinion in the *Utusan Hindia* of June 15—16, 1916. From these motions we see what expectations the simple country people hoped to realise through the S. I.; the desire for greater personal freedom and independence was continually expressed at this and following conferences; it was not the confused political ideas of a few leaders that attracted the masses to the S. I. but the hope of achieving their desires through this powerful organization; this explains why they later left the S. I.'s so readily, when Sĕma'un's party promised to further native interests more than the S. I. had done.

The second national congress (Batavia, Oct. 20—27, 1917; 281 motions from local branches) dealt with the question what attitude the S. I. should adopt to the coming "Volksraad" (on the organization etc. of the Volksraad see *Koloniale Studien*, Vol. i., Oct., 1917, *Extra Politiek Nummer*, p. 169 *sqq.*); the share that was to be given in it to Indonesians did not satisfy them, still less did the continued postponement of its opening. The congress laid down a declaration of principles which explains the political goal of the C. S. I.: testimony is given to the superiority of Islām but absolute neutrality is demanded from the authorities; in view of the consideration that the majority of the native population lives under a state of wretchedness, the C. S. I. will always combat any supremacy of "sinful capitalism" (cf. *Kol. Studien*, *op. cit.*, p. 35 *sqq.*; in this volume is also given the programme of work of the S. I. with notes and an elucidation of the political situation at this time, details of the programmes of the political parties of the day given by their own leaders).

The results of the unrest in Europe were clearly seen at the third national congress (Surabaya, Sept. 20—Oct. 6, 1918). The new situation created by the opening of the Volksraad on May 18, 1918 (Tjakra and one other leader were the representatives of the S. I.), and the ameliorations still desired were vigorously discussed. But the unrest which had taken possession of the native society was particularly discussed. Economic difficulties and the results of very successful preaching of the coming war against "sinful capitalism" increased the bitterness; disastrous results were soon to be seen. The great strike at the end of 1917 and the outbreaks of the mob in Kudus and Dĕmak at the end of 1918 formed the beginning of a social struggle, which went on with intervals to the end of 1924, whose result for the present could hardly be in doubt in view of the weak economic position or the native population and the lack of that energy which alone could remove this fundamental evil. The organisation of the Javanese into *Pĕrsĕrikatan Ka'um Tani* (agricultural unions) and *P. K. Buruh* (industrial unions) had been in existence for some

years and expanded very much in the next few years. Their activities, which in recent years seem to have been supported by the Bolsheviks, cannot be further discussed here, nor all their relations with the S. I. and the later S. Ra'fat (see below). At Christmas 1919 they were centralised by Sasrakardana in the R. S. V. (revolutionary socialist committee of the trade unions), which split at the end of 1920 into a moderate committee in Djokyakarta and a communistic under Sēma'un in Sēmarang; these combined again after Sēma'un's adventurous journey to Russia to the Trades Union Congress at Madiun in Sept., 1922. Their activity has been by no means confined to questions relating to the working classes but has extended to the whole field of politics.

The period between the third and the fourth congress was a time of great unrest. Soon after the third congress the revolution in Europe caused the formation of the so-called "radical concentration" (Nov. 16, 1918) of different parties in the Volksraad including the S. I. Here their leaders explained the new development of the S. I. and defended the necessity of going farther than was laid down in the statutes (Nov. 14, Dec. 5; cf. *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, 1918—1919, p. 175—185, 518—525); the government, which continued to regard the course of affairs as a healthy development of native society (*Koloniaal Verslag van 1919*, p. 4—13), nevertheless sharply criticised the attitude of the C. S. I. to extremist movements (Dec. 2; cf. *Handelingen* etc., p. 432—434) especially the assertion of the C. S. I. that they could not assume responsibility for disturbances by local S. I.'s if the government did not meet their repeatedly expressed wishes more quickly; the C. S. I. was to settle the conduct of the movement, not the branches; the government, however, again declared once more their readiness to co-operate with the C. S. I. on the lines of their statutes. — An incident which proved fatal for the S. I. was the discovery of a secret revolutionary organisation (the so-called section B of the S. I.) in the Preanger (S. W. Java), as a result of investigations into a case of armed resistance to the authorities in the *désa* of Tjimaremè near Garut (July 4—7, 1919; cf. the synopsis of the report of the government commissioner G. A. J. Hazeu in the *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, Tweede gewone Zitting, 1919, Bijlagen, Onderwerp 10, p. 2—21). The relation of this section B to the C. S. I. and S. I. is by no means clear (cf. *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal*, 1919—1920, Tweede Kamer, Dec. 22, p. 1158^b; Blumberger in the *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*, Suppl., p. 15^b; *Kolon. Verslag van 1921*, p. 6). Tjakra denied that either the C. S. I. or the local S. I.'s had anything to do with the section B (cf. also *Handelingen der St.-G.* etc., p. 1153^b; *Hand. v. d. Volksraad*, 1919—1920, p. 90—92, 94, 96, 106—110, 114, 211). In any case the government decided to grant no further legal recognitions unless the oaths were taken out of the statutes, etc.; as they thought (probably rightly) that within the S. I. an anti-Dutch movement had become predominant (*Kol. Versl. van 1920*, chap. B, p. 5), they withdrew from the S. I. the moral support which they had afforded it in recent years against the local authorities. — In other respects also the Sarēkat Islam soon met with many great difficulties which crippled its external

activities and forced it to work to strengthen itself internally.

The fourth national congress (Surabaya, Oct. 26—Nov. 2, 1919) was mainly devoted to the discussion of the coming R. S. V. (see above) and the relation of the S. I. to it and can be passed over here.

The difficulties increased. The fifth national congress was postponed on account of a sharp criticism of the financial and political management of the C. S. I. (by the communist Darsana in the *Sinar Hindia* of Oct. 6—9, 1920; cf. *Kol. Verslag van 1921*, col. 6; *Kol. Verslag van 1922*, col. 9). The branches demanded an account of the money entrusted by them to the C. S. I. The first secretary of the C. S. I. was arrested in Nov., 1920, and sentenced on account of the branch B affair. The situation became more and more confused owing to the increasing activity of the other unions.

The fifth congress which was finally held at Djokyakarta from March 2—6, 1921, was Tjakra's last attempt to keep the control of the whole Javanese popular movement in the hands of the C. S. I. by a compromise between the very diverse movements and the postponement of the most difficult questions for which no solution could be found. The compromise was embodied in a new programme of principles in which (a) the fatal influence of European capital, which had, it was said, made slaves of the native population, was exposed, (b) Islām — which, by the way, demands a popular government, workmen's councils, a division of the soil and the means of production, makes work compulsory and prohibits anyone becoming rich through the work of another — was adopted as a basis and (c) the readiness of the S. I. to international co-operation within the limits placed by Islām and with maintenance of its independence was emphasised. The difficult questions of "party discipline" was postponed (whether a member of the S. I. could be also a member of another political party), which question the C. S. I. wished to answer in the negative and the left wing closely allied with the communist party in the affirmative. Since a and c were wanted by the communists, and they were no doubt willing to take b along with the rest, their claim that communism was now victorious in the S. I. was intelligible. It is also easy to understand that the struggle within the S. I. was soon renewed, because the C. S. I. would not allow this interpretation of the compromise (cf. *Utusan Hindia* of March 26, 1921). The breach followed at the sixth national congress (Surabaya, Oct. 6—10, 1921). Tjakra was not present; he had been arrested in August, 1921 (because he was thought to have committed perjury in the section B affair; but he was released in April, 1922, and pronounced not guilty in Aug., 1922). The deputy-chairman was not able to avert the decision; the principle of party discipline was approved by a majority of the congress and Sēma'un and his followers left the S. I. (Oct. 8, 1921); soon afterwards (Christmas, 1921) they formed themselves into a Pērsatuan S. I. or S. I. Mérah (Red S. I.) with headquarters at Sēmarang.

c. After this decision the S. I. lost ground rapidly. The fidelity of its members disappeared before the attractions of the radical party. After

the release of Tjakra he resumed his propaganda for the S. I. but with scant success. He had lost much of his earlier influence and he no longer represented the S. I. in the new Volksraad. He now followed a moderately progressive policy. The seventh national congress was held in the conservative centre of Madiun (Febr. 17-20, 1923). Tjakra again took up cultural and religious questions; in recent years Muslim affairs had been left to special unions, e.g. to the Muḥammadiya. Tjakra now became president of the first pan-Islamic congress (Tjirëbon, Nov. 1, 1922) which had been organised on the model of the "All India Muslim League". A lively interest in questions of international Islām was displayed; a telegram of homage was sent to Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha; the Javanese attitude to the caliphate question was discussed. In the Volksraad the S. I. attached itself to the second radical bloc, which was formed on account of the legislative proposals for the revision of the Dutch Indies Constitution. But its activity remained very limited.

In contrast to the decline of the S. I. was the rise of the radical S. I. Its leader, Sëma'un, entered into relations with the Russian Soviet government in Moscow. His activity in the trade unions has already been mentioned above. His arrest was the cause of the great railway strike of May 8, 1923. Deported from the Dutch Indies he went to Holland, where he was made a member of the committee of the communist party as "representative of the Indonesian popular movement". At the end of 1924 he was in China, with which country his party maintained active communication, especially after Sun Yat Sen's adoption of Bolshevism. On May 4, 1923, the radical S. I. and the P. K. I. (Indian communist party) held a joint congress in Bandung. The red S. I. was on this occasion given the name of Sarëkat Ra'yat (Union of the People). Propaganda was conducted in close co-operation with the P. K. I. The S. R. was to be a preparatory school for the P. K. I. and only trained pupils were to be admitted to the P. K. I. Courses for S. R. leaders seem to produce brilliant propagandists in spite of the astounding ignorance which the newspapers talk of (? with truth). The S. R. takes no account of religion; it is "neutraal këpada Allah" (neutral to Allah). The leaders in the towns are often hostile to religion, but in the country they are Muslims; there seems to be group of religious communists. The S. R. was continually fought by the authorities. Meetings were forbidden, breaches of the law relating to the free and public speaking were punished, communistic books etc. confiscated, inconvepient members of the party rendered harmless by detention for examination. Since Aug. 31, 1924, the campaign against them has been intensified. One result has been a milder attitude towards the moderate unions (S. I. etc.). Nothing definite can yet be stated about the results of this campaign.

The branches of the S. I. outside Java are far from being as important as the Javanese. The conditions were different, the soil much less suitable for the seed sown by the S. I. Since 1914 branches of the S. I. have been formed in the most important centres which in general have produced a more active interest in the religious life. Locally there were occasional excesses. But the enthusiasm soon cooled down. Representatives were sent to the national congresses in Java, who made

known to the congress the local complaints of the district they represented. Later there was sometimes the same conflict between S. I. and S. R. but to a far less degree than in Java. — The first S. I. outside Java seems to have been the S. I. Palëmbang, founded Nov. 14, 1913, by Javanese. The influence of the S. I. varied greatly according to local conditions. In Atjeh the situation was difficult about 1921 because the S. I. (often secretly organised) seems to have pursued anti-Dutch propaganda. In Djambi the S. I. played a part in the disturbances of the years 1916 and later; in Minangkabau the pan-Sumatran tendency was stronger than the Javanese influence of the S. I. The action of the S. I. in the islands of Ternate and Ambon was important; radical tendencies were strongly represented on the latter island. Finally we must not omit to mention that the development of the youthful S. I. was watched with the greatest interest from Mekka. In the years 1910 and onwards there was a certain amount of anxiety here because the Dutch government was credited with the intention of making the ḥadjidj impossible for their Indonesian subjects, and, of course, on the pilgrimage of the "Djāwa" the Mekkans depend a great deal for their livelihood (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii., ch. 4). There seems to have been a correspondence between the Mekkan 'Ulamā and the Muslim authorities in Indonesia regarding the activity of Christian Missions; special prayers are even said to have been offered in the Holy Mosque for the Muslims of Indonesia. There was therefore much interest in the S. I. At the end of 1913 a pamphlet on the S. I. appeared in Mekka in Arabic and was afterwards translated into Malay. A Mekka branch of the S. I. was founded (probably for the Indonesians living there) of the activities of which nothing further is known to the writer. This is probably the only branch of the S. I. outside of the Dutch East Indies.

To sum up we may say that the S. I. has played an important part in the development of the relations between Holland and the Dutch Indies, and that its history is important for the history of the revival of Islām and of the awakening of Eastern Asia. The S. I. is the first great independent expression of a want that had been felt among the Indonesians for several decades, their desire for greater freedom and more independence. Their leaders guided it into a radical, perhaps also national, direction, but the masses never understood their theories and gave most support to the movement which best met local requirements. In the fifteen years of the existence of the S. I. there has been externally a tremendous change in Javanese society, the causes of which are also to be sought in events during and after the World War; development internally began especially through the influence of the S. I. but naturally will progress much more slowly. The further development of the popular movement among the Javanese, which is in itself important as a sign of the times, will also depend on many external factors; the degree of capability among the European authorities to adapt their policy to the slowly-changing situation may be particularly decisive for the future character of the popular movement.

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Here we may also mention: A. Cabaton, *La "Sarikat Islam"* in the *R. M. M.*, 1912, xxi. 348—365 (preceded [p. 330—348] by an article by the same writer on the native press of the day in the Dutch Indies); *Der "Sarekat Daging Islam" und der Aufruhr auf Djambi*, in the *Deutsche Wochenszeitung für die Niederlande*, Sept. 17, 1916; *Bemerkenswerte Strömungen in den Bataklanden. Der S. I.*, in the *Rhein. Miss. Ber.*, 1917, p. 25; G. Simon, *Der "Sarikat Islam" auf Sumatra*, in the *Allg. Missionszeitschrift*, 1917, xlv. 123—125; Fr. von Mackay, *Der Mohamedaner Bund "Sarekat Islam"*, in *Die Islamische Welt*, Febr., 1918; cf. *Der S. I.* in *"Kriegsbeleuchtung"* by J. Th. P. Blumberger in the *Kolonial Weekblad*, June 20, 1918; O. J. A. Collet, *L'évolution de l'esprit indigène aux Indes Orientales Néerlandaises* in the *Bull. Soc. Belge d'Et. col.*, 1920, xxvii. 461—524; 1921, xxviii. 1—75 [sep. ed., Brussels 1921] and thereon *Kolon. Weekblad*, of May 12, 1921, and *Kolon. Tijdschrift*, 1921, p. 538; P. H. Fromberg, *De inlandsche Beweging op Java*, in *de Gids*, 1914, N^o. 10 and 11; B. Alkema, *De Sarikat Islam*, Utrecht, nd.; J. Th. P. Blumberger, *De Sarekat Islam, en hare beteekenis voor den Bestuursambtenaar*, in the *Kol. Tijdschr.*, 1919, viii. N^o. 2, 3, 4; do., *Stemmingen en Stroomingen in de Sarekat Islam*, the Hague 1920; do., *Artikel S. I.* in the *Encyklopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*², iii., the Hague-Leiden 1919, p. 694^a—703^a, and *Aanvullingen*, p. 15^a—21^b (1922), 196^a—203^b (1924); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn-Leipzig 1924, iv/ii. 395—402, 405—406, 409—410; the following work by the same author is very valuable for judging the situation at the time of the rise of the S.I., although written rather earlier: *Politique Musulmane de la Hollande*, Paris 1911, and *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/ii. 227—316. (C. C. BERG)

SARF is defined by the jurists as a contract of sale (*bai'*) in which the goods to be exchanged are of precious metal (*thaman*). *Sarf* is primarily money-changing, but also includes any exchange of gold and silver. As the name shows — *sarf* is *maṣdar* of a verbum denominativum from *ṣairaf* or *ṣarrāf* — the business of money-changing is of Aramaic origin (cf. Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, p. 182 sqq.; Lambert in the *R. E. J.*, 1906, ii. 29). The expression *sarf* seems to have been first naturalised in Islām about the end of the first century A. H. With this is connected the fact that Mālik b. Anas in the *Muwatta'* and with him the Mālikīs make a sharp

distinction between money-changing (*ṣarf*) and the exchange of gold for gold or silver for silver (*murāḩala* by weight, *mubāḩala* by measure or number), which the other law-schools do not do; only in al-Shāfi' (*Kitāb al-Umm*, iii. 30) is a similar term, *muwāḩana*, once found. The legal principles relating to *ṣarf*, which are closely connected with the laws relating to usury, are based on the Hādīth, while the Qur'ān has nothing on the subject. They are the following:

1) With the same kind of material (*djins*), the exchange can only be made with an equal quantity (*taḡāthul*) even if the articles are different in quality and workmanship. With unlike materials (gold for silver) this rule does not hold. Coins debased more than half are treated as merchandise (as in the Talmudic law; cf. Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 32 sq.) and can be exchanged with a surplus (*mutafāḩilam*). A recompense for the making up of bullion into ornaments etc. is therefore prohibited as usury, while modern authorities recognise the value of the labour and do not consider the sale as *ṣarf* (Benali Fekar, p. 80).

2) Ownership in the goods must pass on either side before the contracting parties separate (*al-taḡābud ḩabl al-tafarruḩ*). A cash payment is therefore necessary (*naḩd*), to the exclusion of all credit (which has passed into Turkish legislation; see below). Among the ḩanafīs, for example, a silver vessel, only part of the purchase price of which is paid, is common property, while among the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs such a sale is quite invalid (*bāḩil*). There are also differences of opinion regarding the settlement of a debt. In general the rule is that the combination of a *ṣarf* with another legal matter in one agreement is not permitted.

3) The object to be exchanged cannot be disposed of before the ownership is acquired.

4) No option can be reserved (*ḩhiyār al-ṣarf*); on the other hand *ḩhiyār al-aiḩ* is allowed in case of defects and *ḩhiyār al-ru'ya* in purchase of bullion (e.g. ornaments).

The jurists have also evolved subterfuges which make a profit possible in money-changing (al-ḩudūri and al-ḩalabī at the end of the *Bāb*; *Mudawwana*, viii. 126 sq.; Sachau, *Muḩ. Recht*, p. 281). The money-changers condemned by the 'Ulamā — usually Jews — have been organised into guilds since the middle ages (Mez, *Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 449; Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, title 67, art. 6 sqq.). In modern Muslim states there are special laws relating to money-changing (for Turkey cf. Young, *op. cit.*; of the year 1281 = 1861). Cf. the art. RIBĀ.

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SĀRĪ (formerly SĀRŪI; J. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 135; Arab. SĀRIYA), a town in Persia, the

former capital of Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān), 8 miles from the Caspian Sea, 20 from Āmul. Its foundation is attributed to Ṭūs, son of Nūḏhar, general of the mythical king Kai-Khusraw, because there is a place there called Ṭūsān. Fariburz is said to have taken refuge there; the castle which he built could be seen at a place called Luman Dūn. The town itself was built in the time of Farrukhān the Great, *isṭabādī* of Ṭabaristān (end of the seventh century) by Bāv, one of his nobles, on the site of the village of Awhar. Sārī has several times been the capital of Ṭabaristān, — under the Ṭāhirids (820—872) and the 'Alids Iḥasan b. Zaid (854/868) and Muḥammad b. Zaid (270/884). The great mosque begun by the Amir Yahyā b. Yahyā in the reign of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd was finished by Māzyār b. Kārīn (d. 224 = 839). A building is pointed out called Sogunbadhān "the three cupolas", said to be the tomb of the three sons of Farīdūn, Irādī, Salm and Tūr.

The district is not fertile and the climate unhealthy. Silk is the principal product. Under the Ṭāhirids, the canton of Sārī (which extended as far as Tammīsha) had a revenue of 1,300,000 dirhams.

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(CL. HUART)

SĀRĪ, the "swift metre", so named because of its swiftness of scansion and swiftness of appeal to taste (Freitag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p. 137), is the ninth in the prosody of the Arabs. It is the first of the six metres of the fourth circle, which is called "the intricate" (*dā'irat al-mushtabih*) on account of its metrical intricacy (Palmer, *Arabic Grammar*, London 1874, p. 346 sqq.). The paradigm is: *mustaf'ilun, mustaf'ilun, maf'ūlūtu* (bis), which is rarely, if ever, found. According to the native system, the *sarī* is of four kinds and has seven varieties (De Sacy, *Traité de la Prosodie des Arabes*, Paris 1831, p. 25).

But the normal form is: *mustaf'ilun, mustaf'ilun, fa'ilun*.

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Maf'ū or *fa'ilun* (--) is often used in the *qarb*; and, more rarely, *maf'ūlū* or *fa'ilun* (٠٠٠) in both '*arūd* and *qarb*, although not so commonly in the latter. A further variety employed by later poets is the introduction of an extra syllable to the *qarb*, thus *fa'ilātun* (—٠٠٠).

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(J. WALKER)

AL-SARĪ B. AL-ḤAKAM B. YUSUF AL-BALKHĪ, held the office of governor and financial controller of Egypt from Ramaḏān 1, 200 (April 3, 816). On Rabī' I 1, 201 (Sept. 27, 816) the troops openly mutinied against him and al-Ma'mūn was forced to remove al-Sarī from his post and replace

him by Sulaimān b. Ghālīb; al-Sarī was put in prison and Sulaimān entered upon his office on Tuesday, Rabī' I 4, 201 (Sept. 30, 816), but was removed from office as early as Sha'bān 1 (Feb. 22, 817) as the result of a repeated revolt of the troops, and al-Sarī again appointed by al-Ma'mūn. The news of his appointment reached Egypt on Sha'bān 12 (March 4, 817); al-Sarī was released from prison and entered al-Fuṣṭāṭ on the same day. He held office till his death on Djumādā I 30, 205 (Nov. 11, 820). That al-Sarī played a prominent part in Egypt even before his appointment as governor is evident also from his mention in the *ḥizā* of a *ḥizwa* intended for the Ka'ba of the year 197 (812/13). His name is also found on gold and copper coins of Egypt; see W. Tiesenhhausen, *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*, p. 188, No. 1700 (Miṣr 200 A.H.), p. 193, No. 1737 (200 and 202 A.H.), H. Nützel, *Katalog d. orient. Münzen in den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. 367, No. 2247; Ismā'il Ghālīb, *Meskūkāt-i ḥadīme-i islāmīye Kataloḡ*, p. 188, No. 563 (Miṣr 200 A.H.), p. 387, No. 928 (Miṣr 201 A.H.), No. 929 (Miṣr 204 A.H.).

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-SARĪ B. MANṢŪR, better known as ABU 'L-SARĀYĀ, a hirer of asses who became a brigand as a result of a murder, and then entered the service of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaibānī in Armenia who used him and his thirty horsemen to fight the Khurramīs (cf. the art. KHURRAMIYA). He commanded the advance-guard of Harthama's army in the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn; remaining in the service of this general he was given the title of amir. Permitted to go on pilgrimage to Mekka he distributed to his soldiers the 20,000 dirhams that Harthama had given him and got money for himself by holding to ransom the governors he met on his way, defeated the troops sent against him and entered the desert. Reaching Raḡḡa, he there met the 'Alid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Ṭabāṭabā whose side he took, went down the Euphrates by boat while his chier went by land; they reached Kūfa on Djumādā II 10, 199 (Jan. 26, 815). To get rid of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā whose authority was greater than his and who had prevented him from taking the treasure of Zuhair b. al-Musaiyib, he poisoned him (Raḡḡab 1 (= Febr. 15) and replaced him by another 'Alid, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zaid, while retaining effective control in his own hands. He struck dirhams at Kūfa (*Z.D.M.G.*, xxii. 707) and sent troops to seize Baṣra and Wāsiṭ. He appointed governors at Mekka and Medina.

Harthama, who was on his way to Khurāsān, sent troops to al-Maḏā'in who defeated Abu 'l-Sarāyā's army (Shawwāl = May/June). Besieged in Kūfa and feeling that his men were losing heart, he fled at the head of 800 horsemen (Muḥarram 16, 200 = Aug. 26, 815), made for Susa, fought

al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ma'mūn's troops, was defeated and wounded, whereupon his force melted away. He tried to reach his home at Ra's al-'Ain but was overtaken at Djalūlā by Ḥammād al-Kundaghūsh who made him prisoner and brought him to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, al-Ma'mūn's vizier, then to Nahrāwān, who had him beheaded (Rabī' I, 10 = Oct. 18, 815); his body was hung on a gibbet on the bridge of Baghdād. His rebellion had lasted ten months.

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SARĪ AL-SAKĀTĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN SARĪ B. MUḤALLIS, a Sunnī mystic, died at Baghdād on Ramaḍān 28, 257 (870) or 253 (867) aged 78 (or 98). He was the uncle of Djunaid [q.v.], teacher of Nūrī, Kharrāz and Khair Nassājī, and figures at a later period in the classic *isnād* of the *khirka* of the Sūfis between Ma'rūf Karkhī [q.v.] and Djunaid. The latter was actually his pupil and had himself buried in Sarī's tomb which still exists at Shūniz (cf. L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, Cairo 1912, ii. 105). But Ma'rūf can hardly have been the direct teacher of Sarī.

Sarī is said to be equivalent to *Tsā* either as synonymous with *Rafī* or by an accommodating interpretation of Qur'ān xix. 24; *Sakāṭī* means a dealer in old iron and old clothes.

As regards doctrine, Sarī was the pupil of al-Muḥāsibī [q.v.]; he insists on the reality of a reciprocal love uniting God to man (*shawḳ*); he maintains that a true lover ought no longer to suffer any physical pain and says that at the Last Judgement the *muḥibbūn* will have a place of honour above the three communities (of Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad). Sarī was attacked by Ibn Ḥanbal for having admitted that the letters of the text of the Qur'ān were created and for having neglected asceticism in the matter of food.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbis Iblis*, Cairo 1340, p. 180, 197; Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, ed. Nicholson, i. 274—284; al-Djāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, p. 59—60; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, *Tarā'īk al-Ḥakā'īk*, lith. ed. Tihrān, ii. 166—173. (L. MASSIGNON)

ŠARĪ 'ABD ALLĀH EFENDI, Ottoman poet and man of letters, was the son of Saiyid Muḥammad, a prince of the Maghrib who had fled to Constantinople in the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad I, and had married the daughter of Muḥammad Pasha, brother of the Grand Vizier Khalīl Pasha. He was brought up by the latter, who had entrusted his education to Shaikh Maḥmūd of Scutari, accompanied him as *tadhkiradāji* ("editor") when during his second vizierate he was given the command of the troops in the Persian campaign, was appointed *ra'īs al-kuttāb* in 1037 (1627/28) in place of Muḥammad Efendi who had just died and was dismissed at the same time as his patron. On the latter's death he was appointed *ra'īs* of the imperial *rikāb* in 1047 (1637/38), accompanied Murād IV to Baghdād and then became *ra'īs al-kuttāb* for the second time. He filled other offices till 1065 (1655) when he retired from public life; he died in 1071 (1660/61). He wrote a commentary in Turkish on the first volume of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, and composed

several original works, some moral like the *Na-ṣīḥat al-Mulūk* and the *Thamarāt al-Qulūb* and others mystical like the *Durra*, the *Djāwḥara* and the *Maslik al-Ushshāḳ*, and a collection of 141 official documents entitled *Dustur al-Inshā'*, as well as verses and songs under the *takhalluṣ* of 'Abdī. His tomb is in the cemetery of Māl-tepe outside the Top-Kapu (Gate of St. Romanus) at Constantinople (Gib.), *Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 79).

Bibliography: Sāmi Bey Frasheri, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, iv. 2916; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 482.

(CL. HUART)

ŠARĪ KÜRZ, also ŠARĪ KEREZ, an Ottoman jurist and military judge. His proper name was Nūr al-Dīn and he was born in the district of Karasi, his father's name being Yūsuf. After studying under famous teachers, including Ḳodja Sinān Pasha, he entered upon a legal career, becoming professor (*müderriṣ*), later "guardian" (*şahn*) and finally in 917 (1511/1512) *kādi* of Stambul. Sulṭān Bāyazid II employed him on various affairs of state, for example on a mission to Prince Selim (cf. J. von Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 353, and *Die osm. Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, ed. by L. Forrer, Leipzig 1923, p. 28 sq.; also *G.O.R.*, ii. 371). In 919 (1513/1514) in the reign of Selim I he was appointed military judge (*kādi-asker*) of Anatolia and in 921 (1515/1516) of Rumelia. Next year he was dismissed and became again "guardian"; about 926 (1619/1620) he became *kādi* of Stambul for a second time (cf. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, p. 613, 30, and F. Giese, *An. Chr.*, p. 130, 23). In 928 (1521/1522; according to other sources 929 = 1522/1523) he died in Stambul where he was buried in a mosque which he had built. He lived not far from the mesjid which bears his name (cf. *Ḥadīkat al-Djāwāmi'*, i. 133 sq.; *G.O.R.*, ix. 72, No. 280); one quarter of Stambul is still called Šary güzel after him (a *ghalaṭ-i meshhūr*, which has arisen from Šarī Kürz which came in time to be misunderstood; on the name see Sirri Pasha, *Ghalaṭat-i meshhūre*, Stambul, second ed., s.v. *Šarī güzel*, and J. H. Mordtmann in *Der Islam*, xiv. 155). On his son Mehmed cf. 'Aṭā'i, suppl. to the *Šaḳā'īk*, p. 265; on his son-in-law Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf of Sonsa, famous as a commentator, cf. Ḥādjdji Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, i. 309; *Ḥadīkat al-Djāwāmi'*, i. 134; *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iii. 108.

Šarī Kürz wrote on Fikh and left a number of works, a list of which is given in Ḥādjdji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, under No. 7119.

Bibliography: Taşköprüzāde, *Šaḳā'īk al-Nu'māniya*, Turk. transl. by al-Medjidi, p. 314 sq., Stambul 1269; *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, iv. 581; Sāmi, *Kāmūs al-A'lām*, p. 2816 sq. (on the forms of the name). (FRANZ BABINGER)

ŠARĪ ŠALTĪK DEDE, a Turkish dervish and Bektāshī saint. He was a contemporary of Ḥādjdji Bektāsh [q.v.] in whose legendary biography (cf. his widely spread *Wilāyet-nāma*) he plays, an important rôle and of whom he is said to have been a disciple, and came, like many dervishes of Anatolia at that time, from Bukhārā. His real name is said to have been Mehmed (Mehmed Bukhārī in Ewliyā 'Celebi, *Siyāḥetnāme*, ii. 134, 5—6). Practically nothing is known of his life and career. According to the *Oghuznāme* in the extract in Seiyid Lokmān, in 662 (1263/64) he led a

large body of people (10,000—12,000), said to have been Anatolian Turkomans, who settled on the western coast of the Black Sea in Dobruđian Tartary, especially around Baba Dađhi. The reason for this migration is unknown; it is perhaps connected with the advance of Hülāgū (cf. *Der Islam*, xi. 24). Apart from the *Ođhusnāme* (cf. J. J. W. Lagus, *Seid Locmani ex libro Turcico qui Ođhusnāme inscribitur excerpta*, Helsingfors 1854, and G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Handschr. der Wiener Hofbibl.*, ii. 225) there are no contemporary reports and the possible Byzantine sources are also silent (e.g. Pachymeres, Nicephoros Greg., Georg. Akropolita; cf., however, J. J. W. Lagus, *op. cit.*, p. 30 sqq.). It seems, however, that older accounts once existed but have now been lost. For example, according to Ewliyā Ćelebi [q. v.], Yazıdjı-oghlu Mehmed Ćelebi (d. 854 = 1450) wrote a *risāla* on Şarī Şaltık and Ken'an Paşa, some time governor of Oczakow, composed a *Şaltıknāme* of 40 *kırrāsa* (cf. Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, iii. 366, and thereon Vas. Dmitr. Smirnov, *Očerki istorii tureckoj literatury* in Korsh, *Vseobščaja istorija literatur*, St. Petersburg 1891, where extracts are given from a *Şaltıknāme*). Ewliyā, who seems to have had access to one of these sources now lost, says that Şarī Şaltık lived in Arpa Ćukuru, Siwās and Tođat before he migrated to Bessarabia. There he is described as 'adđam, which would be in accordance with Ewliyā's statement elsewhere (i. 659): "purifier (*tāhir*) from the Irāk". The earliest notice of Şarī Şaltık is given by Ibn Bađđūta (ii. 416) who visited about a generation after his death his sanctuary at "Baba Şaltuk" (the site of which, however, cannot even approximately be defined) and very briefly tells of the saint's miracles (*manāqib*). The fact that Ibn Bađđūta is obviously not able to give anything reliable about Şarī Şaltık who died barely 50 years before raises legitimate doubts regarding either the Arab traveller's statements or the historicalness of the saint. The fact is that traits and miracles are ascribed to him which are reported of Byzantine saints, and that Şarī Şaltık is confused with Byzantine saints. The legend given by Ewliyā of Şarī Şaltık is remarkable and probably isolated. According to it, the wonder-worker gave his disciples the order to bury his body after his death in 6 or 7 coffins in remote towns of infidel lands, "so that ignorance where the body really is will produce everywhere a pilgrimage of Muslims and from the pilgrimage will result the incorporation of these lands into the kingdom of Islām" (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 354 sq., following Ewliyā Ćelebi, *op. cit.*, iii. 133 sq.). According to Ewliyā, coffins were therefore taken to Baba Eskisi, Baba Dađhi, Kaliakra, Buzeu (Rumania) and even to Danzig. The conversion of the Lipka Tatars to Islām is ascribed to Şarī Şaltık. Christian saints are repeatedly identified with the Turkish saint and still more numerous are the places in the Balkans associated with the latter. In Kaliakra (Kilghra) Şarī Şaltık appears as a dragon-slayer, who liberates an imprisoned Christian princess (cf. Ewliyā, ii. 137 sq.; C. J. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1890, p. 536; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 27; *Archäol.-epigraphische Mittheilungen*, 1886, x. 188 sq.; *Z. D. M. G.*, 1922, lxxvi. 155), and Ewliyā himself brings Şarī Şaltık into connection with St. Nicolas (Sveti Nikola; cf. *op. cit.*, ii. 137). There are other

sanctuaries or tombs of Şarī Şaltık in Kroja (cf. *Wissenschaftl. Mittheilungen aus Bosnien*, vii. 60; Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 71 sqq.; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, p. 223 sqq., 236 sqq.), in Adrianople (Ewliyā, iii. 481 sq.), Corfu, where he is associated with St. Spyridon (Spiridion) (cf. Sāmi Bey Frasheri [an Albanian!], *Kāmus al-A'tām*, p. 2916), in Blagay at Mostar (cf. Saćir Sikirić, *Dervisklostorok és szent sírok Boszniában* in the *Türán*, Budapest 1918, p. 605 sqq.; lacking in Ewliyā (vi. 474, so probably a legend of later invention!), in Chass, a place between Kroja and Djakova, where his alleged tomb is shown (cf. F. W. Hasluck, in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi. 122, note 3), in the Greek monastery of St. Naum (Sveti Naum) on the south shore of Lake Ohrida (cf. Sāmi Bey Frasheri, *op. cit.*). Şarī Şaltık once becomes St. George, also Elias, then St. Simeon and finally "Ćara Konjolos" (!; cf. Ewliyā, *Travels*, ed. J. von Hammer, i. 161, not in the Stambul printed text) and he thus becomes one of the most remarkable features in the mingling of Muslim and Christian beliefs. The principal sanctuary of Şarī Şaltık is, however, at Baba Dađhi (cf. Ibn Bađđūta, *op. cit.*; Ewliyā, iii. 368 sq.). It was built by Sulţān Bāyazid II, the *Wālī*, as a place of pilgrimage to which Sulţān Sulaimān afterwards made a pilgrimage (cf. *Histoire de la campagne de Mohacz par Kemal Pacha Zadéh*, ed. M. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1859, p. 80 sqq., 177; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 202). Şarī Şaltık finally appears as *Pir* of the gild of *Bonađjiler*, the makers of *bosa* (millet-spirit) (cf. Ewliyā, i. 659, where Şarī Şaltık is described as disciple [*Ćhalifa*] of Ahmed Yesewi). Whether Sāri Salté in Al. Jaba, *Recueil de notices et récits hourdes*, St. Petersburg 1860, p. 94 sqq., is identical with our Şarī Şaltık need not be discussed here. In later Ottoman literature, Şarī Şaltık occasionally plays a part, for example in the *Ćhamsa* "fiver" of New'izāde 'Atā'ī (d. 1044 = 1634; cf. J. von Hammer, *Gesch. der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 281). The half historical, half legendary figure of Şarī Şaltık Dede demands a thorough investigation. One thing is certain, that it is closely connected with the Bektāşī movement, in the region of expansion of which in the Balkans Şarī Şaltık enjoys the greatest esteem. So long as the history of the 'Alid sectarians ('*Alewī*) in south-eastern Europe is as obscure as at present, only vague statements can be made regarding Şarī Şaltık Dede.

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SAR-I PUL, "the head of the bridge", called by Arab geographers Ra's al-Ćanţara, is a town of Afđĳān Turkistān situated in 36° 20' N. Lat. and 65°

40' E. Long. on the Āb-i Safid from the bridge over which it takes its name. It is not to be confused with a village near Samarqand or a quarter of Nishāpūr, both of the same name, each of which is historically as important as the Afghān town. Between the northern spurs of the Paropamisus and the sands to the south of the Oxus, in a fertile tract well watered by streams from the mountains, but proverbially unhealthy, lay four Uzbek Khānates or petty principalities, Akča, Shibarghān, Maimana and Sar-i pul with Andkhūl (Andkhud), the independence of which has been destroyed by the Durrānī and Bārakzāi Amirs of Afghānistān. Of these principalities Sar-i pul was the last to succumb to the ruler of Kābul. In 1865 the troops stationed there revolted against the Amir Shīr 'Alī, but the mutiny was suppressed by 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān, who eventually succeeded as Amir; not long afterwards Sar-i pul lost the last vestiges of its independence, but the former geographical and political divisions of the principalities are preserved and their Uzbek inhabitants are exempt from liability to military service.

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SĀRIK (A.) 'thief'. Muslim legal theory distinguishes between *al-sirka al-ṣuḡrā* (theft) and *al-sirka al-kubrā* (highway robbery or brigandage).

1) Theft (*sirka*) is punished by cutting off the hand, according to Sūra v. 42. This was an innovation of the Prophet's; but, according to the *Awā'il* literature, this had already been introduced in the days of paganism by Walīd b. Muḡhira (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qurāns*, i. 230). This method of punishment may be of Persian origin (cf. *Lettre de Tansar*, ed. Darmesteter in the *J. A.*, 1894, Series 9, iii. 220 sq., 525 sq.; *Sad Dar* 64,5 = *Sacred books of the East*, xxiv. 327). In pre-Muḡammadan Arabia theft from a fellow-tribesman or from a guest was alone considered despicable, but no punishment was prescribed for it; the person had himself to see how he could regain his property (Jacob, *Beduinenleben* 2, p. 217 sq.; cf. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen*, Weimar 1831, p. 127 sqq., 261 sqq.). In the beginning of the first century A.H. the right or left hand was cut off; there was no fixed rule. The Qur'ān leaves the point obscure and one tradition says that Abū Bakr ordered the left hand to be cut off (*Muwatta'*, *Sirka*, bāb 4; al-Shāfi'i, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vi. 117). Cf. the variant of Sūra v. 42: *aimānahumā*, transmitted by Ibn Mas'ūd.

According to the teaching of the Fuḡahā, the thief's right hand is cut off (for a second crime the left foot, then the left hand, then the right foot) and at the wrist; the stump is held in hot oil or fire to stop the bleeding. The Ḥanafis and Zaidīs, however, put the culprit into prison at his third crime, which the Shāfi'is and Mālikīs only do after his fifth. The Shī'is inflict imprisonment for the third offence and death for the fourth. The punishment was inflicted in public; the thief was frequently led round the town seated backwards on an ass with the limb cut off hung round his neck (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 22; Rescher, *Studien über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Ist.*, 1919, ix. 68 sqq.). Punishment could not be inflicted in cases of pregnancy, severe illness or

when the weather was very cold or very hot. It is a ḥadd punishment, as a right of God (*ḥaqq Allāh*) is violated by theft. But at the beginning of the second century A.H. mutilation is still contrasted with the ḥadd punishment (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi. 28). But as the rights of the owner are also injured (*ḥaqq ādamī*) the thief is bound to make reparation. If the article stolen has disappeared, he is kept under arrest (not so according to Abū Ḥanifa). The Caliph 'Umar is said always to have condemned the thief to return double the value (cf. Roman law: Justinian, *Instit.*, 4, i, 5).

The jurists define theft for which the ḥadd punishment is prescribed as the clandestine removal of legally recognised property (*māl*) in the safe keeping (*ḥirz*) of another of a definite minimum value (*niṣāb*); among the Ḥanafis and Zaidīs ten dirhams, among the Mālikīs, Shāfi'is and Shī'is 1/4 dinār or 3 dirhams) to which the thief has no right of ownership; it is so distinguished from usurpation (*ghaṣb*) and confiscation (*khiyāna*). By *ḥirz* is meant guarding by a watchman or by the nature of the place (e.g. a private house). Thus theft from a building accessible to the public (e.g. shops by day, baths) is not liable to the ḥadd punishment. This is further only applied to one who 1) has attained his majority (*bāligh*, q.v.), 2) is *compos mentis* (*āqil*) and 3) has the intention (*niya*) of stealing (*animus furandi*), i.e. is not acting under compulsion (*mukhtār*). No distinction is made between freeman or slave, male or female. The punishment is not applied in case of thefts between husband and wife and near relatives nor in the case of a slave robbing his master or a guest his host. Views are divided on the question of the punishment of the *dhimmī* and the alien (*musta'min*) with the ḥadd; and on the punishment of accomplices and accessories; in any case the total divided among them must reach the *niṣāb* for each of the thieves. It is not theft to take articles of trifling value (wood, water, wild game) and things which quickly go to waste (fresh fruit, meat and milk), or articles in which the *shar'ia* does not recognise private ownership or things which are not legitimate articles of commerce (*māl*), like freeborn children, wine, pigs, dogs, chess-sets, musical instruments, golden crosses — the theft of a full grown slave is considered *ghaṣb* — or articles in which the thief already has a share (booty, state treasure, *wakf*, common good to the value of the share), also copies of the Qur'ān and books (except account books) as it is assumed the thief only desires to obtain the contents. The conception of literary theft is unknown to the Fikh.

The charge can be made by the owner and legitimate possessor (or depository) but not by a second thief. The legal inquiry has to be conducted in the presence of the person robbed. For proof two male witnesses are necessary or a confession (*ikrār*; q.v.) which can, however, be withdrawn. It is recommended to plead not guilty if at all possible (cf. the art. *ADHĀB*). If the thief, however, has given back the article stolen before the charge is made, he is immune from punishment. (cf. Sūra v. 43).

2) Highway robbery or robbery with violence (*muḡāraba*, *ḥaḡ' al-ṣarīk*) occurs when anyone who can be dangerous to travellers falls upon them and robs them when distant from any possible help

or when someone enters a house, armed, with the intention of robbing (cf. Roman Law: Justinian, *Novellae*, 134, Ch. 13). The *Shi'is* consider any armed attack even in inhabited places as highway robbery. The same regulations hold regarding the person and the object as above, especially the *niṣāb*. On the authority of *Sūra* v. 37 *sq.*, the culprit is liable to the following *ḥadd* punishments. If a man has committed a robbery which is practically a theft to be punished with *ḥadd* his right hand and left foot are cut off (the next time, the left hand and the right foot). If, however, he has robbed and killed, he is put to death in keeping with right of reprisal (*kiṣās*) and his body publicly exposed for three days on a cross or in some other way. The punishment of death is here considered a *ḥaqq Allāh*; the payment of blood-money (*diya*) is therefore out of the question. If the criminal repents, however, before he is taken, the *ḥadd* punishment is omitted; but the claim of the person robbed of the article for compensation and the talio remain. All accomplices are punished in the same way; if one of them cannot be held responsible for his actions, the *ḥadd* punishment cannot be inflicted on any.

All these laws hold only for the *ḥadd* punishment which the judge can only inflict when all conditions are fulfilled. In all other cases the thief is punished with *tā'zir* [q.v.] and condemned to restore the article or to make reparation. It is the same with the thief who comes secretly but goes away openly (*mukhtalīs*) or the robber who falls upon someone and robs him at a place where help is available (*muntahib*). Special laws were therefore frequently passed in Muslim states to supplement the *shari'a*, in Turkey, for example, by Mehmed II (*Mitteilungen zur Osm. Gesch.*, i. [1921], p. 21, 35), Sulaimān II (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 147 *sq.*), Mehmed IV and 'Abd al-Madjid. These laws endeavour more and more to replace the *ḥadd* punishment by fines and corporal punishment. The Turkish criminal code of 1858 still only recognises fines and imprisonment for theft although the *shari'a* was not officially abolished thereby (cf. the art. MEDJELLE). The code of punishment laid down in the *shari'a* still at the present day holds only in Persia and Afghānistān and the Yemen.

Bibliography: The sections *Kitāb al-Sirka* and *Kitāb Kaṭ' al-Tariḥ* in the *Fikḥ*-works; also Krcsmárik, *Beiträge zur Beleuchtung des islamischen Strafrechts* in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1904, lviii. 324 *sqq.*, 566 *sqq.*; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 305 *sq.*; Sachau, *Mul. Recht*, p. 825 *sqq.*; van den Berg, *Beginselen van het Moham. Recht*³, Batavia 1883, p. 189 *sq.* (cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, Bonn 1923, ii. 196 *sq.*; Keyzer, *Het mohammed. Strafrecht*, 's-Gravenhage 1857, p. 11 *sq.*, 101 *sq.*, 161 *sq.*; *Sommario del diritto malechita di Halil*, transl. Santillana, ii, Milan 1919, p. 724 *sqq.*; Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii. (1872), p. 514 *sqq.*; Tornauw, *Moslem. Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p. 236; Heffening, *Islam. Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, § 15, 28 *sq.*; *Das türkische Strafgesetzbuch von 1858 mit Novelle von 1911*, transl. E. Nord, Berlin 1912, Art. 62 *sqq.* and 216 *sqq.*; Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vii. (1906); van den Berg, *Strafrecht der Türkei in Die Strafgesetzbuch der Gegenwart*, ed. Fr. van Liszt, i. (1894), p. 710 *sqq.*; Jaenecke, *Grundprobleme des türk. Strafrechts*, Berlin 1918. (HEFFENING)

SARIRA. [See ZĀBAG.]

ŠĀRLĪYA, the name of a sect in Northern Mesopotamia to the south of Moṣul. This sect is also a kind of tribe called Sarlis and lives in six villages, four of which lie on the right bank and two on the left of the Great Zāb, not far from its junction with the Tigris. The principal village, where the chief lives, is called Warsak, and lies on the right bank; the largest village on the left bank is Sefiye.

The Sarlis, like the other sects found in Mesopotamia (Yazidis, *Shabaks*, *Bādjūrān*), are very uncommunicative with regard to their belief and religious practices, so that the other inhabitants of the country attribute abominable rites to them and allege that they have a kind of secret language of their own. In *al-Mashriq*, 1902, v. 577 *sqq.*, Père Anastase gives some notes on the Sarlis (and also on the sects of *Bādjūrān* and the *Shabaks*) which he obtained from an individual in Moṣul. According to him, their language is a mixture of Kurdish, Persian and Turkish. As to religion, they are monotheists, believing in certain prophets, in paradise and hell. They neither fast nor pray. They believe that their chief has the power to sell territory in paradise. For this purpose he visits all the villages at harvest time, and every Sarli is allowed to purchase as much *dhirā'* as he can pay for; the price of a *dhirā'* is never less than a quarter of a medjidiye. Credit is not granted. The chief gives a receipt which shows how much *dhirā'* an individual has acquired. This receipt is put in the pocket of the dead man so that he can present it to Riḍwān, the guardian of Paradise. The Sarlis have also a feast-day once in every lunar year which consists in the consumption of a repast at which the chief presides, and to which every one contributes a cock boiled with rice or wheat. After this meal, called *aklat al-maḥabba*, the lights are said to be extinguished and orgies of promiscuity to take place. The head of the community is succeeded at his death by his unmarried son; he is forbidden to shave his beard or his moustache. The Sarlis are polygamous. They are said to have a sacred book written in Persian.

These statements should be taken with considerable reserve. The Sarlis themselves say that they are simply Kurds and belonged originally to the Kāke Kurds who have some villages near Kirkuk. But the Kāke Kurds also have a mysterious reputation. A characteristic feature noticed in one of the Sarli villages (Sefiye) is an ornament with triangular holes in the walls of the principal buildings of the village.

The Sarlis have the reputation of being good farmers. Their anthropological type is the same as that of the Kurds, as Père Anastase points out. It is only their religious beliefs that have been influenced by ultra-*Shi'a* and ancient Persian ideas. Like the Yazidis they have Muslim names; their present chief is called Tāha Koča or Mulla Tāhā.

Bibliography: W. R. Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan*, London 1921, p. 93, 94; Père Anastase's article is entitled *Tafkikat al-adhkhān fī ta'rif thalūthati adyān*; Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SARPUL-I ZOHĀB ("bridgehead of Zohāb"), a place on the way to Zagros on the great Baghdad-Kirmānshāh road, taking its name from the stone bridge of two arches over the river Alwand, a tributary on the left bank of the

Diyāla. Sarpul now consists simply of a little fort (*kūr-khāna* = "arsenal") in which the governor of Zohāb lives (the post is regularly filled by the chief of the tribe of Gūrān), a caravanserai, a garden of cypress and about 40 houses. The old town of Zohāb about 4 hours to the north is now in ruins. To the east behind the cliffs of Hazār-Djarib lies the little canton of Beshiwe (Kurdish = "below") in a corridor running round the foot of Zagros giving access to the famous col of Pā-Tāk on the slope of which is the Sāsānian edifice called Tāk-i Girrā. In the west the heights of Mēl-i Ya'qūb separate the verdant plain of Sarpul from that of Kaş-i Shirin [q. v.]. Sarpul is the natural halting place for thousands of Persian pilgrims going to the *'atabāt* (Karbalā' and other Shi'a sanctuaries). When the pilgrimage season is at its height (in autumn and winter), a hundred tents may be seen near the bridge. They belong to the Kurdish gipsy tribe of Suzmānī (Fiūdj) the women of which are professional dancers and singers noted for their light morals.

Sarpul corresponds to the site of the ancient Khalmanu of the Assyrians, Hulwān [q. v.] of the Arabs. The earlier name survived as the Kurdish name of the Alwand i. e. Halawān. Traces of the old town are found mainly on the left bank (Pā-pul) where the land is level and beautiful.

Sarpul is noted for its antiquities; 1) the bas-relief and Pahlavi inscription on the cliff on the right bank of the Alwand; 2) three steles on the cliffs of Hazār-Djarib (on the left bank) of which two are Sāsānian (Parthian?) and the third represents Anu-Banini, king of the Lulubi; 3) two miles away to the south of Hazār-Djarib is the Achaemenid tomb cut out of the rock and venerated at the present day under the name of Dukān-i Dā'ūd (Dā'ūd's workshop) by the Ahl-i Haqq (see the art. 'ALĪ ILĀHĪ, q. v.) who have a cemetery at the foot of the rock.

Bibliography: H. Rawlinson, *J.R.G.S.*, 1839, ix. 39; Ritter, *Erkunde*, ix., Berlin 1840, p. 460; J. F. Jones, *Memoirs in Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, xliii., New Series, p. 150; Čirikov, *Putevoi Journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 313 and passim; J. P. Ferrier, *Voyages en Perse*, Paris 1860, i. 29; de Morgan, *Miss. scient.*, ii., *Études géogr.*, Paris 1895, p. 106; iv., *Recherches archéol.*, part i., Paris 1896, p. 149—171 (plates vii. and xii. give detailed sketches of the locality); E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 348; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910, p. 61; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin 1920. (V. MINORSKY)

SART, originally an old Turkish word for "merchant": it is used with this meaning in the Kuḍatku-Bilik (quotations in Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk. Dialecte*, iv. 335) and by Maḥmūd Kaşghārī (e. g. i. 286). In the Uighur translation (from the Chinese, of the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka* the Sanskrit word *sārthavāha* or *sārthalaḥa* "caravan-leader" is translated *sartpau*; this word is explained as the "senior merchant" *sarikh ulugh*). Radloff therefore concludes that Turk. *sart* is an Indian loan-word (*Kuan-si-in Pūsar*, *Bibl. Buddh.*, St. Petersburg 1911, xiv. p. 37). When the Iranians of Central Asia had secured control of the trade with the nomad peoples, the word *sart* became used by the Turks and Mongols as the name of a people with the

same meaning as *Tādjik* (*Tādjik*). Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Berezin, *Trudi vost. Arkh. Obshch.* vii. 141) says that the prince of the (Muslim) Kaḗluḗ, Arslān Khān, when he submitted to the Mongols was called "sartāktāi", i. e. "tādjik", by them. The form of the name of the people here is Sartāk: the *tāi* was added by the Mongols to the name to signify a male member of a people (*op. cit.*, p. 65). As this example shows, the Sartāktāi to the Mongols were not so much people of a definite nationality and language (the Kaḗluḗ were of course a Turkish people) as adherents of a definite type of culture, the Perso-Muḥammadan. The Sartāktāi seems to have come to the Mongols not only as a merchant but also as a bearer of civilisation and especially as an expert in irrigation: this seems to be the only explanation of the Mongol legends of the hero Sartāktāi, and the wonderful canals, bridges and dams which he built (J. N. Potanin, *Očerki severo-za padnoi Hongolii*, St. Petersburg 1881/83, iv. 285/6). Alongside of "Sartāktāi" we find *Sartāul* used in the same meaning a word obviously derived from the same root (e. g. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 541, s). In the Arabic-Mongol glossary published by Melioransky, *sartāul* is explained as *al-muslimūn* (Zap. xv. 75 infra). On the other hand in Turkistān in the Mongol period, we find "Sart" opposed to "Turk", apparently only because of the difference of language; cf. especially the description of Farghāna, in Babūr, ed. Beveridge, f. 26 on Andijān, *ili tusk dūr*, f. 36 on Marghinān *ili Sart tūr*. A. Samoilovič, *Afganistan*, Moscow 1924, p. 103 sq., calls attention to another passage in Babūr (f. 131 a—b), where a distinction seems to be made between Sart and Tādjik; it is said that the population of the town of Kabul and several villages consists of "Sart", while in other villages and wilāyets live other people including the Tādjik. The language of the Sart is often opposed to the language of the Turk by Nur 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i, cf. e. g. the quotation from his *Madjālis al-Nafā'is* in the dictionary of Shaikh Sulaimān in L. Budagow, *Sravoritel'nyi slovar turecks-tatarskikh naričii*, i. 612 and especially the whole of the *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, where Persian as Fārs tili or Sār-tili is contrasted with Turkish (Khoḗand edition, n. d. e. g. p. 19: *Sart türk tili bile nazm aitkandeh faṣṣih türkler*).

After the conquest of Turkistan by the Özbek the contrast between the Özbek and the subject native population must have at times been felt more strongly than the contrast between Turk and Tādjik (or Sart). The Özbek in Kḗiwa are very frequently distinguished from the Sart by Abu 'l-Ghāzi, cf. ed. Desmaisons, p. 231: *Ürgenčning Özbeki wa Sartii*; p. 256: *hazārāspning Özbekin wa Sartin*. The same linguistic usage has survived in Kḗwārizm to the present day. The contrast is less apparent in Bukhārā and Khoḗand: it is more usual especially among the nomads themselves, for the Kazāk [q. v.] and not the Özbek are contrasted as nomads with the Sart as town dwellers and agriculturists. In Khoḗand, government edicts are said to have begun with the words *sartiya wa Kazakiy alargha ma'tūm bolsun* but (as far as I know) no such documents have yet been published. To the Kazāk every member of a settled community was a Sart whether his language was Turkish or Irāniān: in official language the word "Sart" seems to have been applied to the turkicised settled population in contrast to the Tādjik

who had retained their Irānian language, cf. in the *Tārīkh-i Shāhrukhi*, ed. Pantusow (Kazan 1885), p. 193; *Sartiya wa tādjihiya*, p. 209; *Karyahā-i Sartiya wa tādjihiya*, p. 279; *ilātiya wa özbekiya wa Sartiya wa tādjihiya*. The same usage has been adopted by European scholars, although it was difficult to define the difference between Sart and Özbek. According to Radloff (*Kuan-si-im Puser, loc. cit.*) Sart now means, "the Turkish-speaking town dwellers of Central Asia in contrast to the villagers the Özbek". In some regions especially around Samarkand, the villagers still pride themselves on being Özbek and have retained the division into families, but this distinction between town and country does not apply to the whole of Turkistan. No attempt has yet been made to establish a dialectic difference between Sart and Özbek. The settled peoples of Central Asia are in the first place Muslims and think of themselves only secondarily as living in a particular town or district, to them the idea of belonging to a particular stock is of no significance. It is only in modern times under the influence of European culture (through the intermediary of Russia) that a striving for national unity has arisen. The word "Sart", applied by the nomads with unconcealed contempt to the settled population and popularly explained as *sarī it* ("yellow dog"), has now been banished from use: now only an Özbek nationality is recognised in contrast to the nationalities of the Qazāq, Turkomans and Tādjiq.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

SART, small village in Lydia in Asia Minor, the ancient Sardes (*αἰ Σάρδεῖς* of the classical authors, which makes Sāmi write Sārd), capital of the Lydian Kingdom, situated on the eastern bank of the Şart Çai (Pactolus) a little southward to the spot where this river joins the Gediz Çai (Hermus). Although in the later Byzantine period Sardes had lost much of its former importance (as a metropolitan see) and been outflanked by Magnesia (Turkish Maghniṣā) and Philadelphia (Ālā Shehr, q. v.), it still was one of the larger towns, when the Seldjuq Turks, in the 11th century, made incursions into the Hermus valley. At the time they were expelled by the Byzantine general Philocalos (1118). At the end of the 13th century Sardes had been for some time under a combined Greek and Turkish domination, until the Greeks were able to drive away the Turks a second time (Pachymeres, ed. Niebuhr, Bonn 1835, ii. 403). In the beginning of the 15th century the citadel was surrendered to one of the Seldjuq amirs, and the town probably belonged during the remainder of that century to the territory of the Şarukhān [q. v.] dynasty, whose capital was Maghniṣa. So when in 792/1390 the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazid I, after the conquest of the then Greek town Philadelphia, took possession of the Şarukhān country, Sardes was equally incorporated in his empire (Anonymus, Giese, Breslau 1922, p. 28; 'Ashīk Paṣhā Zāde, Constantinople 1333, p. 65). After the battle of Angora, when Timūr marched against Smyrna (805/1402), Sardes and

its citadel were probably destroyed and never recovered again.

At present Şart consists only of a few miserable huts inhabited by Yürüks, between the Şart Çai and the citadel hill. This hill is a long narrow counterfort, 200 metres in height, belonging to Mount Tmolus (now Maḥmūd Dağ) in the South (a topographical sketch of the site in Curtius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.* 1872, Plate V²). East of the ridge is a small millbrook called Taḇaḵ Çai; north of the town it joins the Pactolus, which is united with the Hermus about six km. to the North of the acropolis hill. At the other side of the Hermus is situated the big necropolis of Sardes, a large plain of mounds called *Bin Bir Tepe*. North of this plain is the Mermere Lake, the ancient Lake of Gyges. The railway from Smyrna to Ālā-Shehr runs along the southern Hermus bank and has a station at Şart. In the Turkish administration Şart belongs to the *kaḏā* Şāliḥli of the *Sandjak* Şārūkḥān of the *wilāyet* Aidin. The necropolis belongs to the *Qaḏā* Kaṣaba.

The site of Sardes has gained much importance from an archaeological point of view. The most complete information is to be found in the *Publications of the American Society for the excavation of Sardis* (Leiden 1916). See also Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd Series (Stuttgart 1922), col. 2475 sq.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

SARÜDJ, a town in Diyār Muḏār [q. v.] on the most southerly of the three roads from Biredjik [q. v.] to Urfa [q. v.] in 36° 58' N. Lat. and 38° 27' E. Long. As the name of the town is also that of the district, its relation to the ancient names Anthemusia and Batnae is disputed; cf. *Bibliography*. On account of the fertility of the district in which the town is situated and its central position between the Euphrates on the one side and Urfa and Harrān [q. v.], from each of which it is about a day's journey distant, on the other, the traffic through it brought it a certain degree of prosperity, especially as it was also important as a post-station between al-Rakka and Sumaisāt. According to Ibn Khordādhbeh [q. v.], it was 20 farsakh from the former town and 13 from the latter. The principal occupation was settled by the natural suitability of the soil or growing fruit and the vine, as all the geographers tell us. Within the town itself Ibn Djubair [q. v.] found orchards and running water.

The town was captured with the rest of al-Djazira in 18 (639) by 'Iyād b. Ghanm. There are a number of references to its later history scattered through the geographers and historians; but the history of the town can only be intelligently handled in connection with the history of the Djazira. — By the time of Abu 'l-Fidā' [q. v.], Sarüdj was already in ruins. Modern travellers describe it much as do the mediaeval geographers, except that it appears smaller to them. Sachau (see *Bibl.*) actually speaks of the village of Sarüdj; it is now the residence of a *ka'im-makām*.

Sarūj has attained great fame in literature because the hero of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, Abū Zaid, belonged to it. In this work there are also details regarding the town itself.

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ŞARUKHÂN, the name of a Turkoman dynasty, which made itself independent in Anatolia on the collapse of the kingdom of the Saldjūks of Rūm and had its capital in Maghnisa, the ancient Magnesia on the Sipylus; whether the name was originally that of a tribe (cf. Şarūkhān in Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv. 188) and later survived as that of the dynasty is uncertain. At the beginning of the sixth century Şarūkhān (written Σαρρυανς by the Greeks) is mentioned as lord of Maghnisa which he had occupied in 1313 and had made his capital. He seems to have been engaged in heavy fighting with the Catalan mercenaries of the Byzantine Emperor (about 1304 cf. *Chronik des edlen En Ramon Muntaner*, transl. by K. F. W. Lang, ii. 116 [Leipzig 1842]: Macunxia = Maghnisa), but in the end to have succeeded in asserting his independence. Indeed the Genoese settlement of Foča (Phocaea) owed him allegiance and had to pay a yearly tribute to him (Ducas, p. 162; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 314). While Şarūkhān resided in Maghnisa (Ducas, p. 13; Pachymeres, ii. 451—452; Nicephor. Gregor., ii. 214; Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umari in E. Quatremère in *N. E.*, xiii. 339, 368; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 313), his brother 'Alī was established as an independent prince in Nif (the ancient Nymphaeum, south of Smyrna) cf. Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umari, p. 367 and Defrémery in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, ii. 19 [Paris 1851]. Şarūkhān gradually gained a territory which roughly coincided with the ancient Lydia and included the following towns and villages: Güzel Hisār, Menemen, Ak Hisār, Mermere, Gurdük, Gördös, Kaşadık, Adala, Demirdi, Nif, İlidje, Torgudlu, Foča, Kara Hisār, Kaşaba. His rule even seems to have extended, partially at least, to the Aegean Sea the islands of which he repeatedly ravaged with this fleet (from Pachymeres J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 70). In the course of his apparently stirring reign). Şarūkhān made an alliance with

Andronicus III, the younger, Emperor of Byzantium about 1329 against the Genoese (cf. *G. O. R.*, i. 126 sq. and against Urkhān and about 1345 allowed Umur Beg lord of Aidin-eli a free passage through this land in return for a disputed strip of land when the latter was marching along the Asiatic coast to the Hellespont to assist John VI Kantakuzenos. Şarūkhān's son Sulaimān accompanied the army but died suddenly at Apantea of a malignant fever (cf. Kantakuzenos, ii. 29—30, 450—484; iv. 86, 591—596, where details of these events are given). Şarūkhān must have had another son who died earlier, in addition to Sulaimān (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 313). Soon afterwards, the Empress Anna, mother of John Palaeologos, sought the assistance of Şarūkhān, which, although granted at once, was of no avail (cf. Kantakuzenos, *op. cit.* and *G. O. R.*, i. 136), Şarūkhān must have died very soon afterwards. The throne passed to his son Fakhr al-Dīn Ilyās about whose activities almost nothing is known. He died in 776 (1374/1375) and left the kingdom to his son MUZAFFAR AL-DIN ISHAK of whom also little is known. He was an ardent member of the Mewliye and founded a Mewlewī monastery in Maghnisa as well as the chief mosque (*Ulu Dīārī*) the splendid *minbar* of which of carved wood contains an Arabic inscription of 778 (1376/1377) with his name and titles. He was — probably the first — Mewlewī-Çelebi of Maghnisa and was buried with his wife and sons in the sarcophagi adorned with the Mewlewī head-dress in the mosque built by him in Maghnisa. On his death in 788 (1386/1387) he was succeeded by his son KHAIDR SHAH BEG who lost his kingdom in 792 (1390) or 793 (1391) when Sultān Bāyazid I conquered it and gave it with Aidin-eli and Monteshe-eli to his son Sulaimān (so Idris Bitlist, but Sa'd al-Dīn to Artoghrlu cf. *G. O. R.*, i. 606). Khidr Shāh Beg himself fled to Kötürüm Bāyazid lord of Sinob and Kaşamūnī to seek protection from his oppressor. After the battle of Angora (1402) he was restored to power by Timūr like the other petty dynasts of Anatolia (*ṭawā'if al-Müluk*). A few years later he made an alliance with Isā Çelebi brother of Sultān Mehmed I and supported him in his war against his Sultān brother. Mehmed I was victorious, took Khidr Shāh prisoner and had him put to death after promising him burial in the mosque of his ancestors and guaranteeing the maintenance of his foundations (mosques, schools and hospitals): cf. Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tāḍī al-Tawārikh*, i. 287 sqq., also *G. O. R.*, i. 343. With him the family of the family of the Şarūkhān-oghlu became extinct, and their lands henceforth formed an Ottoman province. As the province of Şarūkhān was that nearest the capital Constantinople and its governorship formed a regular steppingstone to influence and power, the position was usually given to eldest sons of the house of 'Othmān (cf. also *G. O. R.* iii. 267). The sandjak of Şarūkhān existed down to quite recent times and retained its ancient boundaries (on it cf. V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 523—575). The following is the dynastic list based on the available data (see particularly Münadjdīm bāshī, iv. 33). Şarūkhān (c. 700—746 = 1300—1345) Fakhr al-Dīn Ilyās (746—776 = 1345—1374) Muzaffar al-Dīn Ishāk (776—790 = 1473—1388) Khidr Shāh Beg (790—792/93 = 1388—1390/91 and 805—813 = 1402—1410).

Like the lords of Aidin and Monteshe, the

Şarūkhānoghlu struck *gigliati* modelled on the coins struck in Naples and Sicily by the house of Anjou to have a medium of exchange suitable for trading with Italian merchants (cf. J. Friedländer, *Beiträge zur älteren Münzkunde*, p. 52; A. de Longpérier, *Revue numismatique franç.*, 1860, p. 59; Sp. Lampros, *ibid.*, 1869, xiv. 355 sqq. (erroneous attribution); J. Karabacek, in the *Wiener Numism. Zs.*, 1870, ii. 525 sqq., 1877, ix. 200 sq.; briefly dealt with in G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Paris 1878, p. 479—481). The coins of the Şarūkhānoghlu are comparatively rare: only a few pieces in silver and copper are known of the last two rulers, Işhāk Celebi and Khidr Şah Beg; details in St. Lane-Poole, *Catalogues of the Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, vii. 12, London 1894; do., *Catal. of the Bodleian Library, Muhamm. Coins*, Oxford 1888, p. 31 sq., but especially Ahmed Tewhîd in vol. iv. of the *Catalogue des Monnaies des Khakans Turcs*, Stambul 1321, 21903 Turkish, p. 382—386.

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SASAK. [See LOMBOK.]

SĀSĀN, the patron saint of all wanderers and vagrants such as jugglers, beggars, conjurers, and those who go up and down the country accompanied by animals (goats, asses or apes), who show real or feigned diseases and mutilations, gipsies etc. These people are often classed together as the Banū Sāsān and have a bad reputation, as is evident from the literary references, as almost all classes of swindlers are included under this name. Their arts and tricks are called *ilm Sāsān*.

Various traditions seem to exist regarding the father of this trade of begging. According to one story, he was no less a person than the ancestor of the Sāsānian dynasty, Sāsān b. Isfandiyār or b. Bahman, who was excluded from the throne by his father at his death in favour of his sister Humāi and then became a shepherd and beggar. This tradition apparently owes its origin to anti-Sāsānian circles in Persia (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, Leiden 1879, p. 432) and is said to be alluded to as early as Imru' al-Kais (*Muḥit al-Muḥit*, ii. 1026). In modern Persian *Sāsān* has actually come to mean "beggar".

The gild literature also deals with Sāsān. Although the mention of a *Ṭarīka Sāsān* has perhaps never been taken seriously, in certain manuscripts discussed by Thorning (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913) the Shaikh Sāsān is considered as not belonging to the *ṭarīka*, although there are also traditions according to which Shaikh Sāsān with his brothers Khamdān and Raḡbān, all sons of Kaḡān, are in a way the fathers of all handicrafts (Thorning, *op. cit.*, p. 39 sqq.). The author of a manuscript on the gilds in Egypt (Gotha, Pertsch N^o. 903) makes a vigorous onslaught on Sāsān whom he describes as *djāhil* and the cause of the decline of the gild system in Egypt, as he parodied all the old respected customs of the gilds.

Bibliography: The Banū Sāsān and their tricks are discussed by al-Djawhārī, in his *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār wa-Haḡḡ al-Astār*, discussed by de Goeje in the *Z.D.M.G.*, xx. 485, 493, 500; cf. also Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1885, p. 291; Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v. SĀSĀN. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SĀSĀNIANS, a Persian dynasty. The names of the kings in modern Persian forms are as follows:

Ardashīr I, 226—241	Bahrām V, 420—438.
A. D.	Yazdigird II, 438—457.
Shāpūr I, 241—272.	Hurmizd III, 457—459.
Hurmizd I, 272—273.	Firūz, 459—484.
Bahrām I, 273—276.	Balāsh, 484—488.
Bahrām II, 276—293.	Kawādh I, 488—531.
Bahrām III, 293.	Khusrāw I, 531—579.
Narsai, 293—303.	Hurmizd IV, 579—590.
Hurmizd II, 303—310.	Khusrāw II, 590—628.
Adharnarsai, 310.	Kawādh II, 628.
Shāpūr II, 310—379.	Ardashīr III, 628—630.
Ardashīr II, 379—383.	Several ephemeral rulers; cf. Justi in the <i>Gr. d. iran. Philol.</i> , ii. 545.
Shāpūr III, 383—388 (or 387? cf. Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Realenz.</i> , 2 ^d Series, i. col. 2355).	Yazdigird III, 632—641.
Bahrām IV, 388—399.	
Yazdigird I, 399—420.	

The dates are not absolutely certain; this is especially true of the reigns between Hurmizd I and Shāpūr II (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 400 sqq.). The dynasty is said to be descended from a certain Sāsān, of whom little that is really historical is known; the genealogy is then traced farther back through Dārā to the mythical royal family of Īrān. In the beginning of the third century A. D., several petty kings were reigning in Persis under the suzerainty of the Arsakids. The epoch of these dynasts is called the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawwāʾif* by the Arabic and Persian historians, and the term includes the Arsakids (and Seleucids) as well as the minor rulers. Ibn Kṭaiba (*Kitāb al-Maʾārif*, p. 321), for example, includes Ardashīr I himself among the *Mulūk al-Ṭawwāʾif*, as ruler of Iṣṭakhr.

Bābak, Ardashīr's father, who, according to al-Ṭabarī, was originally king of Khir (east of Shīrāz) and whose father Sāsān is said to have held some priestly office in Iṣṭakhr, began to extend his territory at the expense of the other petty kings of Persis. After the brief reign of his son Shāpūr came Ardashīr, who continued what his father had begun until he defeated the Arsakid Artabanus V (Ardawān) in battle and killed him (224). It was probably in 226 that the Sāsānian king conquered the capital Ctesiphon; 226 is usually given as the initial year of the dynasty. But Iṣṭakhr was held in honour throughout the whole period of the dynasty as the ancestral home of the family. The Sāsānians succeeded to the inheritance of the Parthian kings, which included the struggle with Rome and later with the Byzantines. As our most reliable sources for their history are Greek and Roman authors, the relations of the Sāsānians with the empires of the west are best and most fully known to us. Ardashīr I conducted an offensive against Rome. Apart from relatively short periods of peace, this

war went on almost to the end of the dynasty. The earlier Sāsānians endeavoured to expand their empire and Rome in this first period was called upon to defend her eastern possessions.

An important bone of contention was Armenia, where a branch of the Arsakid house ruled which had very early adopted Christianity and directed its policy on Roman lines. A treaty of partition regarding Armenia was made about 387. When Christianity became the official religion in the eastern Roman empire also, a new element entered the political relations with Persia. The persecutions of the church by some kings (like Shāpūr II, Bahrām V, Yazdigird II) contributed to intensify the differences. The history of these wars, the details of which do not belong to this article, has often been written in modern works on Roman and Byzantine history, from Gibbon down to Seck and Bury (cf. also the biographical articles that have so far appeared in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-encyklopädie der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*² on the kings Artaxerxes [Ardashir] I—III, Sapor I—III, Yazdegerd I and II). The best known of these wars were fought between Ardashir I and Severus Alexander, between Shāpūr II and Julian, in which the Roman offensive was at first successful, by Kawādh I against Anastasius I and by Khusrāw I against Justinian. This last war ended in 562 with a treaty which established a fifty years' truce.

The Christians in the Persian empire then attained religious freedom, but the Persian government soon resumed its repressive measures against the Armenian Christians. When the Emperor Justin II soon afterwards began to be dissatisfied with the boundaries of the respective kingdoms and made demands on Khusrāw, hostilities began again. This begins the last stage of this period of wars. Khusrāw I was unsuccessful in the fighting that followed and under Hurmizd IV also the Roman armies were victorious. The Persian general Bahrām Čūbin, who had been insulted by the king, seized the occasion to rebel against Hurmizd; he even aimed at the throne itself. During these turmoils Hurmizd was murdered by two of his relatives; but his son Khusrāw succeeded in escaping to Byzantine territory, where he appealed for help to the Emperor Maurice. With Byzantine assistance he disposed of the usurper, but in the reign of Khusrāw II there was no more prospect of lasting peace with Byzantium, as the Sāsānian, on the deposition and murder of Maurice by Phocas in 602, assumed the role of avenger of the murdered Emperor. In this, the last great war with Byzantium, the Persians at first won considerable successes. Khusrāw's armies conquered Jerusalem and even Egypt. The reaction followed in the reign of Heraclius. Kawādh II, who had deprived his father, Khusrāw, of life and throne, was forced to beg peace from the Emperor. With Khusrāw II died the last important ruler of the dynasty. Kawādh II begins a series of ephemeral rulers (including a usurper, Shahrwarāz, and two queens, Būrān and Azarmidukht) who were raised to the throne in succession by the nobles, only to disappear soon afterwards, until in 632 a grandson of Khusrāw II, Yazdigird III, came to the throne. Although it looked at first as if more settled conditions were to return, Yazdigird III was the last Sāsānian to rule over Irān.

It was not only wars with Rome and Byzantium that endangered the Persian empire. Less civilised peoples, like the Chionites and Gīlānīs (against

whom Shāpūr II had to take the field) and the Hephthalites (Haitāl, defeated by Bahrām V) continually threatened its existence. King Firūz lost his life in an unsuccessful struggle with the latter. It even seems that for some time after this event Persia was tributary to the Haitāl. About the middle of the sixth century A. D., the threat from the Haitāl was replaced by the danger from the Turks. It was not, however, the northern nomads that put an end to the Sāsānian empire, but the Arabs. Even before the beginning of the dynasty, Arab tribes had settled in the Euphrates and Tigris region; in the wars between Byzantium and Persia both parties used Arab assistance. The first king who came into conflict with the Arabs seems to have been Shāpūr I, of whom a war against Hatra is recorded. It must have been an Aramaic king who reigned there, but a story of an expedition by Shāpūr against the Kudā'a has been amalgamated with this story, which was itself already overgrown with legendary matter. How confused all this is shown by the fact that Ibn Ğutaiba (*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, p. 322; cf. Eutychius, ed. Cheikh, i. 106) puts this war with Hatra in the reign of Ardashir, contrary to the usual Persian-Arabic tradition. It is, however, a historical fact that Ardashir besieged Hatra (unsuccessfully) (Dio Cassius, 80, 3). Finally Firdawsī gives a different version of the whole episode and puts it in the reign of Shāpūr II (Macan, p. 1432 etc.). That Hurmizd II inflicted a defeat on the Arabs is very doubtful (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 51, note 2). According to the oriental sources, Shāpūr II was a bitter enemy of the Arabs; that he penetrated to Yamāma, however, and the vicinity of Medina and received the name Dhu 'l-Aktāf from the way in which he ill-treated his prisoners of war is an invention of legend. The Arab kings of al-Hira, the Lakhmids, were vassals of the Sāsānians; their antagonism to the Ghassānids, who were in Roman service, was an important factor, for example in the wars of Khusrāw I with Byzantium, and earlier they had played a part in the dynastic affairs of Persia. It is probable, indeed, that Bahrām V, whose rule was not at first recognised by several nobles, overcame a rival with the help of Nu'mān of al-Hira, amongst others. Khusrāw I even interfered in the domestic quarrels of Arabia, when about 570 he assisted the Yamani pretender Saif b. Dhī Yazan [q. v.] with a Persian army against the Abyssinians. According to Arab tradition, the last king of al-Hira assisted Khusrāw II when fleeing before Bahrām Čūbin, but when the king was firmly established on his throne, he had the Lakhmid seized and executed. Tradition gives no valid reason for this impolitic act. This king Nu'mān of al-Hira is said to have refused his horse to Khusrāw on his flight, or, according to another story, the intrigues of an enemy of his brought about his fall. Governors were appointed to al-Hira by the Persian king. The — not very serious — defeat which the Bakr tribes inflicted on an army of Khusrāw's consisting of Persians and Arabs at Dhū Kār soon showed how impolitic it had been to put an end to the dynasty of al-Hira, the bulwark against the Arabs of the desert. It is, of course, a question whether the Lakhmids would have been of much use against the great Arab tide of conquest which soon afterwards swamped the Sāsānian empire. As early as 633 Abū Bakr sent armies to the Irāk; this began a

series of attacks on the Persian monarchy (battle of the chains, battles of Waladja and Ullais, subjection of al-Hira, etc.) which culminated in the battle of Kādisiya (probably still in 636; cf. the art. KĀDISIYA) where the imperial Persian forces were completely routed. The complete subjection of Irān, however, only dates from the defeat of the Persians at Nihāwand (642). Yazdigird III escaped; but in spite of all his endeavours he did not succeed in obtaining effective assistance from the neighbouring peoples. One of the nobles had him assassinated near Marw in 651.

The Sāsānian empire was a feudal monarchy. The powerful families which already had very great influence in the Arsakid period, like the Surēn, Karēn etc., formed an influential nobility. The influence of the higher priesthood was also considerable. There was a revival of Mazdaeism with the rise of the dynasty; this creed became the state religion in the strictest sense, although the Jews and Nestorians, for example, were usually unmolested in Persia. The punishment for abandoning Mazdaeism for another religion was death. The political influence of the higher priesthood was seen at the accession of Bahrām V. His claims to the throne seem to have been supported by the clergy to an important extent. The works of Chr. Bartholomae (*Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch*, in the *S. B. A. Heidelberg*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1910; *Zum sasanidischen Recht*, i.—iv., ibid. 1918—1922) give us a survey of civil law in the Sāsānian period.

The Persian-Arabic tradition of Sāsānian history goes back to Pahlavi sources now lost, the most important of which must have been a work entitled *Xvatāy-nāmak* (mod. Pers. *Khudāy-nāma*). Taking up a rigidly legitimist attitude, it comprised the period of the mythical kings as well as the history of the reigning dynasty. Good historical material was preserved in this work, e. g. on the early deeds of Ardashīr; on the other side the "histoire anecdotique" plays a great part in it. The records of the doings of the kings are often interwoven with the stock motives of romance. Besides the *Xvatāy-nāmak* there were also smaller historical works, among them the *Kārnāmak i Artaxšatr i Pāpakān* still extant (transl. by Nöldeke, Göttingen 1878; text several times published, e. g. Bombay 1896, 1899, 1900); a fairly long historical romance about Bahrām Čubin can be partly reconstructed from the echoes of it in modern Persian and Arabic literature (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 474 etc.; A. Christensen, *Romanen om Bahrām Tschöbin*, 1907). Such Pahlavi works were early translated into Arabic; for example, the *Xvatāy-nāmak* by Ibn al-Mukaffāʿ; on the other hand, there were modern Persian versions to which traditions preserved in Firdawsī and al-Thaʿālibī go back, although they are not in complete agreement (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. xiv. sqq.; do., *Das iranische Nationalepos*², p. 5 sqq.; al-Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. xxiii. sqq., xliii.; I have been unable to consult V. Rosen, *K woprosu ob arabskich perewodach Chudajname = Zur Frage betreffs der arabischen Übersetzungen des Ch.* [quoted in Zotenberg, *op. cit.*, p. xliii., note 3]. On the relation of the traditions preserved in al-Thaʿālibī to those in Firdawsī see al-Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. xxv. sqq.). The old Arabic translation of Ibn al-Mukaffāʿ has also been lost, but it is reflected in those sections of the Arabic historians, like al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Dīnawarī, etc., which deal with the Sāsānian period.

It is uncertain how far these authors have used Ibn al-Mukaffāʿ' s actual work. The tradition of the history of the dynasty in Ibn Kūtaiba (in his *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*) and Eutychius is more closely connected than in the other writers and shows a special character; indeed, these two historians often agree word for word. According to Nöldeke, it is probable that these two used the original Ibn al-Mukaffāʿ (*Gesch. d. Perser*, p. xxi.); the other historians must have used later versions of the original work (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. xliiii.). Several of the later historians of the Persians have also a section on the Sāsānians, e. g. Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmī al-Tawārikh*) and his copyist al-Kāzwinī (*Tārikh-i Guzida*). These as a rule have no independent value, although it seems to be not impossible that details might still be found in them which are not given elsewhere, as is the case with Ibn Balkhī's *Fārsnāma* (*Gibb Memorial Series*, New Ser., vol. i.; cf. p. xxiii sqq.).

It is from this semi-historical tradition that the anecdotes and witty sayings which are found in the *Adab*-literature relating to these kings and their court for the most part come. They are not uncommon, for example, in the excursus in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj*. The *Marzbānnāma*, which belongs to narrative literature proper, contains several stories of Khusrāw I Anūshīrwān and his vizier Buzurjdmihr. In poetic literature we may mention Niẓāmī, who, on several occasions, took the material for his romantic works from the Sāsānian period, although he occasionally deviates from the accepted tradition, for example, when he gives, in the *Haft Paikar*, the story of Bahrām Gūr (Bahrām V)'s master-shot in an essentially different form from Firdawsī and al-Thaʿālibī, who give a less polished and therefore probably older version. That tradition became much altered in course of time is undoubted. It must also have incorporated Arabic elements, which were foreign to the old Book of Kings, alongside of original Irānian matter. It is no longer possible to discriminate between these strata with any approximation to accuracy. The omission of one or other story in Firdawsī or al-Thaʿālibī is, of course, no criterion; besides, these two no longer used Pahlavi originals, but later versions. Among stories that are certainly old and original are the history of the founder of the dynasty, the story of the killing of Yazdigird I by a demoniacal horse, most of the stories of Bahrām Gūr relating to hunting or women, the death of Firūz in the Hephthalite war, most stories of Anūshīrwān, the cycle containing stories of the fall of Hurmizd IV, the rebellion of Bahrām Čubin and his fall and the further history of Khusrāw II Parwiz to his murder at the instigation of his son Kawādh (*Shirūya*); on the other hand, originally historical events of the Sāsānian period may also have given rise to similar stories, which were put back into the mythical period, as Nöldeke suggests, for example, in the case of the records of the events that followed the death of Firūz (*Iran. Nationalepos*², § 9). We also find episodes which are related of Sāsānian kings in some histories attributed to mythical kings by others; for example, the story of Bahrām Gūr's prohibition of wine in Firdawsī (Macan, p. 1497 sqq.) is placed by al-Thaʿālibī (p. 149; cf. p. xxix) in the reign of Kai Kūbād. The stories based on the very common motif of the king who goes unrecognised into the enemy's country (*Shāpūr II*, Bahrām Gūr) belong to the older

tradition. Other subjects are perhaps later — occasionally due to an Arab intermediary —, like the story of the siege of Hatra and the story connecting Saif b. Dhī Yazan with Khusrāw I; it is possible also that the part of the stories relating to Bahrām Gūr and Khusrāw II, in which the kings of al-Hīra play an important part (accession of Bahrām Gūr, flight of Khusrāw II before Bahrām Čubin), is not entirely free from Arabic elements, which are perhaps also found among the apophthegms of the kings. This is certainly the case with a saying of King Narsai reported by al-Thaʿālibī (p. 510: *wa-kāna lā yarkabu ilā buyūt al-nirān, fā'idhā hila lahu fī dhālika, kāla: kad shaghālani khidmatu 'llāhi 'an khidmat al-nār*).

The rulers the accounts of whom are fullest are as a rule the most important historically: Ardashīr I, Shāpūr I and II, Khusrāw I and II; Bahrām V, however, is really not one of the great kings. When there was nothing known to record of a monarch, the old Book of Kings seems to have confined itself to giving speeches which the king was said to have delivered at his accession, etc. The speeches and apophthegms of the kings were regarded as models of elegant style (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, p. xviii.; al-Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. xv. In the latter, p. 481, we find that even Ardashīr I possessed oratorical talents). Arabic rhetoric seems to have made its influence felt here; at least Hurmizd IV's speech from the throne in al-Dinawari (*Kitāb al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, p. 77 sqq.) gives the impression of coming from an Arabic rather than a Persian original. (Cf. also Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, p. 326 sqq.).

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SATALIA. [See ADALIA].

SATAN. [See SHAṬĀN].

SĀṬĪḤ B. RABĪʿA, a fabulous diviner (*kāhin*) of pre-Islamic Arabia, whom tradition connects with the beginnings of Islām; in reality we have here to deal with a quite mythical personage like the other *kāhin*'s in whose company he appears in most stories, Shīkh al-Ṣaʿbī, who is simply the humanisation of a demoniacal monster in appearance like a man cut in two (*shīkh al-insān*: cf. van Vloten, *W.Z.K.M.*, 1893, vii. 180—181). Sāṭḥ, whose name means "flattened on the ground and unable to rise on account of the weakness of his limbs" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, iii. 312), is described as a monster without bones or muscles; he had no head but a human face in the centre of his chest; he lay on the ground, on a bed of leaves and palm-branches, and when he had to change his position "they rolled him up like a carpet"; only when he was irritated or inspired did he inflate himself and stand up. His close resemblance to Shīkh is accentuated by legend which makes them both be born without the intervention of a father in the night before the death of the *kāhina* Ṭuraifa (the wife of ʿAmr Muzaikīyā, ancestor of the tribe of this name, who is said to have foretold the catastrophe of the breaking of the dam of Maʿrib in the Yaman). She is said before dying to have made the two newborn monsters come to her and after spitting in their mouths (the classic method of transmitting magic power) declared them her successors in the art of *kihāna*.

In spite of these characteristically mythical features Arab genealogical tradition has not refused to give Sāṭḥ a place in its system, but gives him a name and a paternity (Rabīʿ b. Rabʿa b. Masʿūd b. Māzin b. Dhīʿb) which connect him with the Ghassānid branch of the tribe of Azd (just as it connects Shīkh with the Banū Ṣaʿb, a branch of the Banū Badjila) and more precisely with the Banū Dhīʿb (Ibn Duraid, *Ishṭīkāk*, p. 286, 10—13; Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, II, 16; according to others, the Banū Dhīʿb belonged to the ʿAbd al-Kais, a tribe belonging to the Rabīʿa group); there even seems to have been in historic times an Azd clan claiming descent from Sāṭḥ (Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjīstānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarin*, p. 3, in Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii.).

Among the legends associated with the name of Saṭīḥ some are connected with the pre-history of the Arabs and represent Saṭīḥ as acting as a diviner and judge (*ḥakam*) without any regard for history or chronology, even fictitious; sometimes we find him dividing among the sons of Nizār (Muḍar Rabi'a, Iyād and Anmār) their father's estate (*ʿIkd*, 1st and 2nd ed., ii. 46 = 3rd ed., ii. 46—47 = 4th ed., ii. 39); sometimes we find him consulted with *Shiḥk* by al-Zarib al-ʿAdwānī (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, D, 13) regarding the real position of Kaṣī, the ancestor of the Thaḳīf, to whom al-Zarib had been forced to promise his daughter in marriage (*Aghāni*, 1st and 2nd ed., ii. 75). In al-Yaʿkūbī (ed. Houtsma, i. 288—290) it is he who decides the difference that has arisen between ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather, and the two Kaṣī tribes, al-Kilāb and al-Ribāb, regarding the ownership of the well of Dhū 'l-Harm discovered by the former in the vicinity of al-Ṭāʿif; but the parallel versions of the same story either do not mention the name of the arbitrator or give him that of another kahin, Salama b. Abī Haiya al-Ḳudāʿī (al-Maidānī, *Amṭhāl*, ed. 1284, i. 36 = ed. 1310, i. 30; Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 629; *Lisān*, xiii. 283).

Two other legends, on the other hand, have a completely Islāmic stamp; according to the first, given by Ibn Ishāq, who does not give his sources, Saṭīḥ consulted — as always with *Shiḥk* — by the Lakhmid chief Rabi'a b. Naṣr regarding a dream which had frightened him, reveals to him that South Arabia will be invaded by the Abyssinians and that after the expulsion of the latter and the brief dominion of the Persians it will be conquered by a Prophet (Muḥammad); as a result of the oracle Rabi'a b. Naṣr sends his son ʿAmr at the head of the tribe to the king of Persia who settles them at al-Ḥīra; this is the "South Arabian" version of the foundation of the Lakhmid dynasty (cf. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, p. 39).

The second and most widely disseminated legend goes back to a certain Hānī al-Makhzūmī, who is said to have lived to 150 and about whom Muslim historiographical tradition knows nothing (cf. Ibn Ḥadīj, *Iṣāba*, Cairo, vi. 279, N^o. 8,929). It forms part of the cycle of the *ʿalām al-nubūwa*, that is of the miraculous signs which confirm the truth of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. In the night when the latter was born remarkable phenomena occurred throughout the kingdom of Persia. The king (Kisrā Anūshīrwan) not being able to get an explanation from his magicians asked the king of al-Ḥīra, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir (an anachronism!), to send him someone who could explain it. Al-Nu'mān sent ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Buḳaila al-Ḡhassānī (on him see the *Kitāb al-Muʿammārīn*, p. 38; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 935, 12 A. H., § 165; iv. 657, 21 A. H., § 328), who not being able to explain these marvels himself went to Saṭīḥ, his maternal uncle, who lived in the desert. He found him at the point of death and his appeal was unanswered; only after his nephew had addressed him in verse, did the kahin predict to him the coming fall of the Persian Empire and its conquest by the Arabs, etc. Having delivered this oracle, his uncle Saṭīḥ died.

Saṭīḥ claimed to receive his knowledge of the future from a familiar spirit (*raʿī*, cf. above, ii. 625a) who had overheard the conversation of God with

Moses on Mount Sinai and had revealed part of it to him. Here we see the influence of the Qur'ānic passage (lxii. 1) about the djinn who overhear God's utterances.

The calculations of the Arab historians on the age reached by Saṭīḥ are naturally quite fanciful; those of them who place his birth at the time of the bursting of the dam at Ma'rib and his death at Muḥammad's birth, give him a life of 600 years. It should be observed that Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī [q. v.], whose version is markedly different from the others (he does not speak of his monstrosity, puts his home in al-Bahrain, etc.), makes him die in the reign of the Ḥimyar king Dhū Nuwās and therefore does not know of his prophecy to Kisrā Anūshīrwan.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

SAUL. [See ṬĀLŪT.]

SĀWA (older SĀWAD), a town and district in Central Persia. It lies on the direct road from Kāzwin to Ḳum (Kāzwin-Sāwa: 22 farsakh; Sāwa-Ḳum: 9 farsakh). This road practically corresponds with the royal road (*Shāhrah*) described by Mustawfī (Sūmghān [?]—Sagzābād-Sāwa-Isfāhān) which was very important when, under the Mongols Arghūn and Uldjaitū, Sultāniya became the capital of Persia. The Kāzwin-Sāwa road may yet again resume its old importance for traffic between North Persia and the southern provinces. For the present it is eclipsed by a longer combination of paved roads leading through the capital: Kāzwin-Teherān (22 farsakh) and Teherān-Ḳum (22 farsakh). On the other hand Sāwa has definitely lost its position as a stage on the route from Hamadhān to Raiy (Teherān) (61 farsakh) on which the Arab geographers place it. Traffic between Hamadhān and the capital now goes via Nawbarān-Zarand or, with a detour, by the paved roads Teherān-Kāzwin-Hamadhān (about 54 farsakh). Geographical considerations explain the decline of the town. The desert is gradually invading the district of Sāwa as a result of a breakdown in the control of the irrigation system.

Sāwa is situated in the north-west corner of a plain (c. 30 × 25 miles) open towards the east the lower part of which is being gradually engulfed by salt marshes. The district is watered: 1. by the Ḳara-Sū (the Gāwmāhā or Gāwmāsā of Mustawfī) which is formed by three streams: the

southern and most important (Do-āb) comes from the north face of the Bakhtiyārī mountains (Djā-pelākh); the western descends from the Alwand (Orontes) of Hamadhān and the northern has its source in the mountains of Kharrākān. Having crossed the plain of Sāwa, the Kara-čai pours its brackish waters into the central desert and disappears; 2. by the Mazdakān (*vulgo*: Mazlaghān)-čai which rises near Dargazīn (east of Hamadhān) and runs parallel to the Kara-čai and before rejoining it on the left bank (north) disappears into several irrigation canals in the north-west part of the plain of Sāwa.

Sāwa is not known before the Muslim period. Tomaschek connects its name with the Avestan word *sava*, Pahlavi *savaka*, "advantage, utility" (?). The Persian dictionaries give "pieces of gold" for *sāwa*. According to Tomaschek, Sāwa corresponds to the Sevavicina or Sevakina of the Tabulae Peutingerianae.

Ibn Hawkal says that Sāwa was noted for its camels and camel-drivers. Al-Muḥaddasī mentions its fortifications, its baths and a Friday mosque near the great road at some distance from the market. The people of Sāwa (as of Ulūdžird) were Shāfiʿī Sunnis who were at permanent feud with their neighbours in Āwa who were fervent "twelver" Shīʿīs. The Mongols sacked the town in 617 (1220) and burned its fine library (Yākūt) which also contained astronomical instruments (al-Ḳazwīnī). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (ed. Le Strange, p. 62) gives the four *nāhiya*'s of Sāwa: Sāwa, Āwa, Djahrūd and Būsin(?) with 46, 17, 25 and 42 villages respectively, 130 in all. Khwādja Zahir al-Dīn Sāwādī about the time of Mustawfī (viiith—xivth cent.) rebuilt its walls which were 6200 *dhār*^c (7,000 yards) in circumference and his son Khwādja Shams al-Dīn incorporated into the town the suburban village of Rūdābān.

Mustawfī extols the fruits of Sāwa but quotes the Persian proverb about its cereals: "the straw of Ḳum is better than the grain of Sāwa". The pomegranates of Sāwa are renowned throughout Persia to this day.

Among the European travellers Marco Polo mentions Sāwa ("Saba") as the town from which the three Magi kings set out for Bethlehem and where they are buried in a square sepulchre. This Persian-Christian legend must be based on a local popular interpretation of texts like "Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent" (Psalm lxxii. 10). According to another story given by Marco Polo, the three kings are buried respectively at Sāwa, Āwa and Ḳalʿa-i Ātašparastān, which Vule locates between Sāwa and Abhar, while Tomaschek identifies it with Diz-i Gabrān (one stage beyond Ḳum on the road from Kāshān).

Sāwa is mentioned by Giosafa Barbaro (1474), Figueroa (1618) etc. Chardin laments its sterile soil and heat. In 1849 the English consul K. E. Abbot counted 300—400 houses in Sāwa with 1000 inhabitants; he says that the soil is excellent everywhere that it is not mixed with the *kavīr* but that the salt desert is met with at only 9 miles from the town.

At a distance of only 4 farsakh to the south of Sāwa is the old Shīʿa centre: the little town of Āwa watered by a stream coming from the heights of Tafrīsh which separate the plain of Sāwa from that of Farāhān (Persian ʿIrāk). According to Tomaschek, Āwa corresponds to the ᾿Αβαννα

of Ptolemy. Al-Muḥaddasī calls it Āwā, Yāqūt Āba. Kūh-i Namak lies between Āwa and Ḳum. It is composed of salt and its friable soil — Haussknecht calls it *Gidān-Gelma* — makes it impossible to climb it. In Mustawfī's time Āwa was 5000 paces in circumference. Houtum-Schindler says that the ruins of the old town are beside the modern village (100 houses) and that the tomb of Shamʿūn (Simeon?) is shown there. Mustawfī talks of the tomb "attributed" to the Prophet Samuel but puts it 4 farsakh north of Sāwa.

At the present day the population of the district of Sāwa is wholly Shīʿa. It consists of Persians and Turks. The latter belong to the local confederation of Shāh-Sewen which includes the remnants of the tribe of Khaladj. The district of Sāwa is frequently called Khaladjistān. There are Shāh-sewen to the north-east and to the south of Sāwa. The Khaladj live more especially to the north of the Ḳum-Sultānābād road (Rāhgird, Tadj-Khātūn, Djahrūd, Tafrīsh). In several of their villages (Kundurūd, Mawdjān, Sift, Fowdjird, Kardedjan) a very peculiar Turkish dialect is spoken: *warorom baghka*, "I am going to the garden"; *hissi-ri*, "it is warm"; *hāw-ēā*, "in the home"; *yol havul dagh-artti*, "the road was not good", etc. The dialect is worth the attention of students of Turkish (cf. the art. SHĀH-SEWEN).

In the tenth century A.H. (Ibn Faḳīh) Sāwa formed part of the province of Ḳum. In modern times it has formed part of various administrative combinations. Sometimes it was governed along with the districts to the south (Mahallāt, Kazzāz), sometimes with Zarand (N.-E. of Sāwa) and Kharrākān (*vulgo*: Ḳaraghān). This last mountainous district formed an enclave between the provinces of Ḳazwīn and Hamadhān. It consists of three *bulūk*: Afshār-i Bakishlu, Afshār-i Ḳutlu and Ḳaragöz; the chief town of Kharrākān is situated in the latter at the foot of the pass. It is called Āwa and must not be confused with the place or the same name in Sāwa. About 1890 Sāwa was governed by an Austrian officer in the Persian service, von Taufenstein. At the beginning of the twentieth century it formed a kind of fief of the brigade of Persian Cossacks at Teherān. One of the higher officers of this military force acted as governor of Sāwa and controlled the Turkish natives who supplied the principal contingent to the brigade.

The antiquities of Sāwa are: 1. the barrage on the Kara-čai (about 12 miles S.S.W. of the town) said to owe its origin to Shams al-Dīn al-Djuwainī [q. v.], vizier of several rulers of the viith (xiiith) century (cf. *Nushat al-Ḳutub*, ed. Le Strange, p. 221). The barrage is said to have been restored under the Ṣafawids; it is known as *band-i Shāh ʿAbbās*. It occupies the passage between two hills and is about 65 feet high, 100 long and 45 thick. Beside it on the left bank, the road rises in a kind of spiral: caravans were thus able to ascend the dam which was used as a bridge and descend on the west side by a gradual slope on the right bank. The attempts to repair this important work by closing the path which the river has made through it have so far failed with resultant ruin for the district. 2. The fortress of Kiz-ḳalʿa on a rock in the centre of an amphitheatre of hills not far from the dam. 3. Two mosques at Sāwa, one in the town, built, according to Houtum-Schindler, in 1518 A.D.; the other, very beautiful,

situated outside the town among the old ruins on the south side. This *masjīd-i djum'a* seems to occupy the site of the mosque mentioned by al-Muḥaddasi. According to Houtum-Schindler, the present building dates from 1516 A.D. but J. Dieulafoy attributes its "restoration" to Shāh Tahmasp (930—984 = 1524—1576). 4. Near this Friday mosque is a much older minaret 36 feet high, built of bricks arranged in rows with geometrical designs superimposed. Dieulafoy dates it to the Ghaznawid period but a comparison with a similar minaret at Khusrawgird (Khusrāsān) which is dated 505 (1111) suggests that it is of the same period (cf. Sarre, *Denkm. pers. Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, ii. 112—113, and E. Herzfeld, *Khorāsān*, in *Isl.*, xi. 170). 5. The reservoir (*āb-anbār*) with the great gateway which may date from the xiiith century of the Christian era (Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 171).

Among famous men born in Sāwa, Yākūt mentions Abū Ṭāhir 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad, one of the principal Shāfi'ī Imāms (d. 484). Mustawfi mentions the tomb of Shaikh 'Uthmān Sāwādī near the town. On the poet Salmān-i Sāwādī (700—778 = 1300—1376) see E. G. Browne, *A Hist. of Pers. Litt. under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 260—271 etc., and the article SALMĀN.

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Maps: Houtum-Schindler, *loc. cit.*; A. F. Stahl, *Peterm. Mitt.*, suppl. fasc., No. 118, Pl. 1; Th. Strauss, *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1905, Pl. 21; H. Kiepert, *Vorbericht über Prof. C. Haussknechts orientalische Reisen*, Berlin 1882, Pl. iv. (V. MINORSKY)

[Sāwa plays an important part in the legends of Muḥammad. According to a frequently quoted tradition (for details see A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad*, i. 134 sqq., and Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 253 sqq.), a lake (*buḥaira*) in the neighbourhood of Sāwa sank into the ground in the night in which the Prophet was born. The site was still pointed out to al-Kāzwīnī in the xiiith century. As the tradition quoted shows a rather accurate knowledge of Irānian matters, we may safely seek an allusion to a definite Irānian conception in this single feature of the story. Now in Zoroastrian eschatology the lake Kansava (*Kasaoya*) plays an important part; in the later Avesta it is located in Eastern Irān and is said to correspond to Lake Hāmūn in Sidjīstān. In it is preserved the seed of Zarathushtra from which in the end will arise the saviour Saoshyant. When we find the legend of the drying up of a lake in Irān connected with

the birth of Muḥammad, we may interpret it as an allusion to this mythical lake. The legend symbolises the destruction of the hope of a Zoroastrian saviour, just as the earthquake in the royal palace at Ktesiphon recorded in the same tradition symbolises the end of the Irānian empire and the extinction of the sacred fire the end of Zoroastrian culture. (H. H. SCHAEDEER)]

SAWĀD, a name of the 'Irāk [q.v.]. While the name 'Irāk has been proved to be a Pahlavi loanword (from *Erag*, "low land, south land", occurring in the Turfan fragments, with assimilation to the semantically connected stem 'rḱ; cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Arab.*, p. 69; H. H. Schaefer, *Isl.*, xiv. 8—9; J. J. Hess, *Zeitschr. f. Semitistik*, ii.) sawāa "black land" is the oldest Arabic name for the alluvial land on the Euphrates and Tigris given on account of the contrast to the eye between it and the Arabian desert (Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 174, 14 sqq.). The name has undergone a threefold development of application. 1) It is identified with the political division of 'Irāk and thus corresponds to the Sāsānian province of *Sūristān* (*Dil-i Erān-shahr*). With this meaning the historians of the Arab conquests use the name Sawād for the 'Irāk (cf., for example, al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 241, 2) and especially the compilers of monographs on taxation or political handbooks (cf. Abū Yūsuf, Yahyā b. Ādam, *Qudāma al-Māwardī*; also Ibn Khaldūn). The reason for this is that in the cadastral and revenue regulations of 'Umar I the name Sawād was used officially. 2) It is used as the name of the cultivated area within a district, e.g. *Sawād al-'Irāk*, *Sawād Khūzistān*, *Sawād al-Urdunn*. 3) Before the name of a town it means the systematically irrigated and intensively cultivated fields in its vicinity, e.g. *Sawād* of al-Baḡra, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād, Tustar, Bukhārā, etc.

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SAWĀKIN (SUAKIM or SUAKIN) a seaport on the west coast of the Red Sea in 19° 5' N. Lat. The town is built on a picturesque little oval-shaped island about a mile in circumference and 300 yards long, which lies off the mainland in the centre of a deep bay. The harbour is reached through a narrow channel 4 or 5 miles long hemmed in by coral reefs; Sawākin is connected with the African continent, by a causeway about 60 yards long, commanded by a fort. At the entrance to this road is a pretty gateway which can be closed by a door, through which one reaches the suburb of al-Kaif, which lies on the mainland. The Customs House and the Government buildings are the most important buildings on the island town. The best houses are fine white buildings of three stories, recalling in style those of Djidda. Among modern erections Kitchener's Gate, a handsome half Moorish edifice, is worthy of note. The pri-

mitive shapeless huts of the natives are in lurid contrast to these buildings. The bazaar consists of drinking-bars kept by Greeks and a little street with coffee-shops and booths. The half-dozen Europeans settled in Sawākin live among the primitive reed-huts of the natives in houses which are not always particularly habitable. The town possesses a single school which, however, is one of the best in the whole Sūdān. The suburb of al-Kaif on the mainland is surrounded by a wall which was at one time flanked by half a dozen forts and protected by an outer line of trenches. It has a much larger population than the island town, possesses a large bazaar in which the business life of the town is carried on and irregular streets in which live smiths and leather workers — the former make spearheads and knives and the latter do a busy trade in amulets — and barbers much visited by the male population. A few silversmiths provide the ornaments required by the women and make bracelets and anklets, ear- and nose-rings. Outside the suburb, which is a long narrow oasis surrounded by salt-lakes and prairie-like desert, are wells surrounded by gardens and date-palms, providing the town's drinking-water. The climate of Sawākin is not particularly healthy for Europeans. The heat never falls below 86° F even in winter; in June and August changeable winds predominate which often rise to dangerous sandstorms.

Sawākin is an old settlement, although the harbour is not important — it can only be entered by day owing to the narrow channel and the coral-banks. It has been suggested — probably rightly — that Pliny's Oppidum Succhae was here. In the middle ages the district belonged to the Bedjā (Blemmyers) to whom belong the modern Hadendoa, Ababde and Bisharin. The old connections of the Mekkans with the West African coast of the Red Sea brought about the settlement of Arab merchants here who intermarried with the Bedjā. The matriarchal institutions of the Bedjā enabled the half-breeds to attain important positions and Ibn Battūta in 1330 A. D. found in Sawākin a son of the Amīr of Mekka ruling the Bedjā. The upper strata of the populace professed Islām. al-Maḥrizī calls them Ḥadārib. In those days Sawākin had a serious rival in the harbour of 'Aidhāb farther north, which Th. Bent has identified in the modern Sawākin Qadīm, 12 miles north of Ḥalaib. The harbour, now in ruins, was very important between 450 and 760 A. H. as a landing-place for goods from India and Arabia and was a meeting-place for merchants from the Yaman and a rendez-vous for Egyptian and African pilgrims who sailed from here for Djidda. As Sawākin, which lay seven days' march to south, was also a landing-place for ships from Djidda, there must have been a good deal of competition between the two towns, from which Sawākin in the end emerged victorious. Al-Hamdānī († 945 A. D.) still reckons it in Central Abyssinia (*al-Ḥabash al-Wusṭā*). Under Sulṭān Selim I the Turks occupied the harbour. It was under the Pasha of Djidda who governed it through an Agha until in 1865 Egypt acquired it from Turkey by cession or purchase. The Mahdist period (1883—1898) was a heavy blow to Sawākin, as trade died away completely owing to the closing of the important Sawākin-Berber caravan road. By the treaty of July 16, 1899, between England and Egypt, Sawākin was placed under the Anglo-

Egyptian condominium along with the Sūdān and now belongs to the Red Sea Province, the largest cotton-growing area in the Sūdān.

Sawākin now has about 10,000 inhabitants. The town has a rather neglected look and almost half the buildings are in ruins, as the inhabitants in many cases are no longer able to afford the expense necessary to maintain them. The newly founded harbour of Port Sūdān is also a serious rival to Sawākin and has attracted a great deal of the trade and traffic in which Sawākin was once supreme. In spite of this competition Sawākin has been able to keep an important position as regards trade and the wholesale migration of business to Port Sūdān expected by many has not materialised. Although the numerous wholesale and retail firms are no longer as busy as they were before the foundation of Port Sūdān, they are still doing very well and very few native firms are suffering under trade depression. Sawākin will maintain its position if only because the trade of the natives stubbornly sticks to it and regards it as the main centre of the commerce of the Red Sea Province. Sawākin still is, as before, the starting place of pilgrims to Djidda. Fifty years ago the slave trade was still flourishing on the same route and some 3000 slaves annually were shipped from here to the market in Djidda, a trade which the English government was only able to suppress with great difficulty. Sawākin is now connected by a branch line from Athara Junction with Port Sūdān; the railway was made in 1905. If the stretch from Sawākin to Tokar (56 miles) is made, and it is planned for the near future —, the two towns are at present connected by a caravan road — the harbour of Sawākin will receive a new stimulus. At the present time the excellent cotton-wool from Tokar, 56 miles S. E. of Sawākin, is brought on camel-back to the harbour of Trinkat and then shipped the 1½ to 2 days voyage to Sawākin. With the building of the railway the Kassala-Sawākin (via Tokar, 297 miles) and Berber-Sawākin (241 miles) caravan routes, on which most of the trade with the interior is done at present, would lose their importance but the amount of the trade would considerably increase. Beside the railway line there is also an irregular steamer service connecting with Port Sūdān. There is also a steamer connection with Djidda with a fortnightly service. The main article of commerce and export are cotton, sesame oil, butter, hides, wax, resin, senna and ivory.

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SAWDA BINT ZAM'Ā B. KAIS, Muḥammad's second wife, was one of the first women who embraced Islām. She accompanied her first husband al-Sakrān b. 'Amr and her brother Malik to Abyssinia, with the second party of Muslims who repaired thither. The pair returned to Mekka before the *Hidjra*, and al-Sakrān, who had become a Christian in Abyssinia, died there. By this union Sawda had a son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was killed in the battle of Djalūlā.

Sawda's marriage to Muḥammad was arranged by Khawla bint Ḥakīm, who wished to console him for the loss of Khadija, and took place about a month after the latter's death, in the tenth year of Muḥammad's mission, in Ramaḍān, before his journey to al-Ṭā'if.

In the first year of the *Hidjra* Sawda, together with Muḥammad's daughters, joined him in Medina; her dwelling and 'Ā'isha's were the first to be built in the Mosque.

Sawda was no longer young at the time of her second marriage, and, as she grew older, became fat and ungainly to such a point that Muḥammad, during a pilgrimage, allowed her the privilege of reaching Minā for the morning prayer before the crowd's arrival, to avoid being jostled. As she grew older Muḥammad wearied of her and neglected her, while he spent a great deal of his time with the youthful 'Ā'isha; in 8 A. H. he divorced her, but Sawda stopped him in the street and begged him to take her back, offering to yield her day to 'Ā'isha, as "she was old, and cared not for men; her only desire was to rise on the Day of Judgement as his wife". The Prophet consented; on this occasion Sūra iv. 127 was revealed.

Sawda was charitable and good-natured; in one of his prophetic utterances Muḥammad seems to have alluded to her as the "longest-handed", i.e. the most charitable of his wives, who would be the first to join him in Heaven, and 'Ā'isha used to say: "There is no woman in whose skin I had rather be than Sawda's, except that she is somewhat envious".

Together with Zainab bint Djahsh, Sawda did not take part in the last pilgrimage. Of her life after Muḥammad's death there is no record, except that she received a gift of money from 'Umar; this, together with the fact that no mention is made of her dowry, may mean that she was in straitened circumstances, though she had received her share of the spoils of Khaibar. She died in Medina, in Shawwāl 54 A. H., during the caliphate of Mu'awiya, who bought her house in the Mosque, together with that of Ṣafīya, for 180,000 dirham.

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AL-SAWDĀ' or **AL-KHARIBAT AL-SAWDĀ'**, a ruined city in al-Djāwī in South Arabia, in what was once the ancient Minaean kingdom. J. Halévy, who visited the ruins, calls it *es-Soud* and describes it as an extensive system of ruins one hour's journey N. E. of the also important al-Baiḍā'. Al-Sawdā' is built on an eminence. The ancient town was apparently destroyed by a conflagration and was presumably an important industrial centre, especially for metal work; even at the present day the vitrified soil is covered with slag-heaps. Insignificant remains of the sur-

rounding wall and a few steles are all that remain of its former splendour. D. H. Müller suggests that these ruins mark the site of the Minaean town of Karnā. F. Hommel identifies it with the Nashān of the Minaean inscriptions. Al-Ḥamdānī describes al-Sawdā' as one of the strongholds of the tribe of Nashk. The old Minaean town thus survived into the later period as the stronghold of a prominent family. The name "Black Fort" should probably be explained as referring to the building material, black lava or basalt.

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SAWDĀ, MİRZĀ MUḤAMMAD RAFI', Urdū poet and satirist, was born in Dehlī in 1125 (1713). His father Mīrzā Shafī' (from Kābul) was a merchant and had established himself in India. Sawdā was educated in Dehlī and his teachers in the art of poetry were Sulaimān Kulī Khān Widad and Shāh Zuhūr al-Dīn Ḥātim. Like his contemporaries, Mīrzā Mazhar Djān-i Djānān, Mīr Taqī Mīr and Khwādja Mīr Dard, he had derived much literary benefit from the eminent Persian scholar and poet Sirādj al-Dīn 'Alī Khān Arzū; and it was he who persuaded Sawdā to write in his own mother tongue in preference to Persian. Sawdā's Urdū poetry very soon attained a high standard of excellence and he was recognised as one of the masters of Urdū poetry. At the age of about sixty he left Dehlī, and after a short sojourn at Farrukhabād went to Lakhnaū where he settled for the rest of his life. Aṣaf al-Dawla, the king of Lakhnaū, raised him to the high position of *Malik al-Shu'arā'*. Sawdā died at Lakhnaū in 1195 (1781). His works were collected by Ḥakīm Aṣḥā al-Dīn Khān and were first published at Calcutta early in the sixteenth century followed by numerous lithogr. editions.

Sawdā is rightly considered to be one of the greatest Urdū poets. He excelled in *qaṣida* and *ghazal* and his satires are witty and sharp. He was well versed in music also. Dr. Fallon's adverse remarks about his poetry are not justifiable.

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(A. SIDDIQI)

SĀWDJ-BULĀK, a Persian corruption of the Turkish *so'uk-bulak* "cold spring"; the form *sawdj* (pronunciation *sā'udj*) is found as early as the

Nuzhat al-Kulūb (740 = 1340). There are two places of this name:

1. The fertile district beginning at Teherān and stretching to the west of the river Karađ along both sides of the great Teherān-Kāzwīn road. To the north a range of hills separates it from Talaḳān. On the southern slopes of these hills are the pits of Feshand which supply the capital with coal. The district is watered by the Kordān which rises in the same heights. Among its villages Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions Sunḳurābād and Nadjmābād which still exist at the present day. The centre of the district is marked by Yangī-Imām (an artificial mound with a tomb). At the south-western extremity of the district is the little town of Ishtihārd whose inhabitants speak the Īrānīan dialect called *tāti*; other villages of the same language (towards Kāzwīn) are Sagziābād, Shādmān, Ispīawarīn, Čāl and Siāhdahān. Many of the people of Ishtihārd profess Bahā'ism. See the map in A. F. Stahl, *Peterm. Mitt.*, suppl. fasc., No. 118, 1896, sheet I, and his map *Umgegend von Teheran*, Gotha 1892.

2. The southern section of the province of Ādharbāidjān, the capital of which is Sāwdj-Bulāk (in Kurdish Sā-blāgh). The governors of Sāwdj-Bulāk are appointed from Tabriz, but ethnographically Sāwdj-Bulāk forms part of Persian Kurdistān, which consists of three parts: a) Kurdistān of Mukrī in the north, corresponding to the *ḥukūmat* of Sāwdj-Bulāk; b) to the south Kurdistān of Sinna (cf. the art. SENNE) and c) to the south of it Kurdistān of Kirmānshāh.

The province of Sāwdj-Bulāk is bounded on the north by Lake Urmiya; in the north-west by the districts of Suldūz and Ushnū watered by the Gādir-čai; on the west by the heights of the Qandil forming the Turco-Persian frontier; in the south by the Sūr-kēw range separating Bāna from the district of Shilēr; on the east by the watershed between the Tatawū and the Djaghātū (only the district of Sakḳiz borders on the basin of the latter river); on the north-east by the course of the Tatawū on the right bank of which lies the isolated district of Miyan-du-āb ("between the two waters"). The Tatawū at the same time forms the boundary between the Turks of this latter district and the Mukri-Kurds of Sāwdj-Bulāk. Sāwdj-Bulāk measures 80 by 60 miles and has an area of about 4,800 to 5,000 square miles.

Hydrography. The Mukri country lies across two watersheds, that of the Lake of Urmiya and that of the Little Zāb (a tributary of the Tigris). To the first belong three separate rivers: 1. the Djaghātū, which rises in Mount Čihil-Čašma at the eastern extremity of the Turkish enclave of Shilēr which runs far into Persian territory between Bāna in the north and Mariwān in the south; 2. the Tatawū (Mustawfī: Taghatū) rising in the extreme south-east of Kurtak; 3. the Sāwdj-Bulāk rising in the eastern face of the Maidān pass (between Paswa and the town of Sāwdj-Bulāk). The river-system of the Little Zāb (*al-Zāb al-asfal*) belongs to the basin of the Persian Gulf. Its upper course is formed on the high plateaux of Lāhidjān Mukri; the north-western branch (Lāwēn) rises on the eastern face of the Qandil just south of the pass of Kel-i Shin; the north branch (Bārd-i Mēshe) comes from Djaldjān via Ushnū; the north-east branch (Āwa-zurū) from the west face of the Maidān pass.

Taking in on its right bank the swift waters of Badināwā, Āwa-Prdānān, Khidirāwā, Tālestān and Kāzān and on the left the large streams that rush down the gorges of the Kurtak, the Little Zāb under the name of Zei or Kialū rolls southwards, but below Sardasht it turns sharply westwards to force a passage through the ravine of Alān to the Tigris. Just at this bend, close to the pretty village of Alōt, the Kialū receives on the left bank the important tributary which drains the whole basin of Bāna (except the district of Namashīr, the waters of which enter the Kialū above Alōt). The river of Bāna (Āwa-Kiwerō) forms an almost straight line with the ravine of Alān. The left bank below Dunēs belonged to Turkey (Alān-i Girgasha). The frontier here follows the course of the Kiwerō and then of the Kialū, finally ascending the Qandil leaving Bētūsh to Persia and Qandōl to Turkey.

There is only one little stream that escapes the gigantic funnel of the Alān; the rivulet of Wazna rising on the verdant heights of this name to the south-east of the great cone of the Qandil describes a semi-circle to the west of the Kialū and enters the Mesopotamian plain (Piždar) by a deep defile where it finally rejoins the Little Zāb on its right bank.

Orography. The lofty chain of the Qandil rises like a wall between the territory of Sāwdj-Bulāk and the districts of the former Turkish Kurdistān: Rawāndūz and Kō-i Sandjāk. Among the Arabs the Qandil was called Sha'rān, in Persian Takht-i Shīrōye (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 298), by the Armenians Zarasp (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 249, 266). The famous pass of Kel-i Shin (about 9,000 feet high) between Ushnū and Sidaḳān (belonging to Rawāndūz) lies to the north and outside the boundaries of Sāwdj-Bulāk. Communication between Sāwdj-Bulāk and Mesopotamia is maintained by the less elevated (6,000 feet) and more convenient pass of Garū-Shinka, between Lāhidjān and Bālak (Rāyāt), as well as by the defiles of Wazna and Alān. All traffic is, however, considerably hampered by the presence of turbulent tribes on both sides of the frontier.

The great perpendicular arête which is detached from the southern extremity of the Qandil and forms the northern wall of the ravine of Alān is noteworthy. It is called Dārū and its pass the Hawmīl.

The heights running between Lāhidjān and the valley of the Gādir are of little importance except a few peaks (Bīčāra and Čoghantū). They extend to the Tatawū, where they cut the town of Sāwdj-Bulāk off from the northern district of Shār-i Wērān; they allow a passage, however, to the Sāwdj-Bulāk river.

The central longitudinal massif of Kurtak (up to 7,000 feet) separates the waters of the Kialū from the basin of Lake Urmiya; to the north it joins the summit of Čoghantū.

The eastern part of Mukri Kurdistān is in the form of a square, the sides of which are in the north the latitudinal heights; in the west the Kurtak; in the south the watershed of the Tatawū on one hand and of Namashīr and Sakḳiz on the other; these heights coalesce in the extreme south of the Kurtak and their principal summit is Bārd-i Sūr ("red stone"); lastly on the east the heights of the watershed between the Tatawū and the Djaghātū. The interior of the square formed by the system of the Sāwdj-Bulāk-čai and of the Tatawū is extremely irregular: it contains mountain peaks (Tarāḳa), gentle slopes and fertile valleys.

To the south and outside the square are the districts of Sak̄kiz [q.v.] and Bāna. The first inclines from south-west to north-east. It is watered by the northern sources of the *Djaghātū* and fills the angle between the square of Sāwdj-Bulāk and the lands of Bāna. The latter district, on the other hand, forms a valley sloping from east to west towards the basin of the Kialū. To the south Sūr-kēw ("Red mountain") forms the boundary; to the east the heights of Shiwe-gwēzan separate it from the southern sources of the *Djaghātū* (River *Ṣāhib*); to the north-east the heights of the Kel-i Khān pass rise as a barrier between the wooded slopes of Bāna and the bare hills of Sak̄kiz. To the north the rocky group of Balū (the "oak") bounds the principal valley of Bāna. To the north of Balū runs the river of Namashīr which runs directly into the Kialū on its left bank. Balū thus forms an isolated group corresponding to Dārū on the right bank of the Kialū. The true northern boundary of Bāna is therefore formed by the mountain of Bārd-i Sūr to the north of the districts of Dasht-i Tāl and Namashīr.

From the administrative (and ethnographical) point of view the province of Sāwdj-Bulāk is divided into the following parts:

I. Mukrī Kurdistān properly so-called, inhabited by settled Kurds belonging to the Mukrī and Debokrī tribes. The capital is the town of Sāwdj-Bulāk founded, according to Rawlinson, at the beginning of the xviiith century. A century later it comprised 1200 houses of which 100 belonged to Jews and 30 to Syrians. The town retained this size till the outbreak of the Great War. According to H. Schindler, the town lies in 36° 45' 48" N. Lat. and 45° 47' E. Long. at a height of 4,272 feet above sea-level. The following districts (*maḥall*) form this part of Mukrī Kurdistān. 1. The environs of the capital, 36 villages; 2. Shār-i Wērān "the deserted town"; this very rich district is situated to the north of the capital and has 68 villages belonging to the Debokrī āghā's; 3. Akhtači "grooms", on the Sāwdj-Bulāk-Miyān-du-āb road, in the valley of the Tatawū, 90 villages, of which the principal is Burhān; 4. Bāhi on the Tatawū at the crossing of the Sāwdj-Bulāk-Sak̄kiz and Marāgha-Sak̄kiz roads, 65 villages of which the principal is Bōkān with a fine residence of the hereditary "sardār's" of the Mukrī; 5. Turdjān south of Bāhi, 38 villages; 6. Gowruk-i Mukrī near the sources of the Tatawū south-east of Kurtak, 24 villages.

II. The territory of the Kurd tribe Bilbās, related to the Mukrī and speaking the same dialect. Formerly nomads, the Bilbās now spend the winter in their villages and in summer go to the heights (*sarūn*) near their dwellings. The following are always on Persian territory:

a. The Mangur, a brave and courageous tribe, mostly settled, on the Sāwdj-bulāk-čai and in the districts of Ēl-Tamūr (below Gowruk) and Nač-lain-i Mangur (the "horse-shoe", i.e. an amphitheatre formed by the mountains on the western face of Kurtak). But the headquarters of the Mangur where their āghās live is at Mērgān (Tirkash) on the right bank of the Kialū between Lāhidjān and Sardasht. The total number of the villages of the Mangur amounts to 148.

b. The Pirān to the north of Mērgān in old Lāhidjān on the Lāwēn, 30 villages, including the little fort of Mutāwa-tapa just opposite the pass of Garū-shinka.

c. The Mamash live in New Lāhidjān, the centre of which is the ancient stronghold of Paswa, now in ruins, but mentioned as early as Yākūt. The Mamash occupy the valley of Bārd-i Mēshe (Djaldian) and all the upper part of Lāwēn above the part where it enters the plain of Old Lāhidjān. There are Mamash at Suldūz and at Ushnū, in all over a hundred villages.

d. The clan Odjākh-kā-Khidrī in summer occupies the rich pasturages of Wazna and in winter descends to the warm plains of Kō-i Sandjāk; but it also has an inclination to settle in Persia.

III. The territory of Sardasht consists of the following divisions:

a. The wretched little town of Sardasht, the residence of a vice-governor, and the district of the same name on the right bank of the Kialū.

b. The tribe of Gowruk (Gawrik) which besides the villages already mentioned occupies the wooded spurs of the Kurtak on the left bank of the Kialū and has over a hundred villages.

c. The Süsni live in the villages (68) between Wazna, Sardasht, the bend of the Kialū and the Kandil. Their clans (Baryadjī; Milkārī, Darmaī, Harz-Alān and Alān) live separately without common chiefs. Bētūsh, the chief place of the Alān, has 70 houses surrounded with beautiful gardens. It ought to become quite important, being situated on the Marāgha-Sāwdj-Bulāk-Sardasht road and the districts of Sulaimāniya and Kirkūk. At Teiyet below Bētūsh there are to be seen on the Kialū the ruins of an old bridge having seven piers of brick.

IV. The two other districts of Mukrī Kurdistān are Sak̄kiz and Bāna. They were both at one time under the wālī's of Sinna, but geographical, ethnical and political conditions (especially since the Turkish occupation in 1906) explain their being attached to Sāwdj-Bulāk.

Bāna is a very important district with 8 subdivisions (Dōla-Khuriāwa, Balwāw-Bnakhwē, Shwē, Namashīr, Dasht-i Tāl, Kiwerō, Tazān, Pāsh-Arbēbā) with 145 villages and about 3500 households. The town of Bāna at the foot of Mount Arbēbā has 800 houses, of which 80 belong to Jews, and a very busy market. In Pāsh-Arbēbā ("behind A."), on the road from Pendjwin, we may mention the village of Čampārōw, which although situated to the south of the Sūr-kēw range belongs to Bāna.

Rawlinson estimated the number of Mukrī families at 12,000 which would give about 100,000 souls. This figure does not seem to include Bilbās, Bāna, Sak̄kiz, etc. The actual number of inhabitants of the *hukūmat* of Sāwdj-Bulāk cannot be below 200,000. The foreigners are a few Persian officials, several hundred Jewish families at Sāwdj-Bulāk, Bāna and Sardasht, and even in the villages; a dozen Armenian families (with a church) at the town of Sāwdj-Bulāk, whence, on the other hand, Syrians have entirely disappeared.

Language. O. Mann concludes that the same Kurdish language (Kurmāndjī) is spoken on the territory bounded on the east by the valley of the Tatawū and the left bank of the *Djaghātū*; to the south, in Sak̄kiz and Bāna, Kurmāndjī is spoken, but at Marīwān (?) and among the Tilakū tribe (in the district of Hōbatū) the dialect of Sinna [q.v.] is said to be spoken. Kurmāndjī extends beyond the bounds of Persia as far as Sulaimāniya and even south of it. The favourite poets of the people of Sāwdj-Bulāk are natives of Kirkūk,

Darband and the villages of Sulaimāniya. To the north-west the dialect passes a little beyond the plain of Ushnū, but in the Urmiya region begins the area of the dialects which are connected with those of Hakkāri. Thanks to the labours of O. Mann we have a fine collection of heroic ballads and Mukrī folk-lore. There is a translation into the Mukrī dialect of the Gospel of St. Mark (Ave-taranian press at Philippopoli, 1909) and of Protestant hymns (L. O. Fossum) etc. Before the war American missionaries had begun to publish at Urmiya a little magazine for the Mukrī (*Kurdistan*, No. 1, April, 1914).

Religion. The Mukrī Kurds are Shāfiʿī Sunnis. They are very lukewarm in religious matters, but the *Shaikhs* belonging to the religious orders (*Naqshbandi* and *Qādiri*) exercise a very great personal influence among them. The disciples of *Shaiikh* Saʿid of Kāwsābād (killed in 1915 during the Turkish occupation) practised a very violent *dhikr* in his *takiya*.

Costume. The Mukrī costume consists of a shirt with very long sleeves coming down to the feet and tied behind the back when fighting. Above it is put a kind of robe which comes down to the knees and the tails of which cross; a huge girdle of cotton material, sometimes 20 feet long, is then rolled round the body. In summer the tails of the coat fall down over the huge white drawers tightened at the ankles. In winter or when on horseback the tails are thrust into cloth trousers of ample dimensions. Above all a very short sleeveless coat of hard felt is worn. On the head is worn a peaked headdress surmounted by a tassel. This is surrounded by a turban of Mosul silk, the fringes of which fall over the eyes. The old armour, coat-of-mail, helmet, buckler, lance and sword (cf. de Morgan, ii., Pl. ix. and x.), has completely disappeared. The Mukrī is content with a dagger and a rifle, and is specially fond of making a show of the number of his bandoliers and belts arranged to hold cartridges. There is not much variety in the equestrian sports; the favourite is the *taḡala* which consists in throwing a heavy stick to the ground and catching it while going at full speed.

The women wear dark cotton trousers, a long undergarment, and a piece of blue cotton with which they cover their shoulders; a blue or red turban skilfully arranged forms their headdress. The relations between the sexes have not the strictness usual among the Muslims. The women do not veil themselves. Among the Mukris there are a number of dances (*ḍōpī*, *rōinā*, *sūeskaī*, *ḍelapāi*, *ḥarshī*, *hal-parrin*) in which the men and women form circles holding one another's hands.

Occupations. To the north-east, especially in the rich valley of the Tatawū, we have agriculture with a view to export; everywhere else the tribes cultivate the soil for their own requirements only. The vine and tobacco are grown at Alān, Sardasht and Bāna. Sheep are reared throughout the mountainous region; cheese is made flavoured with sweet smelling herbs and felt is manufactured. In the wooded districts the people burn charcoal, gather acorns, gal-nuts and manna (*gaz*); these districts are: on the right bank of the Kialū the region between Prdānān and Sardasht; on the left bank the western slopes of the Kurtak; in Bāna the eastern parts of the district. In the river at Wazna (near Aghalān) auriferous sand is found in small quantities.

History. Down to about 1890 there was at Tashtapa on the lower course of the Tatawū a cuneiform inscription in the Khaldaic (Vannic) language, which has since been carried off by some vandal. According to Belck (*Das Reich der Mannäer*, in the *Verhandl. Berl. Ges. f. Anthropologie*, 1894, p. 479—487), it was put up by Menua, son of Ishpuini, a Vannic (Khaldic, Urartean) king who reigned between 812 and 778 B. C. (C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, 1910, i. 632). This monument, the most eastern known in the cuneiform character, must have marked the site of the town of Meshā in the land of the Mannaeans (Minni) conquered by Menua. Traces of Khaldic influence can also be seen in the waterworks, subterranean corridors and stairways hewn out of the rock, which Rawlinson (*J.R.G.S.*, vol. x.) discovered at Shaitān-ābād and at Sawkand on the left bank of the Sāwdj-Bulāk river. The Assyrian king Sargon, in the account of his famous campaign in 714 B. C., mentions to the south of Lake Urmiya — apart from Mannaeen territories — the districts of Allabria, Parsuash, Zikirtu, etc. (Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912). But the identification of Parsuash with the land of the Persians (*Pārsa*) and its localisation on the lower course of the Gādir are still only hypotheses.

Another very remarkable monument is the rock tomb of Fakraka near the village of Indirkash north of Sāwdj-Bulāk; it resembles the Achaemenid type of tomb (de Morgan). E. Herzfeld connects it with the group of monuments which he regards as Median (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p. 184; Herzfeld, *Chorasān*, in *Islām*, 1921, xi. 131). Among the towns of Media enumerated by Ptolemy (vi. 2) there are two in the same latitude (38° 30'): Δαρπίσσα (long. 87° 30') and Σινκάπ (long. 88°). Rawlinson identifies the latter with Singān in the district of Ushnū and he connected the former (Dārayavausa?) with the Daryās mentioned in the Kurdish chronicle (ed. Veli-minof-Zernof, i. 268). But he did not know the site of Daryās; it is the name of a village (2 miles N.W. of Indirkash) quite close to which are the ruins of the "deserted town" which has given its name to the whole district of Shār-i Wērān, which is still recognised as the ancient capital of the district.

De Morgan (iv. 283) has remarked on the great number of artificial *tell's* (mounds) on the upper Kialū; there are 24 in Lāhidjān. The ruins of the "old town" of this district are to the south-east of the pass of Garū-Shinka. Farther down the *tell's* disappear but in the centre of the Mukrī country at Gholgha-tapa there is a large mound 150 paces in circumference. Quite near, at Khalildalil, de Morgan found tombs of the iron age (*Miss. scient.*, vol. iv., *Recherches archéol.*, i. 9). In the Bāna district Harris mentions "mounds" (*tell's*) near Siāwma, the inhabitants of which sold him ancient seals, cylinders, etc. All this shows that the region of Mukrī Kurdistan has been inhabited from a remote period.

The Emperor Heraclius crossed this region in 624 in pursuit of Khusrav Parwēz; in the caves of Kereftu (Sāin-Kal'a, q. v.) Ker Porter found a Greek inscription (Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, Berlin 1878, p. 512).

The history of Mār Yabalāhā, patriarch of the Nestorians (1281—1317 A. D.), shows the im-

portance of the traffic through the territory of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ in the Mongol period. The present toponymy of the region shows the clash of Turkish influences from the north-east and Kurd influences infiltrating from the west. In the eastern cantons (Akhtači, Bāhi, Turdjān, Sakḳiz) there are Kurdish villages with Turkish names. We also find a certain number of Mongol names: Taraḳa, Tatawū (in Mustawfī: Taghatū), Djaḡhatū, which, according to the *History* of Mār Yabalāhā (transl. Chabot, 1895, p. 151), was called in Persian Wakya(?)—rūd or, according to Raḡḡid al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, *ad fol.* 297^b), Zarina Rūd. On the other hand, the Turkish districts between the Tatawū and Marāḡha formerly subject to the Mukrī have been lost to them. To the west of the Kurtak we only find Kurdish names with a few sporadic Semitic ones (Aramaic): Dribḳa, Kōka, Nalōsa and Shmōla.

We have to distinguish several historical layers among the Kurds of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ. In general the large tribes are divided into two classes: warrior (*‘ashīrat*) and peasant (*ra‘yat*) and it is very probable that before the formation of a tribe organised in this way the peasants had to be subjugated and sometimes even “Kurdicised” by the invaders who are their present masters. According to O. Mann, the peasants are usually proud of belonging to the (now called?) Debokrī tribe who would represent an older element than the Mukrī. The same hypothesis is probable for the Sūesnī (between the valley of Alān, Sardasht and Wazna) in view of their settled character and their ability as gardeners and vine-growers.

As regards the tribal aristocracy it always claims to have come from the west. For the principal tribe of the Mukrī we have the references in the *Sharaf-nāma*. The Mukrī chiefs claim to have belonged to the Mukriya tribe which lives in Shahrizūr and to have been of the family of governors of the Bābān tribe. During the period of Turkoman dynasties (ixth cent. A. H.) a certain Saif al-Dīn took Daryās from the Čabuklū (a Turkish tribe?) and enlarged the territory by the addition of the districts of Dōl-i Bārīk (Dōl is a little district to the S.-W. of Lake Urmiya and Bārīk a tribe at present scattered round the mouth of the Tatawū), Akhtači, Ēl-Tamūr and Suldūz. The tribes united under his sway received the name of Mukrī. His son and successor Šārim challenged Shāh Ismā‘īl Šafawī and in 912 inflicted a defeat on the Persian troops. Then (in 918?) he sought support and investiture from Sultān Selīm. On the death of Šārim his estates were divided among the three sons of his nephew Rustam, who recognised the suzerainty of Shāh Tahmasp. At the revolt of Alḳāš Mirzā (948) Sultān Sulaimān sent against them his vassals of the ‘Amādiya, Hakkārī and Brādōst tribes who fought and killed them. The young son of Šārim, Amīra-bēg I, succeeded them having received investiture from Sultān Sulaimān and ruled his tribe and the fief of Daryās for 30 years. Another Amīra, grandson of Rustam, succeeded him, with the help of the Šafawīs. During the troubles in the reign of Shāh Muḥammad Khudā-banda, Amīra-bēg II in 991 visited Sultān Murād III who added to his hereditary fief the wilāyet of Bābān (Shahr-i Zūr) and the sandjaḳ of Moṣul; Erbil and certain dependencies of Marāḡha were given to his sons. With the help of the Mīr-i Mirān of Wan, he defied the Persian governor of Marāḡha and plundered the

district, of which the Sultān appointed him beyler-beyi with the title of pāshā. The hereditary fief of Daryās was, however, awarded to his nephew Ḥasan who had given his adherence to the Porte before him. A war broke out between Amīra Pāshā and Ḥasan. The latter was killed and Sultān Muḥammad III (1003—1012 A. H.) granted his brother Ulugh-beg the district of Dih-i Khwārḳān (D. Harrakān to the north of Marāḡha) in fief. In the meanwhile the Turks had captured Tabriz and Dja‘far Pāshā, appointed Governor-General of the province, wished to have Amīra-Pāshā recognise his authority. The latter complied with a bad grace. Dja‘far Pāshā lodged complaints against him in Constantinople and the sandjaḳs of Bābān, Moṣul and Erbil were taken from Amīra. Marāḡha was subordinated to Tabriz with an obligation on Amīra to pay an annual contribution of 15 kharwār of gold. Finally his lands were reduced to Daryās alone. His son Shaikh Ḥaidār, however, was able to hold out in the old fortress of Sārū-Ḳurghān rebuilt by him. The people of Marāḡha complained of him as a troublesome neighbour and Khidīr Pāshā, governor-general of Tabriz, issued an edict allotting Sārū-Ḳurghān to the Maḥmūdī tribe. Fighting began around the fortress and Amīra-Pāshā had to intervene to put a stop to the hostilities. About 1005 the father and son still had the following districts: Daryās, (Miyān)-du-āb, Adjārī and Leilān (the two last named on the right bank of the Djaḡhatū), as well as the fortress of Taraḳa and Sārū-Ḳurghān with the districts attached to them.

Information on the later period is still little accessible. Iskandar Munshī, author of the *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam Ārā*, was an eye-witness of Shāh ‘Abbās’s expedition against the Mukrī and Brādōst Kurds; the episode of the siege (in 1017 = 1609) of Dimdim-ḳal‘a (south of Urmiya on the river Kāsīmlū) is the favourite subject of Mukrī heroic ballads. Mirzā Mahdī-Khān’s history of Nādir Shāh also contains information about the Mukrī (O. Mann, *op. cit.*, i., Preface).

The more recent history of Mukrī territory is as follows: In 1810 the governor of Marāḡha, Aḥmad-Khān (of the Turkish tribe of Muḳaddam), invited the Mamash Āghā’s to a feast and had 300 of them massacred there, which put a stop to this tribe’s depredations for a long time. In 1850 the rebel Bāpīr Āghā (Bilbās) threatened Marāḡha. In October, 1880, the Mukrī territory was invaded by Shaikh ‘Ubaid Allāh of Shamdīnān, whose ambition was to found a Kurdish principality of the same character as that of Rumelia. On this occasion the religious chief of the Sunnis of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ proclaimed the holy war against the Shī‘īs which resulted in horrible massacres especially around Marāḡha. In 1905, the Turks contesting the Turko-Persian frontier occupied Lāhidjān. Muḥammad Fāḍil Pāshā’s headquarters were at first established at Paswa; in the end the occupation gradually opened all over Mukrī territory. In 1914 the delimitation took place with the assistance of British and Russian representatives; it re-established the old frontier along the Ḳandil. The World War began in these regions with a new Turkish-Kurd movement. Colonel Iyas, Russian consul at Sāwdj-Bulāḳ, was assassinated at Miyān-du-āb on Dec. 16, 1914. The region then became the scene of Russian-Turkish fighting which left a trail of devastation behind it.

Five great families constitute the Mukrī nobility: they are all called Bābā-Amīra (Bābā-mīrī) and trace their descent from Amīra Pāshā. Their more certain ancestor is Budākḥ-Sultān who is buried in Sāwdj-Bulāk; his connection with Amīra II is, however, not at all clear. According to Rich (i. 300), his brother Bābā Sulaimān flourished about 1700. There are curious legends about the life of Budākḥ-Sultān: he is said to have been the son of a certain Faḫīh Aḥmad who had married a young Frank girl called Kēghān (Rich, i. 291, 299, 389). One of the peaks of the Kandil is called Khān Budākḥ Kēghān (metronymic names are common among the Mukrī). The descendant of Budākḥ in the eighth generation was 'Azīz Khān Sardār, governor-general of Ādharbāidjān, who died in 1868. De Morgan (ii. 40—41) extols the ability of his son Saif al-Dīn, governor of Sāwdj-Bulāk and owner of the fine estate of Bōkān (he died in 1891). His son and successor, Ḥusain-Khān Sardār-i Mukrī, several times governor of Sāwdj-Bulāk, was killed in 1914 during the Turkish invasion. Other Bābā-mīrī families have estates at Akhtači, Turdjān and Yād-abād (Yālāwā).

Rawlinson (p. 35) describes the fiscal organisation of Sāwdj-Bulāk. The Bābā-mīrī families receive $\frac{1}{15}$ of the produce of the land; $\frac{1}{10}$ is received by the farmers (*āghā*) and $\frac{1}{5}$ goes to the 'zerāet-chīs' who superintend the cultivation. These quotas evidently represented the rent while the rest of the produce defrayed the expenses of tillage and labour. According to O. Mann, this system still flourishes; but feudal customs generally tend to disappear.

The tribe of Debokrī has only played a subordinate part. Their very centre, Daryās, has long been regarded by the Mukrī as their hereditary fief. It is only very recently that the Debokrī seem to have again organised themselves with some degree of independence under their present chiefs of whom the great-grandfather, Brahmīn Āghā, is said to have come from Diyār-bakr (?). Near Sāwdj-Bulāk there is a little village of Debokr from which *Debokrī* must be derived. The connection between Debokr (Dih-i Bokr?) and Diyār-bakr is uncertain. In any case the name *Debokrī*, which does not occur in the *Sharaf-nāma*, cannot be old but, as it is applied especially to a family of chiefs, this fact does not prejudice the antiquity of the people owning their rule. The district of Lāhidjān, like its homonym in Gilān, used to be called Lāridjān. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 244, 263, identifies it with the Salāk al-Awdī of the Arabs, while not denying that the name *salāk* may be a reminiscence of the ancient *Silices*. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 279), Sulaimān-bēg Sohrān (before 994?) pillaged the land of the Zarzā. A corrupt passage (i. 280) then seems to show that Lāridjān formed part of this territory and that it was taken from the Zarzā by Pīr Budāk Bābān. The Zarzā now occupy the district of Ushnū immediately to the north of Lāhidjān. The date of arrival of the present occupants, the Bilbās, in Lāhidjān is unknown. The Bilbās with the Qawālīs are occasionally referred to in the *Sharaf-nāma* to the west of the Kandil where some of their branches are still to be found (Mamash-i Bne, Khidir-mamasenī). In Rawlinson's time the Bilbās still paid to the Mukrī a tribute of 1000 toman a year.

As to Bāna, the *Sharaf-nāma* says that this district lies between the Ardilān, Bābān and Mukrī, and that it consists of two parts, one of which is

the *nāhiya* of Bāna properly so-called with the fort of Birūz; the other consists of the fort of Shīwa (in Kurdish "slope") which must correspond to the village of Shwē in the district of this name lying to the south-west of Bāna. The former capital, the official Persian name of which is Bihruza, is a short distance from the modern town but its name survives in the popular name given by the Kurds to the present town of Ba-rōza ("exposed to the sun"). The Amīrs of Bāna (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 320) were called Ikhtiyār al-Dīn because "of their own accord (*ba-ikhtiyār-i khwud*) they had adopted Islām". The first chief mentioned by the author is Mirzā-bēg of Bāna, who married the daughter of Biga-bēg, governor of Ardilān, which brought him trouble with a rival and the resultant temporary loss of his fief. His son Budāk-bēg, driven out by his brothers, sought the support of Shāh Tahmasp but died at Kāzwin. The Shāh ordered the governor of Marāgha to instal in Bāna Budāk's brother Sulaimān-bēg who ruled the district for twenty years and finally handed over his position to his son-in-law and nephew Badr-bēg. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn family, which also claimed descent from the 'Abbāsids, then became vassals of the wālīs of Ardilān. In the time of Rich (i. 217, 248) Nūr Allāh Khān was hereditary governor of Bāna. The last scion of the Ikhtiyār al-Dīn family, Karīm Khān, was killed (about 1890) by his old servant Wenis (= Yunūs) Khān, who seized the power in Bāna. His son Ḥama (Muḥammad) Khān was governor in the district before the Great War. Since 1912 by orders from Ṭeherān Bāna has been detached from Sinna and incorporated in the province of Sāwdj-Bulāk.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SAWDJĪ, the name of three Ottoman princes. Its origin like that of most old Ottoman names (cf. Bali, Şaltık etc.) has not been satisfactorily explained: cf., however, W. Radloff, *Wörterb. der Türkida*, iv. 431, and Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. Mss.*, p. 272b, according to whom it means "Prophet".

1) SAWDJĪ BEG, in the old Ottoman chronicles also called ŞARĪ YATĪ or ŞARĪ BALĪ, was one of the younger brothers of ʿOsmān, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and a son of Ertogrul. He supported his brother on his campaigns and fell (684 = 1285/86 is the date given) in battle against the governor of Angelokome (Aine Göl) at Egridje south of ʿQoladja behind Olympus at the foot of a pine tree. The tree was still called *Ḳandīlī ʿam* "pine tree of the lamps" in later times presumably from the lights lit there, the glimmer of which was afterwards given a mystic significance. (According to Neshri, Idris Bidlisi and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-Tawāriḫ*, i. 18, s. qq., a heavenly light, *nuzūl nūr*, illuminated the tree by night). Sawdjī Beg was buried beside his father in his tomb (*türbe*) at Söğüd destroyed by the Greeks in 1922.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, i. 54, and following him J. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, i. 70, (from Saʿd al-Dīn who follows Idris Bidlisi, *Heşt Bihisht*, and Neshri, *Djihānumā*).

2) A son of ʿOsmān was also called Sawdjī. We

only know of him that he fell in battle (*Sidjill-ʿOthmānī*, i. 37).

3) The eldest son of Murād I who, when governor of Rumelia, made terms with a son of John V Palaeologos of Byzantium named Andronikos, and rebelled against his father. The Ottoman chroniclers give very scanty information about this conspiracy while the Byzantine historians Chalcocondyles, Phrantzes and Ducas give very full accounts, differing only in details; cf. Chalcoc., ed. Imm. Bekker, i. 40 sqq. (Σαουζής); Phrantzes, ed. Bekker, i. 50, where the rebel is wrongly called Μωση Τζελεπης i. e. Mūsā Čelebi through confusion with Bayazid I's son; Ducas, ed. Bekker, p. 22 (Σαβοῦρζιος) where Sawdjī is mentioned but the rebel is called Κουντούζης i. e. Gündüz. Murād I acted jointly with Joh. V and took the field against the two princes. After an unsuccessful battle at a place which the Byzantine writers call Ἀπικυρίδιον (Chalc., p. 43.) Sawdjī fled to Didymotichon, where he was surrounded and forced to surrender to his father. He was blinded and then beheaded. The execution took place in 787 (1385/86) and the body was brought to Brussa and buried there. Murād I had apparently made up his mind to get rid of Sawdjī as he had appointed his son Bāyazid to watch his movements, cf. Murād I's letter to Bāyazid in Feridūn, *Münshāt Selāfin*, i². 107 (of the beginning of Rabi' I, 787 = 1385—1386), with Bāyazid's answer, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 108 supra, according to which the Ḳādī of Brussa must have passed a death sentence on Sawdjī. The execution of Sawdjī was the first of a long series of similar cases, in which princes dangerous to the Ottoman heir-apparent were put out of the way.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, i. 190, 599; Zinkeisen in *G.O.R.*, i. 237 sqq.; Ḥādīdī Khalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-Tawāriḫ*, under the year 787; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-Tawāriḫ*, i. 100 sqq. (following Idris Bidlisi). (FRANZ BABINGER)

SAWIḲ (A.) is in the first place barley flour, then also wheat flour and flour made of dried fruits, then a soup made from flour with water or a paste to which honey, oil or pomegranate syrup etc. is added. The effects of such flour dishes are discussed by al-Rāzī in his work on diet. — To revenge the battle of Badr, Abū Sufyān in *Ḍhu l-Ḥijidja*, 2 A. H., rode with a body of horsemen towards Medīna. Near the town there was some trifling skirmishing and Abū Sufyān fled as soon as Muḥammad and his followers approached. The Mekkans in their flight threw away their provisions, mainly *sawīḳ*, which were picked up by the Muslims. The incident has been perpetuated in the *Sira* under the name *Ghaṣwat al-Sawīḳ* (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, year 2, § 99).

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ŞAWM (A.), with ŞİYĀM, *maşdar* from the root *ṣ-w-m*; the two *maşdar* are used indiscriminately. The original meaning of the word in Arabic is "to be at rest" (Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw.*, Strassburg 1910, p. 36, note 3; cf. previously S. Fränkel, *De vocab.*.... in *Corano peregrinis*, Leiden 1880, p. 20: "quiescere"). The meaning "fasting" may have been taken from Judaeo-Aramaic usage, when Muḥammad became better acquainted with the institution of fasting in Medīna. The word has this meaning in the Medīna sūras; in the Mekka sūras

it only occurs once, in Sūra xix. 27, where the commentators explain it by *ṣamt* "silence" (this is therefore given as one of the translations of the word in the dictionaries); but perhaps *ṣawm* has simply to be translated "fasting" here (see below). The verb is followed by the accusative of the time spent in fasting.

Origin of the rite of Fasting. That fasting was an unknown practice in Mekka before Muḥammad's time cannot be *a priori* assumed. Why should not the *Ḥunafā* in whose manner of life there were so many Judæo-Christian features apparent — at least according to tradition — have also used this spiritual discipline? In favour of the occurrence of fasting as a voluntary practice of mortification among the first Muslims in Mekka is the probability that Muḥammad on his many and varied journeys had observed the rite among Jews and Christians. But we can say nothing definite on this point; anything told us on this subject in the *Sira* and Muslim tradition may be biased. In the Mekka sūras, as above mentioned, there is a reference to *ṣawm* in xix. 27: a voice commands Mary to say "I have made a vow of *ṣawm* to the Merciful, wherefore I speak to no one this day". There is some possibility that *ṣawm* here simply means "fasting", because observing silence as a Christian fasting practice (cf. Afrāhāt, ed. Parisot, in *Patrol. Syriaca*, i., p. 97) may have been known to Muḥammad. Muḥammad was in any case not acquainted with the details, because it was only after the Hijra that he ordered the *ʿAshūrā*-day to be spent in fasting, when he saw the Jews doing it in Medina. In the year 2 A. H., according to unanimous reliable Muslim tradition (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammad en de Joden te Medina*, Diss. Leiden 1908, p. 136—137, in contradiction of e. g. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, iii. 53—59), the revelation of Sūra ii. 179—181 again abolished the *ʿAshūrā*-fast as an obligation by the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān. On the question why Muḥammad chose this particular month and whence he took the arrangement of the Muslim fast, various opinions have been expressed. Islām teaches that it is the fast imposed by God on Jews and Christians, but corrupted by them and restored by Muḥammad to its true form; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, iii. 55 *sqq.*, thinks that it was an imitation of the Christian quadragesima; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i., Leipzig 1909, p. 179—180, note 1, points to the similarity with the mode of fasting among the Manichæans. More recently, however, A. J. Wensinck has called attention to the particularly sacred character of the month of Ramaḍān even in pre-Muḥammadan times (on account of the — also old-Arabic — *Lailat al-Qadr* [q. v.], which happens in Ramaḍān) in his essay *Arabic New-Year and the Feast of Tabernacles in Verh. Ak. W. Amst.*, New Series, 1925, vol. xxv/ji. 1—13; cf. also M. Th. Houtsma, *Over de Israëlitische Vastendagen*, in *Versl. en Med. Ak. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., Series 4, vol. ii. 3 *sqq.*, Amsterdam 1898) and with this has opened up the possibility that the solution of the problem of Ramaḍān is to be sought in this direction (for further information see the article RAMAḌĀN).

The first regulations concerning the manner of the Muslim fasting are given in Sūra ii. 179—181, which probably belong together (Nöldeke-Schwally, p. 178; in opposition to Th. W. Juynboll,

Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes, Leiden—Leipzig 1910, p. 114, who considers 181 a later revelation; al-Baidāwī also assumes that it was revealed in separate parts): one ought to fast during a definite number of days, to be precise, in the month of Ramaḍān, "in which the Qurʾān was sent down"; special dispensations were granted to invalids and travellers on condition that they made restitution for it. In obedience to these divine commands the Muslims fasted in Ramaḍān and the devout among them followed the Jewish custom of fasting from one sunset to the next until a new revelation (ii. 183) limited the period of fasting to the day (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 15, etc.). The fast is also mentioned elsewhere in the Qurʾān: in Sūra ii. 192, where it is prescribed as a substitute for the *ḥāḍj* in certain circumstances; in iv. 94, where fasting during two successive months is ordered as an atonement when someone has killed a believer of an allied nation by accident (cf. the article KATL); v. 91: one should fast three days (as a substitute) if one has broken an oath; v. 96: one should fast (as a substitute) if one has killed game on the pilgrimage; lviii. 5: one should fast (as a substitute) for two successive months if one wants to make the *ṣiḥr* [q. v.] invalid (cf. the regulations of the *kaffāra*, below). *Ṣāʾim* is further used in xxxiii. 35 to describe the devout Muslim, along with other epithets, while in Sūra ii. 42 and 148 *ṣabr* [q. v.] is explained as *ṣawm*.

The ordinances in Sūra ii. 179—181, 183, form the basis of the detailed regulation by the *fuḳahā* of the law regarding fasting; many minuter details were taken from tradition. What follows here is a résumé of the law on fasting according to the Shāfiʿi school, as contained in the treatise by Abū Shudjāʿ al-Iṣfahānī (vth century A.H.) *Mukhtaṣar fi ʿl-Fiḳḳ*, annotated by Ibn Kāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918 = 1522) and glossed by Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī (d. 1278 = 1861) (Cairo edition).

How the fast should be observed and who is bound to fast. Fasting in the legal sense is abstinence (*imsāk*) from things which break the fast (*muṣṭirāt*), with a special *niya* (intention) for each of the statutory fasts, and for the whole day; the *ṣāʾim* must be a Muslim in full possession of his senses (*ʿāqil*) and, if a woman, free from menstruation and the bleeding of childhood. The fast may be valid (*ṣāḥiḥ*) under these conditions; there is an obligation to fast on every one who is full-grown (*bāligh*) if he is physically fit (*kādir*). It is to be noted that the actual profession of Islām at the time is necessary for the *ṣiḥḥa*, while for the *wuḍʿūb* the Islām of a *murtadd* is also valid, who is thus after his conversion obliged to make up for the fast days he has omitted (*ḥaḍāʾ*); one who was born a *kāfir*, who is pledged to Islām, and ought, therefore, to obey its laws also, need not, however, make up for his omissions; the law calls his obligation *wuḍʿūb ʿikāb*, whereas that of the *murtadd* is called *wuḍʿūb muṭālabā bihi*. The fasting of a non-*bāligh*, who is *munayyiz* (has power of discrimination), is valid (one ought to compel a child to fast from the tenth year), as is that of a non-*kādir*. *ʿĀqil* is to be interpreted as meaning that for an unconscious, insane or intoxicated person *adāʾ* (fulfilment of the obligation at the right time) is not *wāḍʿib*. One may spend the day sleeping if the *niya* has been previously formulated; or in a state of drunkenness or unconsciousness, if one

can pull oneself together even for a moment only during the day.

The *arkān* (pillars) of the fast are, besides the *ṣā'im*, the *niya* and abstinence from the *muftirāt*. One ought to formulate the *niya* before dawn on each day of fasting (*ṭabyīl*); by *taḥlīd* [q. v.], however, the *Shāfi'* can follow the *Mālikī madhhab*, which allows one to formulate the *niya* for the whole of the month of *Ramaḍān* in the night before the first of *Ramaḍān*; if one fasts voluntarily, the *niya* may still be formed before noon, if one has actually fasted during the preceding part of the day. The *niya* should be deliberately formulated; it is desirable but not necessary to utter the words aloud (the law-books give formulae); indeed, preparations which are made directly in view of the coming fast day may be regarded as *niya*.

The *Muftirāt* are:

1. The entering into the body of any material substances in so far as it is done conscientiously and is preventable, i. e. the swallowing of food and beverages, the inhaling of tobacco smoke, the swallowing of spittle which can be ejected; if one sprays or drops liquids or inserts instruments into the various orifices of the body; if one retains what the body in the course of nature would reject. On account of the limitations in *a*, *b*, *c* (see below) it is not *muftir* if insects, dust of the road, fragments of food from the teeth, anything that the skin may absorb, water from rinsing the mouth or rinsing the nose, provided too much is not used, even in the not-compulsory *ghusl* [q. v.], and ritually pure scents find a way into the body. If thirst troubles one exceedingly one may hold water for a moment in his mouth, if it can be done without danger.

2. Deliberate vomiting, which is only permitted by doctor's orders and even then only with liability to *ḥaḍā'*.

3. Sexual intercourse.

4. Deliberate seminal emission, which is a consequence of sexual contact; in other cases a distinction is made as to whether it is caused by passion or not, whether the person causing it is a stranger or a *ḍhū mahram*, a boy, a woman or a *ḥā'il*. Nocturnal or similar emissions (*iḥtilām*) are not *muftir*.

5. Menstruation; this even makes the fast *ḥarām* (this rule is not clear to al-Bādjūrī, because the fast does not demand ritual purity otherwise).

6. The bleeding of a woman in child-bed.

7. Unsound mind and

8. Intoxication (7 and 8 make any *'ibāda* impossible), to which a ninth may be added, childbirth, but only in the view of some *fuḥahā'*.

The *ifṣār* occurs, *casu quo*, only in case of deliberateness (*ta'ammud*), knowledge (*'ilm*) and free will (*ikhtiyār*), i. e. not by neglect, in ignorance of the obligations if this is to be excused, or under compulsion. "If one eats by an oversight", says the tradition, "he may continue the fast because God himself has caused him to eat" (Bu., *Ṣawm*, bāb 26; *Aymān*, bāb 15; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, tr. 171).

It is to be commended if the *ṣā'im* 1) takes the *faṭūr* [q. v.] as soon as possible after he is certain the sun has set; he ought preferably to use ripe dates for this, or (zamazam-)water or otherwise something tasty; the *ifṣār* is *wājib*, because the continuous fasting (*ṣawm al-wiṣāl*) is *ḥarām*;

2) eats the *saḥūr* (what is eaten after midnight) as late as possible and uses for it the same as is recommended for the *faṭūr*; 3) refrains from indecent talk, slander, calumnies, lies and insults, because, according to the tradition, "the result of fasting is only hunger and thirst, if one does not keep his hands and feet from evil deeds"; 4) avoids such actions as, although not actually forbidden, might arouse passion in oneself or in others; 5) refrains from being cupped or bled; 6) tastes no food; 7) chews nothing edible; 8) thanks God after the day of fasting; 9) recites the *Qur'ān* for oneself or others, and 10) observes the *i'tikāf* in the month of *Ramaḍān* [q. v.] (in accordance with *Sura ii. 183*). Al-Ghazālī adds to these charity in the month of *Ramaḍān*.

Arranged according to the five legal categories, the fast may be:

1. Obligatory (*wājib*, *farḍ*) (a) in the month of *Ramaḍān*; (b) if one has to make up for days omitted in *Ramaḍān* (*ḥaḍā'*); (c) on account of a vow; (d) in definite circumstances to atone for a transgression (*kaffāra*), and (e) when the *Imām* prescribes the *istishkā'*-ceremonies [q. v.] in season of drought. In the case of inexcusable *ifṣār* one is bound, according to al-Ghazālī, to fast during the remainder of the day, *tashbihan bil-ṣā'imīna*.

(a) Fasting in the month of *Ramaḍān* is the fourth pillar of *Islām*; whoever denies the obligation to fast is a *kāfir*, unless he has only recently come in contact with *Islām*, or has grown up remote from the 'Ulamā'. Whoever omits to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, is to be locked up and brought to formulate the *niya* by forced abstinence. The general obligation to fast (*'alā sabīl al-umūm*) begins on the first of *Ramaḍān*, after the 30th *Shā'bān*, or after the 29th if the *ḥākim* (*ḥāḍi*) has then accepted the evidence of one 'adl that he has seen the new moon; the personal obligation (*'alā sabīl al-khuṣūs*), in the case of an unaccepted *ru'yā* of one's own or that of another person whom one believes in this respect, even if he should not be 'adl, after the 29th *Shā'bān*; if only one 'adl has seen the new moon on the 29th *Shā'bān*, fasting etc. only becomes due on the 2nd *Ramaḍān*. The beginning of *Ramaḍān* has to be announced to the people in a way settled by the local custom (gun-shot, the hanging of lamps on the *manāra*, in Java by beating the *bēdug*). Special regulations hold regarding *niya* and *ḥaḍā'* if it is impossible for one to hear of the announcement or if he is wrongly informed. The observations of an astronomer, the calculations of a mathematician, or the dream of one who has received in his sleep information regarding the beginning of *Ramaḍān* from the Prophet, etc., can only allow *Ramaḍān* to begin for the astronomer, mathematician or dreamer themselves and those who firmly believe in them.

b.) Days omitted in *Ramaḍān* have to be made good (*ḥaḍā'*) as soon as possible, i. e. on the next day if this permits fasting, i. e. is not one of the forbidden days (see below) or is itself a compulsory fast day. If a man dies without having done his *ḥaḍā'*, the obligation is thereby removed if there was a valid excuse for his being in arrears; otherwise his *walī* (in this case any relative can be a *walī*) must pay from his estate, or, with the consent of the *walī*, any stranger can

pay, a small *kaffāra* or *fiḍya* (see below), or the *walī* (or stranger) — and this is the older Shāfiʿi view, which later authorities do not approve of except, however, al-Bādjūrī who even calls it *sunna* — can perform the *ḥaḍā* himself, in which case the merit acquired by the fast is credited to the deceased.

(c.) According to the opinion which has predominated in the Shāfiʿi school, a vow which would impose the obligation to the — reprehensible — *ṣawm al-dahr* (see below) is regarded as not done (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Kitāb Ahkām al-ʿAimān wa 'l-Nudhūr*).

(d.) A distinction is made between the major and minor *kaffāra*. The first is imposed on anyone who (α) breaks the fast in Ramaḍān by sexual intercourse if this is sinful (*iḥm*), under the above mentioned conditions; he is further obliged to perform *ḥaḍā* and be liable to *taʿsir* [q. v.]; because every fast day is an independent *iḥāda*, a *kaffāra* ought to be performed for every fast day broken in this way. Al-Bādjūrī gives this subterfuge (*hila*) to escape the *kaffāra*, that one should previously break the fast with another of the *muḥṣirāt*; then the *kaffāra* drops out but the sin remains. The female participator in the transgression is only liable to *ḥaḍā* and *taʿsir*; (β) is guilty of illegal killing (cf. the article *QATL*); (γ) has pronounced the *ḡihār*-formula [q. v.] but not the *ṭalāk* immediately after it (because he does not observe the vow contained in the *ḡihār*); (δ) has broken a valid oath (*yamin*; see the article *QASAM*). This *kaffāra* consists of

	1	2	3	4
(α)				
and	<i>'itk</i> (resp.)	<i>ṣawm</i> (resp.)	<i>iḥām</i>	—
(γ)				
(β)	<i>'itk</i> (resp.)	<i>ṣawm</i>	—	—
(δ)	<i>'itk</i> or <i>iḥām</i> or <i>kaswa</i> (resp.)	<i>ṣawm</i>		

i. e. in the cases (α), (β) and (γ) fasting (*ṣawm*) will do as a *kaffāra* if one is not able to do the first mentioned; if one receives the means to do so after having begun to fast, *'itk* should be performed and the fasting that has been done is counted as a voluntary work of merit; similarly in case (δ) fasting takes fourth place with the idea that the first three are interchangeable, but fasting always comes fourth. In (α), (β) and (γ) two months' successive fasting is prescribed; the omission of one day makes it necessary to begin the fast from the first again, even if the omission was excusable; in case (δ) the fast is limited to three days and need not be successive. — If a man is not able to do any of the things mentioned, the obligation is put off until he has an opportunity to do one of them.

The minor *kaffāra* or *fiḍya* has to be paid when one takes advantage of one of the dispensations which are detailed below; the question of fasting does not arise. For a dead man (cf. above) it consists in his *walī* giving a *mudd* from the corn that grows on his land to the poor for each day omitted. The same alms have to be given by anyone who has not yet performed his *ḥaḍā* for days omitted in Ramaḍān by the beginning of the following Ramaḍān, and multiplied according to the number of years in arrears. — Anyone who has omitted, while performing the *ḥaḍj* or the *ʿumra*,

one of the obligatory rites which is not one of the four *arkān* or performs anything forbidden during the period of *iḥrām* or takes advantage of a dispensation allowed by the law (e. g. *ḥirān* or *ta-mattu'*), should atone it with a *fiḍya* consisting in the first place of a definite sacrifice which is prescribed for each case separately; if the person liable to it is not able to perform the sacrifice he should fast, in some cases for 10 days — 3 during the *ḥaḍj* and 7 after returning home — and in other cases as many days as the quantity of *mudd*'s which would otherwise have been given to the poor. These regulations originate in Sūra ii. 192 and v. 96; cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Kitāb al-Ḥaḍj*, faṣl ii. and iii.; Juynboll, *Handbuch* etc., p. 145 and esp. p. 157; the art. *ḤADJ*.

(e.) In the case of great drought, the *Imām* may, according to the *sharī'a*, prescribe extraordinary ceremonies which include fasting; the three days before the *ṣalāt al-istiskā'* [q. v.; cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Kitāb Ahkām al-Ṣalāt*, Faṣl fī Ahkām Ṣalāt al-Istiskā'] are spent in fasting. One notable feature here is that the formulation of the *niya* by night (*tabyit*) is *wāḍjib* for everyone, even when the fast is not obligatory for him, i. e. also for a boy or one who enjoys a dispensation. (This is the only case where *tabyit* is necessary for a fast which is not obligatory). — Cf. also C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, i., Bonn-Leipzig 1923, p. 137, note 2.

The law permits relaxations in the following circumstances:

A. Such as have reached a certain age (men 40; not exactly defined for women) and sick people for whom there is no hope of recovery, if they are unable to fast, may omit the fast without being bound to the *ḥaḍā* should their strength or health be restored. In compensation they should give alms at the rate of one *mudd* for each day omitted; a slave does not need to perform *fiḍya* but his owner may do it for him, or a relative; the latter is also permitted to fast in compensation.

B. If pregnant or nursing women fear it would be dangerous for them if they should fast, *iḥṣār* is *wāḍjib* for them and *ḥaḍā* is obligatory. If their fear is for the unborn child or the one they are nursing (not necessarily their own), *iḥṣār* is *wāḍjib* in this case also but a *fiḍya* is imposed on them as well as *ḥaḍā*, which, however, like the *ṣakāt al-fiṭr* [q. v.], need only be paid out of the amount which is left over from the expenses of maintaining oneself and dependent family or from the expenses of housing and service; this *fiḍya* is to be given only to the poor and to *fukarā'*. — The same regulations hold generally for cases where one breaks the fast for fear of danger to oneself, respectively to another person.

C. Sick persons who are likely to recover and those who are overcome by hunger and thirst may break the fast on condition that the *ḥaḍā* is performed. If a man is in danger of death or danger of losing a limb, *iḥṣār* is *wāḍjib*. Chronic invalids need not formulate the *niya* in the night; nor persons sick of a fever if they are actually feverish at the time.

D. Travellers who set out before sunrise may, if necessary, break the fast, but not if they begin their journey during the day. In case of mortal danger, *iḥṣār* is *wāḍjib*. Two days' journey is the minimum. *Ḥaḍā* is obligatory on them, *casu quo*. The same relaxation is allowed to

divorced women. — If the persons mentioned under C and D break the fast by sexual intercourse, they are not liable to *kaffāra* because in this case it is not a sin but is permitted to them *bi-niyati 'l-tarakḥḥaṣ*.

E. Those who have to perform heavy manual labour should formulate the *niya* in the night but may break the fast if need be.

When the justification for relaxing the rules disappears during the day of fast, it is *sunna* to pass the rest of the day fasting.

II. Voluntary fasting is meritorious (*ṣawm al-taṭawwū*); for a married woman only with the consent of her husband; it may be broken without any penalty; the *niya*, which can be formulated any time up till noon, need not be definitely specified, although some *fuḡahā'* consider it desirable for the *sunan rawātib*. The *sunan rawātib* in the *ṣawm* are fasting (a) on the 'Ashūrā'-day [q. v.]; (b) on the 'Arafa-day, the 9th *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā; (c) on six days of Shawwāl. Fasting on the day of 'Arafa applies specially to those who do not spend this day in 'Arafa. Whether Muḥammad fasted on this day is disputed in Tradition. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 126—130, points to the fact that the whole of the first ten days of *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā had a special character and is recommended in the law for voluntary fasting; the 9th *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā, however, is regarded as the most auspicious day, just as in the Jewish month of Ab the 9th is a great feast, for which preparations are made from the beginning of the month. Because Ab and *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā probably coincided in the year 1 A.H., Wensinck thinks that the celebration of the 9th *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā may have been taken from Judaism. Another view is put forward by Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qurāns*, i. 159, who considers Sūra vii. 29 as probably Mekkan and see in it an attack on the ancient custom of "making the circuit of the Ka'ba naked and fasting at the time of pilgrimage" (cf. p. 179, note 1). According to this view, this fast should be traced back to old Arab customs (cf. al-Baiḏāwī's commentary on Sūra vii. 29: "It is said that the Banū 'Amir in the days of their ḥajj only ate what was necessary to nourish them but took no fat (= tasty) food and thus observed their ḥajj; then the Muslims were disturbed; then this (verse 29) was revealed"). It is considered meritorious if one who has to fast (as a substitute) three days during the ḥajj and seven days afterwards (cf. above) chooses as the 3 days the 7th, 8th and 9th *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā, because the 10th and the *tashriḥ* days are not possible (cf. below). If the 9th *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā is a doubtful day (i. e. whether 9th or 10th, on account of uncertainty as to the beginning of the month) fasting is only permitted for *ḡadā'*, on account of a vow or a regular custom. Al-Bādjūrī calls fasting from the 1st to the 9th *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā *mandūb*.

Six separate days can be taken for the fast on the six days of Shawwāl; but it is best to take six successive days immediately after the festival, i. e. from the 2nd to the 7th Shawwāl. These days can also be taken for a *ḡadā'* or a *naḡhr* fast. Women who have had their menstruation in Ramaḡān often use these days for the *ḡadā'* (Juynboll, *Handbuch* etc., p. 132).

The following days are further recommended for voluntary fasting: the day before and

after the 'Ashūrā'-day; the Yawm al-Mi'rādj (27th Rādjāb); Monday and Thursday (*sunna mu'akkada*, according to al-Bādjūrī), because on these days, says Tradition, the works of men are offered to God. Muḥammad is reported to have said: "I should like my works to be offered while I fast". Wensinck, *Mohammed* etc., p. 125—126, points out that the Jews also fasted on these two days; Wednesday, "out of gratitude", says al-Bādjūrī, "that God on this day did not lead this *umma* to destruction, like the other *umam*"; the days of the white nights, i. e. the 13th, 14th, 15th and best of all also the 12th of each month. As Wensinck, p. 125, says, Muḥammad fasted, according to tradition, three days of every month and the later Muslims, who no longer knew which, chose those days. Perhaps these three days were an obligatory fast in the year 1 A.H. Nothing certain can be said regarding the origin of these fast days; Prof. Wensinck in conversation called my attention to the sacred character of the Jewish 14th and 15th Nisām, and to the sacredness of the middle of the month, e.g. in Sha'bān, in ancient Arabia; as a counterpart, presumably after the example of the white nights, the days of the black nights, i. e. the 28th, 29th, 30th (or 1st) and best of all also the 27th of each month; every day on which one has nothing to eat; all other days if they are proper for fasting. — On a three days' fasting as an atonement and a preparation to a better life see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, i., Bonn-Leipzig 1923, p. 137, note 2.

Al-Bādjūrī only briefly mentions the voluntary fast days and refers his readers for further information to more detailed treatises. To supplement what we have said we give the following from the third faṣl of the *Iḡyā'* of al-Ḡhazālī (see below).

He gives as additional days recommended for fasting the first, the middle and the last day of every month, speaks of the superiority of fasting in the sacred months (*al-aṣḡhur al-ḡurum*: Muḡarram, Rādjāb, *Dhu 'l-Hijj*djā and *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da*), but more important is what he says regarding life-long fasting (*ṣawm al-daḡr*) which, as he tells us, was practised by the mystics (*al-sālikūn*) of his time in various ways (as had already been done by ascetics in the earliest days of Islām). In general he considers it blameworthy, as the *ifṭār* is not only *wādīb* some days of the year, but desired generally; only exceptionally may one here follow the example given, according to tradition, by the *Ṣaḡāba* and the *Tābi'ūn* (traditions regarding the *ṣawm al-daḡr*: al-Bukḡārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 59; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 18 sq.; cf., however, Aḡmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 414; cf. also Aḡmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 263, 435 etc.; ii. 164, 190 etc.). It is highly recommended, however, to fast on alternate days (*niṣf al-daḡr*), which achievement al-Ḡhazālī considers even more difficult; Muḡammad said: "The most excellent fasting is that of my brother Dā'ūd, who fasteth one day and not the next" (cf. al-Bukḡārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 50, 56; cf. 58, 59; *Anbiyā'*, bāb 37, 38, etc.; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 181, 182, 186, 187, 189—193, 196 etc.). To fast every third day is also very meritorious. To fast voluntarily for more than four days in succession is considered wrong by the 'Ulamā' and (as a general rule) also by al-Ḡhazālī. — If one has properly understood the correct significance of fasting, says al-Ḡhazālī for this see

below), one need observe no rules in voluntary fasting; it is, indeed, said of the Prophet (al-Tirmidhī, *Sawm*, bāb 56) that he sometimes fasted so long that the people thought he would never stop and sometimes went for so long without fasting that the people thought he would never fast again, just as the *nūr al-nubuwwa* inspired him.

III. Fasting is forbidden (*ḥarām*) on the days of the two great festivals, on the *tashrīk*-days and for a woman during menstruation; in definite cases when danger threatens, as already mentioned above.

IV. It is wrong to fast on Friday because it distracts the attention from the Friday service (but according to al-Ḡhazālī it is meritorious); on Sunday or Saturday, at least if one has no particular reason for fasting, because the Christians and Jews observe these as holy days. One also should not fast if one fears he will suffer in any way on account of the fast. It is very wrong to fast without special reason on the "doubtful day" (*yawm al-shakk*) and in the second half of the month of *Shābān*. The "doubtful day" is the day following the 29th *Shābān* if one does not know, with a clear sky, whether an 'adl has seen the new moon of Ramaḍān. If one has a particular reason for fasting, then one may use the doubtful day and the second half of *Shābān* for any kind of fasting: *ḥaḍā*, *nadhīr*, *kaffāra*, etc. Fasting in *Shābān* is otherwise commendable, for the Prophet fasted, as Tradition tells us, so long in this month that he began to think he was in Ramaḍān (many traditions; cf. also A. J. Wensinck, *Arabic New-Year*).

The three other *madhhab*s differ in details from the *Shāfi*' school; the differences are collected in the *Ikhtilāf*-books. The following is taken from the *Kitāb al-Miṣnā* of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shar'ānī (ii. 20—30; Cairo 1279); the author appends to his list of divergencies a short explanation of the points of view (*waḍīḥ*); sometimes he associates himself with one of them. In the following the order of the subject matter is the same as in the earlier part of this article.

1. Abū Ḥanīfa teaches that the fasting of a young boy or girl is not valid, but valid is that of a *murāḥik*, and that a *murīadd* is not bound to a *ḥaḍā* after his conversion. The four Imāms teach the validity of fasting by a *djunub* [q. v.]; some other *fuḳahā*' are of a different opinion in points of detail.

2. Abū Ḥanīfa teaches that the fast need not be definitely specified in the *niya*, that even the intention of doing a good work is sufficient; that the *niya* can also be formulated in case of an obligatory fast up to noon (others only permit this for a *nadhīr* fast). But Mālik teaches that even with voluntary fasts the *niya* cannot be formulated after dawn; his opinion that one *niya* is sufficient for the whole of Ramaḍān has already been mentioned above. Abū Ḥanīfa and the majority of *Shāfi*' and Mālikī *fuḳahā*' teach that the mere intention of breaking the fast does no harm; but Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal holds the contrary view.

3. Abū Ḥanīfa does not consider deliberate swallowing of fragments of food one of the *muṣtirāt*, any more than one of the opinions said to have been held by Mālik regards the application of a poultice as one.

4. Vomiting does no harm, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, up to a certain point, which they calculate differently.

5. Mālik teaches that seminal emission spoils

the fast if it is a result of sensual images, even without preceding sexual contact.

6. In spite of the above-mentioned tradition, Mālik teaches that anyone who deliberately eats, drinks, or has sexual intercourse breaks the fast and is liable to *ḥaḍā*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, only in the last case, *kaffāra* then being also necessary. Forced breaking of the fast holds good also in al-Nawawī; in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal only in the particular case of a woman being forced to have intercourse.

7. Mālik says that kissing is always *ḥarām*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal that the cupper and his patient both break the fast; both Imāms say that the taking of *kuhl* is to be deprecated and, if the fragrance enters the throat, is actually *muṣfir*. The *Shāfi*' view that the cleaning of the teeth after noon is wrong is not shared by the other Imāms and not even by the later *Shāfi*'s (but is shared by al-Ḡhazālī; even now it is still condemned in the Dutch Indies). There is *iqṭimā* on the point that for a *djunub* a *ghusl* is recommended before dawn.

8. Mālik demands for the settlement of the beginning of Ramaḍān the evidence of two 'adl, Abū Ḥanīfa only the testimony of one, but of a large number when the sky is unclouded. Some other *fuḳahā*' recognise only the general obligation (see above) to fast in Ramaḍān, not the personal obligation of the one who has seen the new moon, but whose evidence has not been accepted.

9. Like al-*Shāfi*', Abū Ḥanīfa also teaches that the weak-minded is not bound to perform *ḥaḍā* in the event of his recovery; Mālik teaches the contrary; both views are credited to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

10. The four Imāms impose the major *kaffāra* only on one who breaks the fast in Ramaḍān; some *fuḳahā*' also on those who break the *ḥaḍā* fast of Ramaḍān. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal imposes a *kaffāra* for every breach of the regulations in question, even if several are committed on the same day; in the second transgression the obligation is imposed on the guilty woman also. Abū Ḥanīfa, however, is less severe and does not even multiply the *kaffāra*'s by the number of fast days broken if the *mukaffir* is in arrears with the payment of the first *kaffāra*; Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik say that in case of sexual intercourse both man and woman are liable to the *kaffāra* and they impose it also on everyone who breaks the fast of Ramaḍān by eating or drinking, if he is not ill or on a journey, without affecting the liability to *ḥaḍā*. Mālik leaves the *mukaffir* free choice as to in which of the three ways he will fulfil his obligation, although he himself prefers *ifām*.

Abū Ḥanīfa does not impose the minor *kaffāra* (the donation of a *muddā*) if one has not yet fulfilled his obligation to *ḥaḍā* for the Ramaḍān fast by the beginning of next Ramaḍān.

11. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal imposes, in addition, the (minor) *kaffāra* on pregnant and nursing women, if they have broken the fast out of fear of injuring themselves; Abū Ḥanīfa, however, only *ḥaḍā*, others only *kaffāra* and no *ḥaḍā*.

12. Sick people for whom there is no hope and old people are, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and a section of the *Shāfi*'s, liable to *fiḍya* only; Mālik denies this also.

13. Travellers may, as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal teaches, break the fast, even if they have set out after the beginning of the fast, but this relaxation does not

include, according to him, permission for sexual intercourse; the *kaffāra* regulations hold, therefore, also with him. Some Ṣāhīrīs teach that fasting of a traveller is not valid at all. — Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī teach that one is bound to fast for the remainder of the day if the reason for the dispensation disappears; Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal hold the contrary. — The *ṣīḍya*, according to the two last-named, is a half *ṣāʿ* [q. v.] for every day omitted.

14. Mālik teaches that fasting on six Shawwāl-days is not recommendable; he and Abū Ḥanīfa say that one is bound to complete (*itmām*) a voluntary fast day also.

15. One ought to fast on the doubtful day, according to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, when the sky is clouded; otherwise it is wrong. — Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik teach that occasional fasting (*ifrād*) on Friday is not wrong.

16. Lastly it is to be mentioned that, according to the Ḥanafī and Mālikī view, fasting during the *ʿitikāf* [q. v.] is obligatory; cf. e. g. Abū Dāʿūd, *Ṣawm*, bāb 80 (as A. J. Wensinck says, in his treatise *Arabic New-Year*).

The Shīʿa law regarding fasting differs in the following details from the *Sunna* (according to A. Querry's edition of the *Sharḥ al-Islām fi Masā'il al-Ḥalāl wa 'l-Ḥarām* of Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Muḥaqqik, entitled *Recueil de Lois concern. les Musulmans Schyites*, Paris 1871—72, i. 182—209, ii. 75—77, 197—199, 203—205):

1. The *niya* is not regarded as a pillar; it need not even be specified for Ramaḍān, although it does in other cases; it ought to be formulated before noon.

2. Smoking is not one of the *muftirāt* but unconsciousness is and if one deliberately remains in a condition of great *ḥadath* after dawn.

3. It is forbidden, nay *muftir*, to scorn God's word or that of the Prophet or that of the (Shīʿī) Imām; it is forbidden, although not *muftir*, to bathe completely in water. It is forbidden to keep deliberate silence during the fast.

4. If a man deliberately breaks the fast of Ramaḍān, he is to be chastised (25 lashes with a whip for a man or a woman in a case of sexual intercourse) and for the third offence the penalty is death. — The testimony of two *ʿadl* is necessary for the beginning of Ramaḍān.

5. One is bound to perform *ḥaḍāʿ*, for example, if one awakes after dawn in a state of great *ḥadath* even if the *niya* for purification has already been formulated. In the *ḥaḍāʿ* fast one may eat before noon; if one eats later he has to pay a *ṣīḍya* (10 *mudd* or three days' complete fast); in-deliberate neglect of purification in great *ḥadath* makes the *ḥaḍāʿ* fast not invalid. If an invalid remains ill till the following Ramaḍān, his obligation to *ḥaḍāʿ* expires but the *ṣīḍya* (1 *mudd*) remains.

6. *Kaffāra* is compulsory if one, during the fast day, eats, drinks etc., has sexual intercourse, practises onanism, voluntarily remains in a state of great *ḥadath* after dawn or falls asleep in this condition without having previously formed the *niya* for purification, and then does not awake till after dawn, viz.: on a day of Ramaḍān; during *ḥaḍāʿ* for an omitted fast in Ramaḍān if the *ifrār* takes place after noon; in fasting on account of a particular vow and for *ʿitikāf*. — If a man forces his wife or slave to marital intercourse in Ramaḍān, his *ḥaḍāʿ* and *kaffāra* are doubled but the

wife is exempt. Other causes of *kaffāra* are: man-slaughter, forbidden expressions of grief at a death, hair-cutting when in a state of *ihram*, intercourse with a slave woman who is in a state of *ihram* if one has given her permission for the *ḥaḍāʿ*.

In performing the *kaffāra*, fasting comes second, as with the Sunnis; deliberate murder, however, and, according to some *ṣūḥāḥā*, also the breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān with forbidden foods, entails threefold *kaffāra*: *ʿitḥ* + *ṣawm* + *ifrām*. The choice is free if one breaks the fast in Ramaḍān in another way than by sexual intercourse, breaks a vow or *ʿitikāf*, cuts one's hair when in a state of *ihram*, or has intercourse with a slave woman who is in a state of *ihram*.

In general the *kaffāra* fast should be uninterrupted. In the case of a two months' fast inexcusable interruption in the first month makes a repetition necessary; in the second it only entails obligation to the *ḥaḍāʿ*. Interruption by a pregnant or nursing woman is here excusable, but not an unnecessary journey (see below). If the duration of this fast is only one month, as e. g. the *kaffāra* fast of a slave, the hard period lasts 14 days. Interruption on the 10th *Dhu 'l-Hijja* does no harm in the three days' compensatory fast (see above), if one has already fasted two days. — The choice of the days is, however, open in the case of *kaffāra* for breach of an oath, for breaking the prohibition of hunting during the *ihram*, and in the seven days' compensatory fast (see above) (as also in case of *ḥaḍāʿ*). If one is not fit to fast for two successive months, he should fast 28 days and seek God's mercy with contrite heart. — Another kind of *kaffāra* (not fasting) may be voluntarily taken over on behalf of another person.

7. The relaxations. Only if a physician permits an invalid to fast, is it legitimate. Pregnant women are only given a dispensation in their last months and nursing women only when their milk supply is defective. The fasting of travellers is in general not valid; but if a man travels for the best part of a year in the course of his business he does not get the benefit of relaxation. A fast neglected on account of a journey must always be observed later; in case of death by the *wali* of the deceased.

8. Voluntary fasting may begin before noon. The Shīʿa *Fikḥ*-books recommend fasting on the following days also: on every first and last Thursday of the month; on the first Wednesday of the second ten days of the month (on should even pay compensation, 1 *mudd* or 1 *dirham*, if this is omitted); on the day of the *ʿId al-Ghadr*, 18 *Dhu 'l-Hijja*, on which day Muḥammad is said to have appointed ʿAlī his immediate successor at the side of a pond (*ghadr*) (Querry, *op. cit.*, p. 37, note 2); on Muḥammad's birthday (17 Rabiʿ 1) and on the first day of his mission (27 Rabiʿ 1); on the day when the Kaʿba was liberated from chaos, the first place to be created on earth (25 *Dhu 'l-Kaʿda*); on the *Mubā-hala*-day, because on this day Muḥammad and Abū Djahl are said to have hurled a curse against the one of them who preached a false doctrine. (Querry, *op. cit.*, p. 37, note 3) (24 *Dhu 'l-Hijja*); on the 10th of Muḥarram, the anniversary of the murder of Husain; on Friday; during the month of Radjab and Shaʿbān. Fasting on the doubtful day is also meritorious. — The law recommends moderation for the days on which an obstacle to fasting is removed: one should first eat a little and then fast.

9. It is wrong to fast: on the 9th *Dhu 'l-Hijj* in 'Arafa, if one fears harm from it; on a pious journey except 3 days in Medina during the *Ḥajj*; if a guest fasts without permission from his host, and a child without its father's permission, etc.

10. Fasting is forbidden: on the *tashrīḥ*-days for those who are in Minā; for travellers.

Al-*Ghazālī* gives at the beginning of his *Kitāb Asrār al-Ṣawm* in the *Iḥyā'* some considerations on the value of fasting. He points out, referring to some well-known traditions, the high esteem in which fasting stands with God; he gives as a reason for this that fasting is a passive act and no one sees men fast except God; secondly it is a means of defeating the enemy of God, because human passions, which are the *Shaitān*'s means of attaining his ends, are stimulated by eating and drinking. The passions "are the places where the *Shaitān* live in abundance and where they feed; so long as they are fruitful, they continue to visit them often, and so long as they visit them frequently, the majesty of God is concealed from the slave and he is shut off from meeting with Him. The Prophet of God even says: "If the *Shaitān* did not fly around the hearts of men they would readily think of heaven." Fasting is therefore "the gateway to divine service."

In the first *faṣl* al-*Ghazālī* details the legal obligations and recommended actions of the fast, according to *Shāfi'* doctrine, and in the third the recommended fast days, just as a *faḥīh* would do. But he says in the second *faṣl* that the most punctilious observation of the external law of the fast is not the essential of the fast. He distinguishes three steps in the fast. The first step is that of the *fiḥh*, the third that of the Prophets, the *ṣiddīqūn* and those who have been brought into the proximity (of God) (*al-muḥarrabūn*), whose fast consists in refraining from all mean desires and worldly thoughts. The second step suffices for the pious, however; it consists in keeping one's organs of sense and members free from sin and from all things that detract from God. Everything should be avoided which might affect the result of the fast; for example, at the *iftār* one should not eat more or fare better than usual (this is contrary to the *fiḥh* regulation) and one should not sleep during the day to avoid feeling hunger or thirst, for they are the *rūḥ* and *sirr* of fasting because they fight the power of the passions. Subjection of the passions, whereby the soul is brought nearer to God, is the real object of fasting, not mere abstinence; and he deduces the worthlessness of the fast of those whose conduct at the *iftār* destroys the results of the fast day, of whom the tradition says: "How many fasters there are for whom only hunger and thirst are the results of their fast".

The ethical conception of the fast which al-*Ghazālī* gives in this second *faṣl* supplements, he says, the barren law of the *fuḥahā'*, but to us it appears often to contradict it. In the *Ḥadīth* we find already various traditions with ethical tendencies and al-*Ghazālī* does not fail to quote them in support of his view. Besides we find in the works on *Ḥadīth* a mass of traditions relating to the fast, which will be found classified under the separate subjects in Prof. Wensinck's work (now about to appear) *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, under the word FASTING. Here we can only quote a few traditions which refer to the estimation in which fasting was held

in the early Muslim world. As it is to this day a widespread view that fasting, especially the fast of Ramaḍān, is the most fitting atonement for sins committed in the course of the year — which is why the fast is fairly generally observed, although not always so strictly as the *fuḥahā'* desire; cf. the article RAMAḌĀN —, so it was with the early Muslims (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Imān*, bāb 28; *Ṣawm*, bāb 6; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 1, etc.). Various traditions compare the value of fasting at one time with its value at another, as, for example, "fasting on one day in the holy months (see above) is better than 30 days at another time, and fasting on one day in Ramaḍān is better than 30 days in the holy months". "If anyone fasts three days in a holy month, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, God considers one day equal to 900 years for him". Similar traditions refer to fasting on the 'Ashūrā'-day, the ten days in *Dhu 'l-Hijj* and especially in Ramaḍān [q. v.]. Other traditions tell how dear to God is the person of the faster or his characteristics; even is "the scent of the breath of a fasting man pleasanter to God than the scent of musk" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 232, etc.). God compares one, who denies his passions for His sake, with His angels and says to him: "Thou art with Me like one of My angels", and He urges His angels to regard those who fast. The joys of the faster in Paradise are described and how he is honoured there; he will enter by a special gate (*al-Raiyān*) and meet God (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 4; Muslim, *Ṣiyyām*, tr. 166, etc.). This is his heavenly joy; his joy on earth is the *iftār* (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 35; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 446, etc.). One should, therefore, not deny this joy, because one has a right to it. To continue fasting after twilight is, moreover, not necessary, for "the sleep of the faster is (already) *ibāda*".

Bibliography: A comprehensive work on fasting among the Muslims has not yet appeared. An outline of the law on the subject according to the *Shāfi'* school is given by Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, p. 113 sqq. (Dutch: Leiden 1903 and 1925; in the edition of 1925 the most recent bibliography is given). The main sources are the pertinent sections in the books of *Ḥadīth*, *Fiḥh* and *Iḥtiṭāf*. For Tradition cf. the work just about to be published, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, alphabetically arranged by A. J. Wensinck. Al-*Ghazālī*, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Cairo n. d., i. 207—214. For details of the observance and various customs of Ramaḍān in Muslim lands see the articles ORUḌJ, PUWASA, RAMAḌĀN, RŌZA.

(C. C. BERG)

SA'Y. When the pilgrim who is making the 'umra or the *ḥajj* has performed the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Ka'ba, kissed the Black Stone for the last time and drunk of the well of Zamzam, he goes out, taking care to put his left foot first, of the sacred mosque by the Bāb al-Ṣafā', pronouncing the formula of salutation to the mosque, then a second formula indicating his intention (*niyya*) to accomplish the ceremony of sa'y. He ascends the steps of al-Ṣafā' about 50 yards from the gate and standing there he makes an invocation, looking towards the Ka'ba, with his hands raised to the level of his shoulders and the palms turned towards the sky. Between al-Ṣafā' and another little hill, al-Marwa, lies a broad street with houses

and shops on either side; this is the *Mas'ā* where the pilgrims have to accomplish the ritual course. Walking at a normal rate he descends towards the former bottom of the valley (*Masīl*), marked by four pillars, two along the mosque on the left and two others opposite it; to cross it, he assumes a more rapid pace, called *harwal* or *khabab*, like the *ramal* of the *ṭawāf*, and runs. Then walking slowly he reaches al-Marwa which is marked by an arch of stone like al-Šafā' and he again prays there. He has now completed one of the seven elements of the ceremony for, except for one isolated opinion, the authorities agree that the *sa'y* consists of seven simple courses. It is usually followed by a desanctification by shaving or cutting the hair, which explains the large number of barbers' shops on the *Mas'ā*.

The *sa'y* has not the value of an independent rite like the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, the accomplishment of which, without the *'umra* and the *ḥajj*, is reckoned to the spiritual credit of the believer. The *sa'y* is an appendage to the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the *'umra* or of the arrival (*kudūm*) or of the desanctification (*ifāda*), and the authorities are not agreed as to its importance, whether essential, obligatory or traditional. The law does not impose on the faithful who accomplish it the strict necessity of ritual purity that it demands for the *ṭawāf*.

The *sa'y* is an ambulatory rite with a brief period of running, analogous to the *ṭawāf*, to the *ifāda* of 'Arafa and Muzdalifa etc.; undoubtedly it was actually a separate ancient rite, which became combined with those of the Ka'ba, as the *ifāda* did to the ceremonies of 'Arafa and Muzdalifa. Tradition has retained the memory of the cult of two divinities, Isf and Nā'ila, but only in the story that they were a man and a woman who were turned into stone for fornicating in the sanctuary and later came to be worshipped. Later Muslim tradition turned them into Adam and Eve, who sat on either of the hills to take a rest. But tradition has made special efforts, not without hesitation, to connect the rite with the story of Abraham: Hādjār, cast off by Abraham and seeing Ismā'il perishing of thirst, ran in despair seven times from one hill to the other; or it is said that Abraham instituted the *sa'y* for the worship of Allāh and quickened his pace (the *harwal*) to escape Satan who was lying in wait for him at the bottom of the ravine.

Bibliography: See the art. ḤADJ and KA'BA, and add: Gaudefoy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage de la Mekka*, p. 225—234, with references especially to al-Azraqī, Kūth al-Dīn, Ibn Džubair, Nāṣir Khusraw, Muḥammad al-Šādiq, al-Batānūnī, Burkhart, etc.

(GAUDEFOY-DEMOMBYNES)

SAYĀBIGA, سِيَابِجَة, read SAYĀBIGA, name

of a people. The Arabic form سِيَابِجَة is to be read with ج used as a guttural sonant, as the etymology of the name indicates.

De Goeje has devoted a short article to the Sayābiga in his *Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales* (No. 3, Leiden 1903, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, p. 18 and p. 86—91) which has been used here; see also his *Contribution* (*Kon. Ak. v. Wet.*, Amst. 1875, ed. in English by D. MacRitchie, *Accounts of the Gipsies of India*, London 1886).

According to al-Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 373, 2 infra), they were already settled before Islām on the coasts of the Persian Gulf (*wa-kūnū ḡabl al-islām bi 'l-sawāḥil*). In the reign of the Caliph Abū Bakr (632—634), there was at al-Khaṭṭ in al-Bahrain a garrison of Sayābiga and Zoṭṭ — these two peoples are frequently mentioned together although they have nothing in common (cf. the art. ZOṬṬ) — (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ed. Zotenberg, p. 838—923; ed. de Goeje, i. 1961, 4; Abū 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiv. 46). In 17 (638) the Oswārī, horsemen of foreign origin in the service of the king of Persia, concluded a treaty with the Muslim commander, which the Caliph 'Umar ratified, by the terms of which they pledged themselves to adopt Islām and to enter the service of the Arabs on condition that they received a scale of pay equal to that of the best paid soldiers, that they should be free to attach themselves to the Arab tribe which they preferred and that they should only have to fight against non-Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, i. 2562 sqq.). Their example was followed by the Sayābiga and the Zoṭṭ and they all attached themselves to the Arab tribe of Tamīm (al-Balādhuri, p. 373—375). In 36 (656), the Sayābiga were entrusted with the guarding of the Treasury of al-Baṣra; the army of the people of Kūfa which came to the help of 'Alī included a body of Zoṭṭ and Sayābiga (cf. al-Balādhuri, p. 376; al-Mas'ūdi, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. and transl. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 307, where السابكة is wrongly written for السيابجة; al-Ṭabarī, i. 3125, 3134 and 3181). In

a poem by Yazīd b. al-Mufarragh al-Himyari edited about 59 (677—678) there is a reference to "savage Sayābig barbarians who put irons on me in the morning" (Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shu'ara'*, p. 212), which seems to imply that the Sayābiga acted as goalers. In 160 (775/776) they took part in a naval expedition against the town of al-Narbadā, that is the modern Broach on the west coast of India (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii. 460 sqq.).

The Sayābiga came from Sind. "The Sayābiga, the Zoṭṭ and the Andaghār", says al-Balādhuri, "formed part of the army of the Persians; they were people of Sind whom the Persians had taken prisoners and made to perform this service" (p. 375, 6—7). Al-Djawālīkī (*al-Mu'arrab*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1867, p. 82) similarly says: "al-Laith says: These are people of Sind who accompanied the *iṣṭiyām* (إِسْتِيَام) plur. أَشَاتِمَة,

in al-Mukaddasī, ed. de Goeje², p. 10, 17); the origin of this word is unknown; it means the leader of the marines in the warships"; then, according to another source, "the Sayābiga are people of Sind who in al-Baṣra were police officers and prison warders". Ibn al-Sikkī (d. 857) quoted in the *Lisān al-'Arab* (iii. 118—119) gives identical information: "The Sayābiga are a people of Sind who were hired to fight as mercenaries and they formed the guard". Similar explanations are given in the *Taḍī al-'Arūs* (ii. 56).

From all these sources which are in perfect agreement it is evident that the Sayābiga were naturally soldiers, disciplined, used to the sea, faithful servants, which qualities rendered them most suitable to serve in the army by land or sea, to act as guards and to act as soldiers, police officers, goalers and warders of the treasury.

All the readings of the manuscripts of the Arab texts quoted above bring us to *Sayābiga* which is the correct form (cf. likewise Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1864, p. 41, 3, and 82, 17). It is the form which Sibawaih gives (ed. H. Derenbourg, ii. 209, 5-6), and he adds "they say *Sayābiga* because this word combines the two peculiarities of being a foreign word and plural of an

ethnic in *ي*, being practically equal to a plural *saibagiyūn*". According to al-Djāwālīkī (*loc. cit.*), the singular is *saibagi*. Now de Goeje points out (*loc. cit.*, p. 88) that the people of the 'Irāk pronounce the vowel *ā* as *e* and this phenomenon is not isolated in Arabic dialects; my friend William Marçais calls my attention to its occurrence in Tunisian. This enables us to state the following equation: سَيَابِجَة *Sayābiga* < singular سَيَابِجِي

Saibagi = سَابِجِي *Sābagi* < سَابِج *Sābag*. The *Lisān al-ʿArab* (*loc. cit.*), on the other hand, notes that "sometimes they say *Sābag*".

The original form of *Sābag* was pointed out to de Goeje by Hendrik Kern. It is now easy to reconstruct its phonetic history from documents which were not available to the latter. The change *Sābag* < *Djāvaka* = Sumatra, the زَابِج *Zābag* (inaccurately transcribed *Zābedj*) of the Arab geographers, is thus proved: the earliest mention of the island of Sumatra by this name is found in the third century A.D. in the *Nan t'ou yí wu t'ou* of Wan Čen and the *Fu-nan t'u su čuan* of K'ān Tai in the form 社薄 *Shō-po*, old pronunciation **Dja-bak* = *Djāvaka* > Arabic *Zābag*. Much later we find in the *Mahāvamśa* (lxxxiii. 36-48, and lxxviii. 62-75) the original form *Jāvaka* (pronounce *Djāvaka*; for these texts cf. my memoir *L'empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*, in the *J. A.*, Series 9, vol. xx. 170-173). In the xiiith century a Tamil inscription of 1264 has *Shāvaka* (*ibid.*, 1922, p. 48), which is the Dravidian form of the above readings. The initial is rendered in Tamil by a character which is transliterated indifferently *ḍj*, *ḍ*, *śh*, and even *s*, i. e. the sonant and mute palatals and the palatal and dental sibilants; it is the palatal that is generally used to transliterate it; whence *ḍjā* > *śhā*. The change of Indian *śh* to *s* — palatal to dental sibilant, in the present case of *Shāvaka* to the Arabic *Sābag* — is quite regular. We have a parallel example in the Sanskrit शक *śhaka* "teak" (*Tectona grandis*) which becomes in Arabic ساج *sāj*, more frequently inaccurately transcribed *sādj*.

The *Sayābiga* then are the descendants of ancient Sumatran emigrants to India, then to the 'Irāk and the Persian Gulf where there is evidence of their existence before Islām. This is not surprising for we know from other sources also that the Sumatrans colonised Madagascar at a very early date (see the art. ZĀBAG); the eastern route was familiar to them. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

SKUTARI. [See ŪSKŪDĀR].

SEBASTIYA. 1) The Arabic name for the ancient Samaria, which Herod had changed to Σεβαστή in honour of Augustus. The form Σεβάστεια — as in the case of other towns of this name — was presumably also used, as the

Arabic name (which is sometimes also written Sabastīya) suggests. By the end of the classical period, the town, overshadowed by the neighbouring Neapolis (Sichem; Arab: Nābulus), had sunk to be a small town (πολίχμιον) and played only an unimportant part in the Arab period. It was conquered by 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ while Abū Bakr was still Caliph; the inhabitants were guaranteed their lives and property on condition that they paid poll-tax and land-duties (al-Balāḍhūrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 138; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii. 388). Al-Battānī is the first of the Arab geographers to mention it, but gives already much less accurate figures for its position than Ptolemy had done. In the later Arab geographers Sebastīya appears on a place in the Djund Filastīn. According to a tradition found as early as Jerome, for example, the tomb of John the Baptist was there (Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*: Yahyā b. Zakariyā; xi. 333 wrongly only Zakariyā); on its site there was in late antiquity a basilica built and in the crusading period (in the second half of the xiith century) a church of St. John; remains of the latter still survive. According to western sources, Sebastīya was again a bishopric at this time (Lequien, *Oriens Christ.*, iii. 650 sqq.). Usāma b. Munqidh, about 1140, visited the town and its sanctuary. Šalāḥ al-Dīn advanced on Sebastīya in 1184 but its bishop by handing over 80 Muslim prisoners saved the town from the terrible fate of Nābulus (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, xi. 333; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Annales*, in the *Recueil des hist. orient. des croisades*, i. 53; Šhaddād, *ibid.*, iii. 82; *Epistola Balduini*, in Rönricht, *Regesta regni Hierosol.*, No. 638). In the year 1187 it was finally taken from the Crusaders by Ḥussām al-Dīn 'Umar b. Lādīn; the church of St. John was turned into a mosque and the bishop brought to 'Akkā (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, xi. 357).

Bibliography: al-Battānī, *Kitāb Zidj al-Šābi*, ed. Nallino, in the *Publicazioni d. Reale Osservat. di Brera in Milano*, No. xl/ji. 39, No. 114; B. G. A. v. 103, vi. 79, vii. 329; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 33; Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 188 sq., 486; Arabic text, p. 528, 617; Cuinet, *La Syrie*, p. 192; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, i. 102; Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*, ii. 4 195-198; R. Hartmann, *Palästina unter den Arabern (Das Land der Bibel, i./iv.)*, p. 14; Baedeker, *Palästina u. Syrien*, 1904, p. 195. On the results of the American excavations, which, however, only affect the pre-Arab period, see: G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910*, i. (text), ii. (plans and plates), Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Semitic Series 1924. 2) A place in the Thughūr al-Šhāmīya, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B. G. A.*, vi. 117), on the Cilician coast, 4 *mil* from an otherwise unknown Iskandariya, which again was 12 *mil* from Ḳurāsiya (Κοράσιον). It is the ancient Ἐλευθερα or Σεβαστή, the modern Ayash.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, *Realensykl.*, v. 2228, s. v. Elaiussa; ii A. 952, s. v. Sebaste No. 5; Tomaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1891, Abh. viii. 65; E. Herzfeld, *Peterm. geogr. Mitteil.*, 1909, lv. 29, col. 2.

3) A town in Asia Minor, which was taken by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walid in 93 (711/712) along with al-Marzubānain and Tūs (? should we not read Tarsūs!) whose situation is unknown. In some manuscripts

of al-Ṭabarī and Abu 'l-Mahāsīn the name is wrongly written Samastīya (or something like that) which can hardly, as Brooke suggests, stand for the Byzantine *Mirbeia* in Phrygia. The reference is rather to the Phrygian Σεβαστή (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, ii A. 951, No. 1).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aḥir, *al-Kāmil*, iv. 457; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1236, with note b.; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, i. 251; Brooks, *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, xviii. 193.

4) A town of this name said to be not far from Sumaisāt on the Upper Frāt is mentioned by Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 33. It might be Juliopolis in Cappadocia (Ptol., v. 6. 25, p. 893, ed. Müller) which was presumably called after Augustus and perhaps may have also been called Sebasteia; but perhaps we should rather assume there has been some confusion with Siwās on the Upper Nahr Alis (Halyas).

(HONIGMANN)

SEBKHA, a salt lagoon. The sebkha is one of the characteristic features of the hydrography of North Africa and the Sahara, very common in the high plains, without communication with the sea. It is the terminus of a network of streams either above ground or subterranean, which have spread out and disappear in the ground; it is a shallow basin with well marked contours sometimes delineated by steep sides. After rain it is more or less completely filled with water impregnated with mineral substances which accumulate at the bottom of the basin. In periods of drought, the waters evaporate completely or partly and the floor is uncovered. The floor of the sebkha is covered with saline incrustations, sometimes traversed by crevasses in which the crystals gather. The salt deposit sometimes covers mud, quicksands and dangerous quagmires.

This definition and description of the features of the sebkha apply equally to the *shott*. An attempt has been made to establish a distinction between the two, the former term being applied to hollows which always remain more or less moist, the second to those whose evaporation is greater than the access of subterranean water or to those the floor of which looks like a plain losing itself in the horizon. There is no real foundation for this distinction. The two terms are employed indifferently in the same district. For example we have in Orania the sebkha of Oran and the *shott* Gharliu and Sharki, in the Sahara the sebkha of Timimūn (Gurara), the *shott* of Southern Tunisia, the sebkha of Wargla, of Siwa, etc.

Bibliography: see the *Bibliography* of the article SAHARA.

(G. YVER)

SEBZEWĀR, near Herāt, is the present name of the town of Asfizār or Asfuzār (Aḥmad Rāzi, *Haft Iklim*: Sebzar) attached to Sijjistān. It lies to the south of Herāt, three days' journey north of Fara. In the itineraries it has the name of Khastān or Džāshān. In the ivth (xth) century there were in this region four towns of importance besides Asfizār, which was the chief place of this district; a town of medium size, surrounded by orchards and vineyards; its inhabitants were Sunnis of the school of al-Shāfi'ī [q. v.]. There used to be a stone fortress called Muẓaffar Kūh on the summit of a mountain; the soil inside and around the town was so soft that it was sufficient to dig down a few inches to get water. According to al-Iṣṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 264, it was the name of the district and not of the town.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstefeld, i. 248 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 35; *B. G. A.*, i. 249, 264, 268; ii. 305, 318, 319; iii. 298, 308; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., text, p. 152, 178; transl., p. 151, 171; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 340, 351, 412, 431.

(CL. HUART)

SEBZEWĀR is a city of Khurāsān, situated sixty-four miles due west of Nishāpūr, and should not be confounded with the town of the same name in Western Afghānistān, south of Herāt; see the preceding article. Many legends of the heroic age of Persia are associated with Sebzewār, and the square in the centre of the town was long pointed out as the scene of the combat between Rustam and Suhrāb and was known as *Maidān-i Div-i Safīd*, "the plain of the White Demon". Sebzewār was a town of some importance in the district of Baihaq [q. v.] and eventually took the place of Baihaq as the principal town of the district. Sulṭān Shāh, after having been expelled from Khwārizm by his elder brother Takash, took Khurāsān as his share of his father's kingdom, and in 1186 besieged and captured Sebzewār, and was with difficulty restrained from ordering a massacre of its inhabitants, who had defied him with abusive language to take their town. The town was destroyed by the invading hordes of the Mongols, but recovered its prosperity, and in 1337 'Abd al-Razzāk, a native of the village of Bashtn who had been in the service of the Il Khān Abū Sa'īd (1316—1335) of Persia, headed a rebellion against the tyranny of the local governor, gained possession of Sebzewār and the neighbouring district and founded the dynasty of the Serbadārs, [q. v.] who reigned there for nearly half a century, until they were overthrown, in 1381, by Timūr. Maḥmūd, the heir male of the house, was enabled by the favour of Timūr's grandson, Bāysunkur, to retain some part of the heritage of his ancestors. The town, which fell into decay, was restored by the early Ṣafawid kings and became the capital of a district containing forty townships. It has ever since remained an important town of Khurāsān. The inhabitants have been noted for centuries for their attachment to the Shī'a, and Husain Wā'iz, author of the *Anwār-i Suhaili*, whose zeal for that sect was suspected, narrowly escaped death at the hands of the fanatics of the town.

Bibliography: C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique, et Littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861; al-Djuwainī, *Tārīkh-i Džāhān Gushā*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad, Gibb Memorial Series, 1916; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894.

(T. W. HAIG)

SEDJESTĀN. [See SĪSTĀN.]

SE'ERD, SĪ'IRD or SA'IRD, a little town in the frontier region between Armenia and Turkish Kurdistan, situated in a valley formed by the Bohtān Şu and the river of Bidlis about 30 miles S.W. of Bidlis and about 18 north of the Tigris. The little river Kezer runs near Se'erd; but it is the Bohtān Şu which is sometimes called Se'erd Şu (Sö'örd Su in von Moltke). This name is also found in al-Mas'ūdī, the earliest Arab geographer to mention Se'erd; he calls the Bohtān Şu نهر سريط

(ed. Paris 1840, i. 227); likewise al-Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, ii. 172). The orthography varies much:

أسعد (al-Isṭakhri, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Sharaf al-Dīn), ساعر (Abu 'l-Fidā', Yāqūt), ساعر (al-Mustawfī),

سعد (Hādjđī Khalifa). The last form is the official Turkish orthography (cf. *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*). The Syriac form is Se'erd (Z. D. M. G., viii. 357, note) and the Kurd form is Sert (al-Khālidi, *al-Hadiya al-Hamidiya fi 'l-Lughat al-Kurdiya*, Constantinople 1310, p. 144). The origin of the town is unknown; the suggestion put forward by the travellers Shiel and Kinneir that it is the ancient Tigranocerta has already been disposed of by Ainsworth and Ritter, who rely particularly on the complete absence of traces of ancient buildings and on the description of Lucullus's campaign against Tigranes given by Plutarch. Moreover, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in 1899 has identified the site of Tigranocerta with the modern Maiyāfāriqn.

Se'erd, a town with only slight fortifications (al-Isṭakhri; the *Sheref-nāme* alone calls it *ka'ra*), has generally shared the political history of Diyār Bakr and Ḥiṣn Kaifa. Thus in the xth century it was in the hands of the Marwānids (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 56); in the century following it passed to the Urtuqids of Ḥiṣn Kaifa and was taken by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Zangi in 538 (1143/44; cf. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 62). The Mongols sacked it after the defeat of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm-Shāh (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xii. 326) but it seems to have quickly recovered, for al-Mustawfī calls it a large town with rich revenues. After experiencing the rule of the Il-Khāns [q.v.] and the Aq-Koyunlu [q.v.] Se'erd about 1500 passed to the Ṣafawids. During the xivth and xvth centuries the town had belonged to the little Kurd dynasty of the Malikān of Ḥiṣn Kaifa (descendants of the Aiyūbids). After the battle of Cāldfrān (1513) their prince, Malik Khālil, who had been thrown into prison by Shāh Ismā'il, escaped and again took possession of Se'erd and then of his old residence (*Sheref-nāme*, i. 157). This dynasty continued to exist for some time under the suzerainty of the Ottomans represented by the wālī of Diyār Bakr. In the new administrative territorial division established by Idris Bidlisī, Se'erd became the capital of a sandjak. The town continued to belong to the eyālet, then to the wilāyet of Diyār Bakr down to 1301 (1884). The sandjak of Se'erd was then attached to the wilāyet of Bidlis.

The number of inhabitants is given by Cuinet (1892) as 15,000 of whom the majority are Muslim Kurds (5 mosques). In the Christian element (c. 4,000) the Catholic, Syrians (Chaldaeans) are the most numerous (two churches), along with Gregorian Armenians (one church), Protestants and Jacobites (one church). The number of Christian inhabitants, however, must have considerably diminished by the deportations during and after the war of 1914—1918.

Se'erd has been built in the Arab style (Lehmann-Haupt); the houses are of clay and the town is noted for its lack of cleanliness. Water is scarce there and comes from several springs. On the hills around, the principal crop is grapes; the other products of Se'erd are cereals, rice and vegetables. Its trade is with Diyār Bakr. The town has been famous since the xivth century for its manufactures of weapons and copper utensils. Other

industries are cabinet-making and the manufacture of cotton stuffs, dyed red. On the only inscription known at Se'erd see van Berchem in the *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, Ph.-hist. Kl., N.S., ix³. 157.

The sandjak of Se'erd has 5 *kāzas* of which that of Eruh (Arwah) is in Bohtān [q.v.].

Bibliography: *Sheref-nāme par Scheref prince de Bidlis*, ed. Véliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860, i. 152, 157; Hādjđī Khalifa, *Dihān-numā*, Constantinople 1740, p. 439; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, v. 2573; C. Ritter, *Erkunde*, Berlin 1844, x. 87, xi. 99 *sqq.*; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1892, p. 525 *sqq.*, 600 *sqq.*; the travellers who have written about Se'erd are Josafa Barbaro (1471), Kinneir (1814), Shiel (1836), von Moltke (1838), Ainsworth (1840, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Armenia*, London 1842, ii. 357 *sqq.*), Müller-Simonis, *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, Paris 1892, p. 336 *sqq.*; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin 1910, p. 332 *sqq.*, 381 *sqq.*, 537. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SEFID KOH (SAFID KŪH), "the White Mountain", is the name given to the most prominent mountain range of Northern Afghānistān, extending from a point situated in 34° N. Lat. and 69° 30' E. Long., near which rises its highest point, Sikārām, 15,620 feet above the sea, to the neighbourhood of Ātak on the Indus (33° 15' N. Lat. and 72° 10' E. Long. approximately), and separating the valley of the Kābul river from the Kurram Valley and Afridi Tirāh between these two points; but the range is continued in a mass of uplands running in a south-westerly direction and known as the Psein Dāg and Toba as far as a point situated, approximately, in 31° 15' N. Lat. and 67° E. Long. This latter range forms the watershed of Southern Afghānistān and a natural barrier between that country and India. In the northern and eastern spurs of the Sefid Koh proper are the Khaibar Pass [q.v.] between Peshawār and Djalālābād, and the formidable passes between Djalālābād and Kābul in which British and Indian troops suffered so severely in the campaign of 1841—1842. Through the passes of these ranges have streamed from the dawn of history the numerous hosts by which India has from time to time been invaded, and some of the invaders in historical times have left brief descriptions of those parts of the ranges which they traversed. The northern spurs are barren, but the upper slopes are wooded with pines, *deodars*, and other trees, and many of the southern spurs with pines and wild olives. Its valleys are a combination of orchard, field and garden, abounding in fruit-trees, and the banks of their streams are edged with turf and wild flowers and fringed with willows.

Bibliography: Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āin-i Akbarī*, text and translation by Blochmann and Jarrett, Calcutta 1877, p. 1873—1894; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908.

(T. W. HAIG)

SEFID RŪD. [See KIZIL UZEN].

SEGBÂN (P., "dog-keeper, whipper-in"), popularly SEYMEN, the third division of the corps of Janissaries forming 34 companies (*orta*); the 33rd was in garrison in Constantinople. It was created in the reign of Bāyazid I at the same time as the *saghardıji* (keepers of blood-hounds), the *samsūndji* (keepers of bulldogs) etc. who later formed the 64th and 71st *orta* of the *djemā'at*. Some of

these companies had special names of their own: the 18th was called *kātibi-segbānān*, the 20th *kekkhudāi-segbānān*, the 33rd *awdjī*, "huntsmen" (chasseurs), the captain of whom was called *ser-shikārī*, "chief huntsman". Their barracks, like those of the other Janissaries, were destroyed in the conflagration of Muḥarram 4, 1105 (Sept. 5, 1693), in the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmed II; rebuilt five years later, they were again destroyed in the reign of Maḥmūd I.

Segbān-bāshī? was at first the title of the general commanding this division; when it was placed under the authority of the *agha* of the Janissaries, his position became a sinecure. In case of mobilisation, however, he acted as *kā'im-makām* (lieutenant) to the *agha*, lived in the capital and commanded the Janissaries of the garrison there.

Segbānān-suwārī "Cavalry of the Seimen" was the name given to the 65th *orta* of the *ijemā'āt*.

Bibliography: Aḥmed Djewād, *T'arīkh-i 'Asker-i 'Othmānī*, Constantinople 1897, i. 6, 14; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1824, vii. 314; von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, transl. Hellert, xii. 347.

(CL. HUART)

SEGESTAN. [See SĪSTĀN.]

SEGOVIA, in Arabic *Shakūbiya*, an important and ancient town in Spain, now the capital of the province of the same name, situated in Old Castile, 60 miles N.W. of Madrid, 3,300 feet above sea-level, on an isolated rock near one of the last spurs of the Sierra de Guadarrama. This town is famous for its Rōman (aqueduct) and Christian (alcazar) remains and was only under Muslim rule for a short time. It was recaptured in 140 (757/758) by Alfonso I of Castile or his son Fruela I at the same time as Zamora, Salamanca and Avila. It was, like those towns, recaptured but only for a very brief period by al-Ḥādīb al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Amir in the second half of the tenth century.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v. 382; transl. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, p. 104; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, ed. Būlāḳ, iv. 122; al-Maḳkārī, *Analektes*, i. 213; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, p. 120.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SEGU, now capital of a district in the French Sūdān. Segū is a little town with 6,500 inhabitants lying on the right bank of the Niger about 150 miles below Bamako and consisting of four groups of buildings, of which Sikoro is the principal.

This place was the capital of a Bambara state founded by a chief of the Kulubālī family, who was at first more or less a vassal of the Mandingo empire or empire of Mali. Towards 1670 king Biton Kulubālī liberated Segū from Mandingo suzerainty and made it very powerful with the help of a kind of standing army of regular soldiers which he had formed of slaves belonging to the state called in Bambara *tan-dyon*. In his reign the Bambara of Segū, although pagans, subjected the Fulba kingdom of Māsina, in which the majority of the inhabitants were Muslims, and the completely Muḥammadan town of Timbuctu, which was nominally governed by a pasha who claimed to be Moroccan. It is even said that Biton having offered an asylum to a holy man of Sūs, an enemy of the Ḥassanid Sulṭān al-Raḥīd, sent troops against the

ruler of Fās who had come to seek the fugitive and that al-Raḥīd having encountered the Bambara army south of Timbuctu took his way back to Morocco without daring to risk a battle.

On the death of Biton in 1710, however, the *tan-dyon* took advantage of their power to make and unmake kings and ended by overthrowing the Kulubālī dynasty and seizing the power. But the period of their domination was one of anarchy which was ended towards 1750 by a popular rising. A certain Ngolo or Molo belonging to the Bambara family of Dyāra had himself proclaimed king and founded a new dynasty, which reigned from 1754 to 1861 and was noted mainly for its wars with the other Bambara kingdom, that of Kaarta, located farther to the west.

In 1860 the conquering Tuculor al-Ḥādīdj 'Umar, a native of Fūta in Senegal who had been lord of Nyōro, capital of Kaarta, since 1854, marched against Ali Dyāra, king of Segū. The Bambara were supported in their resistance by their neighbours, the Fulba of Māsina, who had, however, been freed from Segū suzerainty in 1810 by the Emir Sēku (Shaiḳhu) Aḥmadu; this alliance of a wholly pagan state with a kingdom which had become Muslim against a conqueror himself a Muslim, who justified his expedition against Segū by calling it a holy war, is one of the most curious features in the religious history of the Sūdān; Aḥmadu-Aḥmadu, then Emir of Māsina, explained the motives of his conduct in a series of letters addressed to al-Ḥādīdj 'Umar which have been preserved. However, after a stubborn resistance by the defenders, al-Ḥādīdj 'Umar took Segū in 1861 and Hamdallāhi, capital of Māsina, in 1862, captured the two kings Ali Dyāra and Aḥmadu-Aḥmadu and put them to death. The Bambara and the defeated Fulba kept up the resistance for a long time in a guerilla war, in the course of which al-Ḥādīdj 'Umar died (1864). He left several sons, nephews, and favourites who divided the lands he had conquered amongst themselves, not without quarrelling. His eldest son, Aḥmadu Tal, whom he had installed in Segū as his lieutenant, lived there from 1862 to 1884 exercising a tyrannical sway over the people without successfully enforcing Islām on the Bambara or preventing the survivors of the Dyāra dynasty, aided by their Fulba allies, from harassing his troops continually, and even threatening him up to the walls of his capital. The naval Lieutenant Mage, sent with Dr. Quintin on a mission to Aḥmadu Tal by the French authorities in Senegal, was kept for two years at Segū by this despot (1864—1866) and was able to take exact stock of the situation. In 1884 no longer feeling his life safe in Segū where he was detested even by the Tuculors, Aḥmadu Tal handed the government over to his son Madani and established himself in Nyōro.

In 1888, the French government resolved to put an end to a state of affairs which was paralysing the development of the country and found expression in continual massacres and the reduction to slavery of a great part of the population. An expedition was organised under the command of Colonel Archinard who took Segū on April 6, 1890, and Nyōro on Jan. 1, 1891. Madani had fled to Mopti and Aḥmadu Tal to Bandyagara, in Māsina. General Archinard took Mopti and Bandyagara in April, 1893. Aḥmadu Tal once more escaped; accompanied by a few followers he fled

along the bend of the Niger and sought refuge with his compatriot, the Sultān of Sokoto and died in his country in 1898.

After an attempt to restore the ancient Bambara kingdom of Sēgu, at first under the government of Māri Dyāra, then of a certain Bodyan Kulubāli, an attempt which was not successful, the French in March, 1893, decided simply to annex the town of Sēgu and its lands to the new colony of French Sadān.

A few Tuculors who came with al-Ḥādjī 'Umar or in the time of his son Aḥmadu have remained in Sēgu; they all profess Islām and follow the Tidjāniya order, of which al-Ḥādjī 'Umar was *Muḥaddim*. The bulk of the population which consists of Bambara has remained attached to animism.

Bibliography: E. Mage, *Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental*, Paris 1868; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Soudan Français): le pays, les peuples, les langues, les civilisations*, Paris 1912, vol. ii.; Ch. Monteil, *Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta*, Paris 1924.

(M. DELAFOSSE)

SEHİ ÇELEBI, an Ottoman poet and biographer of poets. He belonged to Adrianople, in his youth received his education from and was on intimate terms with his fellow-townsmen and later father-in-law, the celebrated poet Nedjātī Nūḥ Bey (d. March 17, 1509; q. v.), became *Kiātib* (secretary) to Prince Mehmed, the youngest son of Sultān Bāyazīd II, and accompanied the latter to Kaffa where he was governor (*sandjaq-beyi*) (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulman.*, col. 659, 44). When the prince died in 910 (1504/1505) Sehī went to Stambul and obtained an appointment as secretary in the *Dīwān* (*dīwān kiātibī*) there. Later he returned to his native town of Adrianople, was for a time administrator (*mütevali*) of a *wakf* of a school of tradition there (*Dār ül-Ḥadīth*) and died there in 955 (1548/1549).

Sehī was the author of a collection of poems (*dīwān*) and of a collection of biographies of poets with an anthology (*tedhkiye*) which contained notices of 261 metrists and poets and was entitled *Hesht Bihişt* ("Eight Paradises"). The work is expressly planned on Persian models (*Djāmī*, Dewlet-shāh and Mir 'Alī Shīr Newā'ī) and classified under eight heads (*tabaḳāt*).

Apart from the *Kenz ül-Küberā* of Sheikh-Oghlū (xvth century, very scarce, so far only known in one MS.), Sehī's biographical collection is the oldest work of this kind in Turkish. Of particular value are the notices of the Ottoman poets with whom Sehī was personally acquainted from his youth upwards or later, and of contemporary poets in general. The work was published in 1325 (1907) in Stambul (8^{vo}, 144 pp.) by Mehmed Shükr and has an appendix by Faṭīk Reshād. Sehī's *Dīwān*, of which specimens are given in the Turkish anthologies, is of little importance.

Bibliography: Latifi, *Tedhkiye*, Stambul 1314, p. 196; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iii. 115; Brūsālī Mehmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmanlī Mūellifleri*, Stambul 1333, ii. 225; Ḥādjī Khālifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. G. Flügel, ii. 261, N^o. 2813, and vi. 500, N^o. 14,407 (where we have Sehī for Sehī); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der osman. Dichtkunst*, ii. 255 sqq.; do., *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 467, 756, N^o. 138 (according to 'Alī); E. J. W. Gibb, *History of*

Ottoman Poetry, ii., passim (cf. Index), iii. 7; G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hss. der K.K. Hofbibl. zu Wien*, ii. 377 sq., Vienna 1865. (FRANZ BABINGER)

SELÂNİK, the town of Salonika in Macedonia, situated at the foot of the Gulf of Salonika, to the east of the mouth of the Wardar and at the foot of a hill which commands it on the north-east. It is the ancient Greek town of *Θεσσαλονίκη*, founded on the site of Therma by Cassander, who gave the new city the name of his wife, the sister of Alexander the Great (Strabo, VII, vii. 4). Towards the eleventh century, the popular form *Σαλονίκιον* appears (*Chronicle of the Morea*) on which is based the form Šalūnik or Šalūnik in al-Idrīsī, the Bulgarian form Solun, the western form Salonika and finally the Turkish name Selānik.

Salonika, situated on the Via Egnatia (from Durazzo to Byzantium) and having a large and safe harbour, was from ancient times an important commercial city. It was still so under the Byzantine empire and in those days included considerable European colonies, especially Venetians. From the tenth century onwards, it received its share of commerce with Muslim lands; once, in 904, it was sacked by a Saracen fleet from Tripolis in Syria led by a Byzantine renegade; twenty-two thousand inhabitants are said to have been carried off into slavery (description by John Comeniata, *De Excidio Thessalonices*, Bonn ed., in *Script. post Theoph.*, p. 487 sq.). The town is, however, hardly mentioned by the Arab geographers; only al-Idrīsī notes it. His patrons, the Norman princes of Sicily, had dealings with the Byzantine empire. In 1185 William II of Sicily undertook an expedition against the empire at the instigation of Latins and Greeks who had sought refuge with him after the troubles provoked by the usurper Andronicus. The Normans took Salonika on August 24, 1185. Under the Latin Empire the town was the capital of the kingdom of Salonika under the Marquises of Montferrat; during this period it had to undergo a siege by the Bulgarians, the allies of the pretender Kalo-Johannes (who was killed there, according to the legend, by the lance of St. Demetrius, the patron of the city). At the end of the thirteenth century, Salonika was finally restored to the empire of the Palaeologi, then reduced to Macedonia, Thrace and the western coast of Asia Minor. The Serbian conquests still further diminished this territory, so that in the time of Cantacuzenos (1347—1355) Salonika with the western part of the peninsula of Chalcidice was only connected with Constantinople by sea. Soon the Ottoman Turks, under Murād I, began to take the place of the Serbs by their conquests in Europe. It seems that the environs of Salonika were ravaged for the first time by Lala Shāhūr in 787 (1385) after the conquest of Serres and Ḳaraferiya. These lands were thereafter settled by nomads from the sandjaḳ of Şarukhān (Anonymus, ed. Giese). The town was soon after taken by Khair al-Dīn Pasha, but restored again to the Emperor Manuel (Ḥādjī Khālifa, *Taḳwīm*). Bāyazīd I retook it in 796 (1394) after having defeated the allied Christian fleets (Sa'd al-Dīn). The statements of the Turkish chroniclers and the Byzantine historians on these early conquests are by no means clear and often contradictory (cf. von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*). Sulaimān, son of Bāyazīd, concluded an alliance with

the Emperor by the terms of which Salonika and a number of other towns on the coast were given back to the latter (1403). After the death of Sulaimân, his brother Mūsā (1410—1413) laid siege to Salonika, without being able to take it. Muḥammad I also, after setting out from Serres to attack the city, had to abandon his plan as a result of the rebellion of Shaikh Badr al-Dīn. Towards the end of his reign the pretender Dözme Muṣṭafā, coming from Wallachia, was defeated near Salonika and found refuge within its walls. It was from here that Muṣṭafā began his conquests after the death of Muḥammad I (1421). Muṣṭafā being beaten, Murād II turned his attention to the Greek empire and attacked Salonika in 1423, after a fruitless siege of Constantinople. But Andronikos Palaeologos, son of Manuel, governor of the town, thereupon invited the Venetians to take possession of it and sold it to them for fifty thousand ducats (Salonika at this time had forty thousand inhabitants). This act made the Turks withdraw for the time. Murād even recognised the sale in 1427, when a kind of capitulation was concluded between him and Venice by which the Turks were allowed to have a *kādi* in the town. Three years later Murād laid siege to Salonika for a second time; the Turkish sources say he did this because of acts of piracy committed by Venetian ships on Muslims. The town fell after a siege of forty or fifty days in March, 1430 (the 29th according to Anagnosta and the 13th according to Venetian sources; the Turks only give the year 833, or — wrongly — 832). The capture was accompanied by looting and a general massacre which Murād had promised his soldiers; it has been chronicled by Johannes Anagnosta: *De extremo Thessalonicensi excidio narratio* (Bonn 1838). A Turkish fleet from Gallipoli had shared in the attack on the town. Venice was quick to recognise Turkish rule over Salonika and obtained in return freedom of trade for Venetian merchants in the Sultān's lands.

A great part of the population had been in favour of the Turks in order to escape the terror of the Frank soldiery. The conqueror, moreover, after the looting showed himself conciliatory. For the moment only one church, that of the Virgin, was converted into a mosque (known as the Eski Djum'a). The Monastery of St. John Prodromos seems to have become a mosque during one of the earlier Turkish occupations. In the centuries that followed, the majority of the great churches were destined to be converted for Muslim usage. The conquerors also demolished a number of churches to get materials for other buildings. Murād, for example, in 1430 built a bath in the centre of the town. To give the town a Muslim population, colonists from Yenidje Wardar were transplanted thither. Although the number of Turks increased, Salonika has never had a majority of Turks in its population.

The town was not long in again becoming an important commercial centre. The immigration in the reign of Bāyazīd II of a large number of Sefardim Jews and Maranos, expelled from Spain, Portugal and Italy, contributed largely to its commercial revival. There had previously been Jews in Salonika (Benjamin of Tudela reckoned five hundred in 1170), but after the immigration of the fifteenth century the Jewish element became the feature of the town. The Jews also brought thither their Spanish language, Ladino, which they

have kept down to modern times (Lamouche, *Quelques mots sur le dialecte espagnol parlé par les israélites de Salonique*, in *Roman. Forschungen*, vol. xxiii.) and their religious and scholarly tradition (from 1515 they had their printing press). Under the benevolent rule of the Turks, Salonika became in the sixteenth century "the mother of Judaism". Their number was then put at twenty thousand; the cloth which they manufactured was sold throughout Turkey (Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, ed. Babinger, 1923, p. 107). Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there was formed among them the sect of the followers of Shabbetai Zabi, the Crypto-Jews or Dönmes [q. v.], which had such a great cultural influence on the development of modern Turkey since the Young Turk revolution.

For the Ottoman empire, the possession of Salonika was a source of great revenue, especially from trade with the commercial nations of Europe, who by their capitulations obtained the right to have consulates there. The harbour has never been a naval port; it was only exceptionally visited by the Ottoman fleets (e. g. in 1715 in the war with Venice; cf. Rāshid, *Tārīkhī*, iv. 51). Administratively Salonika has been since the Turkish conquest capital of an eyālet which has at times included Serres and Drama. In the judicial hierarchy the Selānik Mollasā was one of the eight mollas of the sixth rank or *makkredj mollalar* (d'Ohsson, *Tabl. de l'emp. Oth.*, ii. 271). The Turks, however, never built great mosques there as the Greek churches were sufficient. The Mewlewī-Khāne to the north-west of the town is one of their best known religious buildings. A large part of the town consists of *wakf* properties founded by Qhāzī Ewrenos.

With the decline of the Turkish empire in the nineteenth century, Salonika became more exposed to enemy attacks and foreign influences. For example, in April, 1807, the English fleet attempted a landing there after the failure of the expedition against Constantinople (Zinkeisen, vii. 454). In the second half of the century the Macedonian troubles began and Salonika became the theatre of the nationalist intrigues of the Slav elements, while at the same time it was the centre of the Turkish opposition. The administrative reform of 1864 had created the wilāyet of Salonika, which, after extending as far as Elbasān and Üsküb, had been afterwards considerably reduced and in the end comprised only the sandjaks of Salonika, Drama and Serres with a population in which Bulgarians were in the majority. The assassination in 1876 of the French and German consuls brought about European intervention in favour of the Slavs in Turkey (Conference of Constantinople). In 1902 Salonika became the residence of Hilmī Paṣha, who had been appointed inspector of reforms in Macedonia, assisted from 1903 by a Russian civilian agent and an Austrian representative. The town, as the result of European control, became less subject to the direct influence of Constantinople and thus became a hotbed on Turkish soil of Young Turk propaganda, directed from Paris against 'Abd al-Ḥamid; from the beginning of the twentieth century the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittihad u Terraḳkī*) held its meetings here in the Italian Masonic Lodge; the constitutional movement among the garrisons of Macedonia had its centre here; besides Turks, the Committee had Jewish members. In the night of 22—23 July,

1908, the constitution was proclaimed in Salonika, followed by the first revolution in Constantinople. The central section of the Committee had remained in Salonika and organised in 1909 the suppression of the counter-revolutionary movement, which broke out in Constantinople on April 13. Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha organised in Constantinople the constitutional troops, who entered the capital on April 24. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, deposed on April 27, was sent to Salonika, where he remained till the Balkan War. The beginnings of the constitutional régime bear the stamp of its origin in a milieu where the Turkish element was in a minority, in as much as the Young Turks began by proclaiming the equality of all races being under the Sultān's rule.

Turkey lost Salonika in the Balkan War. The Greek army, commanded by the Crown Prince, crossed the Wardar after the battle of Yanitza and surrounded Salonika on November 8, 1912. On the same day General Ḥasan Taḥsin Pasha surrendered the town to the Greeks through the mediation of the neutral consuls. Besides the Greek troops, some Bulgarian battalions also entered it, but by the peace of Athens (November 14, 1913) Salonika, with the greater part of the wilāyet of the same name, was incorporated in Greece. As a result of the Greek occupation not only the Turks but also a great many Jews migrated, especially to Constantinople. The occupation by the allies in November, 1915, with the object of making it a base of operations against Bulgaria, is only of importance for Turkish history in as much as it contributed indirectly to the defeat of the Turks three years later.

On the eve of the Greek conquest, Salonika had about 130,000 inhabitants, of whom 76,000 were Jews and about 30,000 Muslims, the remainder being mainly Greeks and Bulgarians. The commercial development had been greatly furthered in the nineteenth century by the railways connecting it with Nish, Üsküb, Monastir and Constantinople. The new harbour was opened in 1901; ships cannot approach the quay there. The export of the products of almost all Macedonia (especially tobacco) took place through Salonika as well as the import of European goods, which made it compete more and more with Constantinople. As an industrial town, Salonika has very old established manufactures of cloth and carpets (*selânîk keleşî*), to which have been added silk-weaving, glass-bowing and the manufacture of soap and faience.

The town has many old monuments. Of classical buildings there remains practically nothing but the triumphal arch of Galerius. The Byzantine churches are numerous. Besides the Church of the Virgin, already mentioned, the principal are that of St. George, made a mosque in 999 (1590/1591), according to an inscription, and then called Ortadje Djāmi'i; that of St. Sophia, which became a mosque in 993 (1585) as Āyā Sofia, and notably that of St. Demetrius, the patron of the city, in the central part of the town on the Rue Mîdhat Pasha (governor of Salonika in 1873); the date of its erection is uncertain. Under Bayazîd II it was converted into a mosque and given the name of Kāsimiye Djāmi'i (St. Demetrius—Kāsim is a double saint; cf. the art. AL-KĀSIM). Of the Byzantine wall which formerly surrounded the town the southern part no longer exists and is replaced by the great

quay. The hill to the north-east of the town bears an acropolis called Yedi Kule by the Turks. A detailed description of the ancient monuments of Salonika is given in O. Trafali's book, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris 1913.

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SELÂNİKÎ, MUŞTAFÂ, Turkish historian. He was born at Salonika (Turkish Selânîk), and lost his father at Salonika in Dhu 'l-Kāda 972 (1565/1566), while he accompanied the Beylerbey of Rumîlî, Shamsî Aḥmad Pasha, as a reader of the Kur'ān (*Tārîkh*, p. 11, line 6 *ab infra*). He held a number of offices which are accurately enumerated in his work. When in 1584 he had been for some time secretary and *diwānîdâr* of the Nishāndjî Mehmed Pasha, he became secretary of the *sîlihîdâr* (*sîlihîdâr kâtîbî*; cf. *Tārîkh*, p. 235: Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 22, 995 = Nov. 23, 1586), then of the *sîpâhîs*; then he was appointed *rûznâmedjî* (diarist) president of the auditoffice of the two holy cities (*haramain muḥāsebedjîsî*) and quarter-master of the court (*muteferriḥa*). In October 1588 he was *mihmāndâr* of the Persian prince Haidar who then resided at Constantinople (*Tārîkh*, p. 261). In Sha'bān, 1003 (1595/96), he was inspector of the soldiers' pay (cf. J. v. Hammer; *G. O. R.*, iv. 244). Finally he possibly held the function of *Anadolu muḥāsebedjîsî* (president of the treasury of Anatolia). The year of his death is not certain. Probably he died soon after 1008 (1599/1600) at Stambul.

His work on history, part of which was printed at Stambul in 1281 (*Tārîkh-i Selânîkî Muştafâ Efendi*, 14 folios, 351 pages octavo), begins with Şafar 971 (1563/64), and ends in 1008 (1599/1600); it comprises the last years of Sulaimān the Great, the reign of Selîm II, Murād III and the first five

years of Mehmed III. Composed in the manner of a diary it is a mirror of the events at which the author was present as an eye-witness. His office in the treasury supplied him with statistic materials. Selânîkî's work is consequently a very valuable source for the years 1563—1599. It is to be regretted that the printed edition (cf. a note at the end, p. 351) is carried on to the year 1001 only (1592/93, because Na'ima [q. v.] begins his work with this year). Complete MSS. are preserved (apart from libraries in the East) at Upsala (cf. Tornberg, *Codices arab., pers. et turc. bibl. reg. univ. upsäl.*, Lund 1849, p. 196 sq., N^o. 284) and at Vienna (Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hss. der K. K. Hofbibl.*, ii. 246 sq., N^o. 1030 H. O. 57).

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SELDJUKS, a Turkish princely family which ruled over wide territories in Central and Nearer Asia from the xith to the xiiith century. The following dynasties are distinguished: 1. The Great Seldjüks; 2. the Seldjüks of the 'Irāk; 3. the Seldjüks of Kirmān; 4. the Seldjüks of Syria and 5. the Seldjüks of Asia Minor (al-Rūm).

Early History of the family. The ancestor of these rulers was Seldjūk b. Duḳāk (Tuḳāk) called Timūryaligh, i.e. "with the iron bow". This Duḳāk was a member of the Ghuzz tribe of Kfñk, which is mentioned in the first place in the list of these tribes in al-Kashgharî, *Diwān Lughāt al-Turk*, i. 56. The following is told of him by Ibn al-Athîr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 322: "He was leader of the Ghuzz; they had implicit faith in him and they never contradicted him in a speech or neglected a command of his. Then it happened that one day the king of the Turks named Baighū collected his armies and wanted to march against the lands of Islām. Duḳāk spoke against it and after a long discussion the king of the Turks insulted him with coarse words. Duḳāk then gave him a box on the ear and wounded him in the head. When the king's servants surrounded and tried to seize him, he defended himself and fought with them; his people gathered round him and they separated from him (i.e. the king). The dispute between them was afterwards settled and Duḳāk remained with him. A similar story is then told of his son Seldjūk but the end is different: Seldjūk leaves the king with his people, enters the land of Islām and takes up his abode in the vicinity of Djand at the mouth of the Saihūn. According to Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, p. 46, the Turkish title *yabghu* is concealed in Baighū and the reference here is to the supreme chief of the Infidel Ghuzz, who in turn recognised the suzerainty of the Khākān of the Uighurs. It seems to me, however, that the whole story is an invention to explain the settlement of the Kfñk near Djand. Whether this tribe, or at least its chief Seldjūk, already professed Islām at this time is equally uncertain although the story presupposes it; the conversion perhaps only took place after relations had been formed with the Muslim population of Djand. Some Russian scholars have expressed the opinion that the Seldjüks came to

Islām through Christianity and in support of this point to the Biblical names of their sons Mīkā'il, Mūsā, Isrā'il, to a casual remark in al-Kazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 394) and to the fact of the spread of Christianity among the Turks in Semir-jetye, but tradition makes no mention of it.

Political conditions in Transoxania, where the Sāmānids and the Turkish Kara-Khānids were fighting for the mastery, were favourable to the development of the power of Seldjūk and his Ghuzz. They became involved in this feud and usually they took the side of the Sāmānids, but at the same time took the opportunity to further their own interests. In the meanwhile Seldjūk died in Djand, aged, it is said, 107. His sons above mentioned (some records also mention a fourth, Yūnus) we now find not in Djand, but near Bukhārā in Nūr Bukhārā (now called Nūr Ata, N. E. of Bukhārā; cf. Barthold, *Türkistan* etc., p. 122), about the year 375 (985), as Ḥamd Allāh al-Kazwīnī, *Tārikk-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, p. 434, states. Isrā'il, whose proper name was Arslān, seems to have assumed the leadership among those sons. Sometimes the name is followed by Baighū, which is probably also to be interpreted here as the title *yabghu*; he is mentioned simply by this name in al-Gardīzi, ed. Barthold, p. 13, as the prince of the Ghuzz who in 1003 assisted the Sāmānid general Muntaṣir to victory over the Kara-khānids (cf. Barthold, *Türkistan* etc., p. 283). We next find him mentioned as ally of 'Alī Tegin who had captured the city of Bukhārā. In 416 (1025) Maḥmūd of Ghazna undertook a campaign into Transoxania to overthrow the latter and had a meeting with the Kara-khānid Kādir-Khān, with whom he came to an agreement regarding a common attitude towards the affairs of the district. On this campaign he sought information regarding the strength of the Seldjüks. There is a well known anecdote which tells how Arslān, when he was asked about the question, showed him two arrows and said that 100,000 men would turn out if these two arrows were sent round his people, and if the bow were added, as many as one could wish. This caused Maḥmūd some anxiety; he therefore consulted his Ḥādhib, Arslān Djādhib, as to what should be done regarding these people. The latter proposed that each man's thumb should be cut off so that he could not draw the bow any longer, or, as Ibn al-Athîr adds, that they should all be drowned in the Djaiḥūn. Maḥmūd thought this too inhuman and perhaps also impracticable; he thought it better to let them come across the Djaiḥūn and scatter over wide tracts in Khurāsān so that they would be easily kept in control. He took Arslān back with him to Ghazna and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Kālandjār in Multan as a hostage for the good behaviour of his people. These measures did not succeed in their aims, however; the Ghuzz proved turbulent in spite of the severe punishment which Tāsh Farrash awarded to them (cf. al-Baiḥaqî, *Tārikk*, ed. Morley, p. 544). Under the leadership of their chiefs Yaghmur, Kīzlî, Buḳa, Koktaş etc. they withdrew from the jurisdiction of their Ghaznawid rulers and began raiding the lands of Islām. Damaghān, Samnān, al-Raiy, Isfahān, Marāgha, Hamadḥān and many other towns in the 'Irāk and Aḥarbaiddān suffered from their incursions. These Ghuzz are always called the 'Irākî Ghuzz by al-Baiḥaqî, who says nothing about Arslān in the part of his history that

has survived to us, and distinguished from the Ghuzz who had remained in Transoxania, to whom he refers as the people of Tughrl-Beg (this is the correct form, according to al-Kashghari, *Divān* etc., p. 400), Dā'ūd and the Niyāliyūn. Tughrl-Beg, Muḥammad and Čaghri-Beg Dā'ūd are the sons of Mikā'il b. Seldjuk, who, according to some records, was early killed in the war with the infidel Turks; as to the Niyāliyūn, these are the people of Ināl or Yināl, a maternal uncle of Tughrl-Beg, so that probably the reading should be Yināliyūn. It is true that this Ināl is mentioned nowhere else but his son Ibrāhīm b. Ināl is well known and at first faithfully supported his two nephews. We hear little of Mūsā, Seldjuk's third son, but his sons also supported Tughrl-Beg.

These Seldjucs lived in security in Nūr Bukhārā as long as 'Alī Tegin lived; as the pastures there were not sufficient for them, they received from Hārūn b. Altüntāsh, the governor of Khwārizm, through the intermediary of the vizier Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad Abū Naṣr, later vizier to the Ghaznawid Mas'ūd, permission to dwell in Khwārizm territory in winter. But when 'Alī Tegin had died in 425 (1034) they came into conflict with his sons and successors, and, as Hārūn b. Altüntāsh was murdered soon afterwards and the then ruler of Djand, Shāh Malik, attacked Khwārizm by command of Mas'ūd and put to flight the sons of Altüntāsh who were in open rebellion and with whom they sided, they found themselves forced to seek other lands to live in. They therefore sent a written petition (cf. al-Baihaḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 583) to the governor of Khurāsān, Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Sūrī (al-Suwāri), notorious for his extortions, requesting him to ask Mas'ūd to allot them the districts of Nasā and Farāwa. In this remarkable document Tughrl, Dā'ūd and a third brother Paighū, already call themselves protégés of the Commander of the Faithful. These negotiations, which did not lead to the desired result, and the events that followed can be followed almost from day to day in al-Baihaḳī's narrative, but here we must be brief and refer the reader to the full account by Kazimirski in the preface to his edition of the *Divān* of Minūčihri. In brief, the result was an open war between the Seldjucs and the Ghaznawids. Mas'ūd's generals were repeatedly defeated and finally Mas'ūd himself was routed in the battle of Dandānākān (Ramaḍān, 431 = May, 1040). By the end of 429 (Aug., 1038) the Seldjucs had taken Naisābur, the name of Tughrl-Beg was mentioned in the *khutba* there and an ambassador arrived from the Caliph to complain of the ravages of the 'Irāḳī Ghuzz. The rule of the Great Seldjucs was established.

I. The Great Seldjucs, 1038—1157. TUGHRL-BEG — 1063, ALP ARSLAN — 1072, MALIK-SHĀH — 1092, MAḤMŪD and BARKIYĀRŪK — 1104, MALIK-SHĀH II and MUḤAMMAD — 1117, SANDJAR — 1157.

The history of the individual rulers, with the exception of Maḥmūd and Malik-Shāh II, whose names were only mentioned for a brief period in the *khutba*, is dealt with in separate articles; here a few general observations will suffice. As regards the expansion of the Seldjuk empire, the majority of the Muslim rulers of the eastern and central provinces of the lands once ruled by the Caliphs submitted to Tughrl-Beg, either voluntarily or under compulsion. The rulers of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān

had done this by 433 (1041/42); in 434 (1042/43) Khwārizm was conquered and was followed by the other lands which form modern Persia. In 440 (1048) Liparites, chief of the Abkhaz, was taken prisoner and raids were made into Asia Minor. In Ramaḍān, 447 (Dec., 1055), Tughrl's name was mentioned in the *khutba* in Baghdād and at a ceremonial audience in 449 he was addressed by the Caliph, who had in the meanwhile married a daughter of his brother Čaghri-Beg, as "King of the East and of the West". The suzerainty of the Seldjuk Sultān was recognised throughout the 'Irāḳ, in Mawṣil and in Diyār-bakr. Under Alp Arslān the Seldjuk conquests reached to the Jaxartes and after the defeat of the Armenians and Byzantines almost the whole of Asia Minor passed to the Turks. Finally Syria was added and in 485 (1092) even 'Adan and al-Yaman were conquered, although we can hardly talk of an effective rule of the Seldjucs in Arabia. Malik-Shāh's death in the same year, the quarrels for the throne among his sons which followed, and the Crusades put a limit to their conquests.

As regards the conquered territories, in many cases the conquered rulers continued to rule and paid tribute; in Kirmān, and later also in Syria and Asia Minor, the princes who had conquered these lands set themselves up as independent rulers and did not trouble about the Great Seldjucs with whom they even waged war (see below). The same thing happened in other outlying parts of the empire, which the Sultāns, e.g. Alp Arslān in 458 (1066), bestowed on their brothers and other relatives as fiefs, with this difference that the latter did not succeed in founding dynasties. According to the Turkish view, the right to rule belonged to the whole family and the oldest member had a certain right as *primus inter pares* to the obedience of his male relatives, but in a family with so many ramifications as that of the Seldjucs, harmony could not long be maintained. Even in the reign of Tughrl-Beg his nephew Ibrāhīm b. Ināl rebelled and if his brothers Čaghri-Beg and Paighū remained faithful to him this was probably because he had no sons. His successor had to fight with Kutulmīsh, son of Arslān and ancestor of the Seldjucs of Rūm. It was the same in the reign of Malik-Shāh, and after his death the rather brief reign of Barkiyārūk was marked by continual fighting with his uncle Tutuṣh and his brother Muḥammad. The empire of the Great Seldjucs therefore comprised strictly only the eastern provinces of the former territory of the Caliphs, with the exception of Kirmān. They had their residences in Isfahān, Baghdād, and under Sandjar, who handed over to his brother Muḥammad's sons the rule over 'Irāḳ, Fārs, Khuzistān and the western provinces, in Marw. The latter, the last of the Great Seldjucs, was more than once forced to use the sword to exert his authority as head of the family to settle disputes among his nephews; for the rest he was content with sovereignty over Khurāsān and the eastern frontier provinces. On his wars with the Ghaznawids, the rulers of Transoxania, the Ghūrids and the Ghuzz see the article SANDJAR, above. When he died childless in 552 (1157) the line of the Great Seldjucs came to an end.

For Islām the rise of the Seldjucs meant the victory of the Sunnī creed, as far as their power stretched, over the Shī'a tendencies which had been gaining more and more ground under the

Būyids and Fātimids. The Būyids had, it is true, allowed the 'Abbāsīd caliphate to continue a nominal existence in Baghdād, but in 450 (1058) al-Basīrī [q.v.] had the name of the Fātimīd caliph mentioned in the *khutba* in the 'Irāk also. The 'Abbāsīd al-Kā'im bi-Amr Allāh had to leave Baghdād, and his palace there was plundered for several days. Tughrl-Beg, who at that time already was on intimate relations with the Caliph, was at this time engaged in his struggle with Ibrāhīm b. Ināl; as soon as the latter was taken prisoner and put to death, Tughrl brought the Caliph back to Baghdād. In the following period, notably in the later years of Malik-Shāh, there was serious friction between the Caliph and the Sultān, but this did not have its roots in religious questions but was of a personal nature (cf. Houtsma, in the *Journal of Indian History*, iii. 147—160). The Seldjūks regarded the Caliph as such as the head of orthodox Islām whom they were called upon to defend with the sword. They took energetic steps against the dangerous activities of the Ismā'īlīs and furthered the interests of Sunnī theologians, although in this respect it was not they themselves but their viziers, notably the great Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.], that were entitled to most credit. Personally they were anything but fanatical Muslims, as is evident from the release of Liparites above mentioned and later of the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes and from the treatment accorded their Christian subjects. It is practically the same with the credit given to some of the Sultāns, e.g. Malik-Shāh, for their patronage of learning; although untutored, they were able to esteem what they themselves did not possess. They therefore entrusted the administration of their empire to their viziers, who sometimes, like Nizām al-Mulk, governed with unlimited powers. In what spirit they did so, the latter himself has told us in his *Siyāsāt-nāma*. As regards art, very little of the architecture of the Seldjūks has survived for posterity. Only in Marw are there still considerable remains from Sanjār's reign. Taken all in all, we must admit that the Seldjūk Sultāns were able to guide the rude Ghuzz people, whose chiefs they were, with great skill and with true insight to turn to their use the advantages of Arabo-Persian civilisation.

II. The Seldjūks of the 'Irāk, 1118—1194. After the death of Muḥammad in 511 (1118) his eldest son MAḤMŪD, a thirteen year old boy, succeeded him as Sultān of the whole empire with the exception of Khurāsān and the north-eastern frontier provinces, where, as already mentioned, Muḥammad's brother Sanjār ruled. After him the title of Sultān was borne by his son DĀ'ŪD, 1131—1132, TUḠHRĪL I — 1134 (according to al-Bundārī, *Recueil de textes* etc., ii. 172, wrongly, beginning of 528 = 1133), MAS'ŪD — 1152, MALIK-SHĀH II — 1153, MUḤAMMAD II — 1159, SULAIMĀN-SHĀH — 1161, ARSLĀN-SHĀH — 1175 and TUḠHRĪL II — 1194. Almost all these Sultāns ascended the throne while still boys and met with a premature, often violent, death. Of the majority of them, therefore, it can hardly be said that they actually ruled; they were simply tools in the hands of their Atabegs and Emīrs. In keeping with the old Turkish custom, the four sons of Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, Tughrl, Mas'ūd and Sulaimān, were each brought up by a prominent Turkish Emīr, who acted as their second father and was therefore called Atabeg. The natural result was that each of these Atabegs endeavoured to

gain the title of Sultān for the prince allotted to him in order thereby to increase his own prestige. The result was continual wars between these brothers, which were decided for a short time by the intervention of Sanjār in favour of one or other of the claimants. For the details of these wars the reader is referred to the separate articles; here we will only point out that the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs also became involved and that two of them, al-Mustashīd [q.v.] and al-Rāshīd [q.v.], perished in them. This happened in the reign of the valiant Sultān Mas'ūd, but his successor Muḥammad II — Malik-Shāh II only bore the title of Sultān for three months — had to abandon the siege of Baghdād in 551 (1157). The power of the Caliphs began to rise again after this and the Seldjūk Sultān no longer lived in Baghdād but in Hamadhān. As a rule these Sultāns, from as early as Maḥmūd, were only nominal rulers. The great Turkish Emīrs held most of the provinces as military fiefs; the Sultāns lacked the money as well as the necessary troops to enforce their authority, if their Atabegs for the time did not assist them. To the latter also they entrusted war with foreign foes e.g. with the Crusaders in Syria; they themselves had continually to contend with enemies at home. Some of these Emīrs succeeded in founding a hereditary dynasty and making themselves independent with the title Atabeg, Shāh or Malik. Among the latter we may reckon the Urtukids in Mardīn and Hīsn Kaifa and the Armanshāhs in Khilāt, who had already succeeded in doing so in the preceding period, and among the former the Zangids in al-Mawṣil and other places, the Salgharids in Fārs and the Atabegs of Ādharbaidjān. The first of these Atabegs, Shams al-Dīn Ildegiz [q.v.], married the widow of Tughrl I and when Sulaimān Shāh died in 1161 had his stepson Arslān b. Tughrl proclaimed Sultān, but without affording him any authority. When he later threatened to become dangerous, Pahlawān, son of Ildegiz, had him disposed of by poisoning him and raised his minor son Tughrl II to the throne (571 = 1175). When the latter had grown up and Pahlawān was dead, he endeavoured to enforce his authority but was not a match for Kizl Arslān, the successor of Pahlawān, although he defeated the troops of the latter's ally, the Caliph, at Dāimarg in 584 (1188). He was taken prisoner by Kizl Arslān after whose death he was restored to liberty, but fell shortly afterwards in a fight with the troops of the Khwārizm Shāh Takash (590 = 1194).

III. The Seldjūks of Kirmān, 1041—1186. The ancestor and founder of their line was KĀWURD KARA ARSLĀN-BEG, a son of Čaghri-Beg who went to Kirmān with his Ghuzz about 433 (1041) and a few years later (440 = 1048/49) occupied the capital Bardasir. He then waged further wars on his own account with the Shabānkārs, with the Kufs in the Garmīr (the hot coast region) and even became lord of 'Omān without troubling much about Tughrl-Beg. When the latter's brother Alp Arslān succeeded to the throne Kāwurd made an attempt (459 = 1067) to pose as an independent chief, but submitted when Alp Arslān hurried in person to Kirmān to force him to obedience. On Alp Arslān's death he thought, presumably as the oldest member of the family, that he had himself a claim to the Seldjūk throne, and led his army against Malik-Shāh but suffered a terrible defeat in the vicinity of Hamadhān where he was taken prisoner and

afterwards strangled (466 = 1074). The victor then in his turn marched on Bardasir where first Kirmān-shāh and later Sultān-Shāh, the sons of Kāwurd, had assumed the reins of government *ad interim*, but withdrew when the latter showed himself submissive and left him in possession of his father's dominions. Sultān-Shāh reigned till 477 (1084) and was followed by TÜRĀN-SHĀH — 1097, IRĀN-SHĀH — 1100 (1101), ARSLĀN-SHĀH — 1142, MUHAMMAD — 1156, TUĞHRIL-SHĀH — 1169, BAHRĀM-SHĀH and ARSLĀN-SHĀH II — 1176, TÜRĀN-SHĀH II — 1183, MUHAMMAD-SHĀH — 1186. The end of the dynasty was brought about by the arrival of a body of Ghuzz; the Ghuzz after the defeat of Sandjar had fallen like a devastating deluge on the provinces of Persia and went wherever the weakness of authority seemed to offer them a chance of gaining rich booty. In Kirmān, where anarchy was practically complete under the last Seldjüks, they had an easy task, routed Tūrān-Shāh who marched against them and went plundering up and down the country. When the latter was murdered his successor Muḥammad-Shāh soon found himself forced to leave the country to seek help from neighbouring princes, which was, however, not granted him. A Ghuzz prince, known by the name of Malik Dīnār, then became lord of Kirmān.

IV. The Seldjüks of Syria, 1078—1117.

After the Marwānid Naṣr of Ḥalab in 463 (1070/71) had submitted to Alp Arslān, a body of Turks under Atsız b. Abaḳ (or Awaḳ) invaded Palestine, captured Ramla and Jerusalem and the rest of Judaea with the exception of ʿAskalān, where the Fātimids held out. He then turned his attention to Damascus which he was, however, not able to take till 468 (1076). An attempt made by him to conquer Egypt in the following year failed; he was routed by the Fātimid general Badr al-Djamālī [q.v.] and was next so hard pressed in Syria that he appealed for help to Tutuḡ b. Alp Arslān, who came to Syria in 470 and Damascus was handed over to him (471 = 1078). Tutuḡ then treacherously murdered Atsız and became lord of the town himself. An attempt to take Ḥalab failed; the then lord of this city, the ʿUḳailid Muslim b. Kuraish [q.v.], even attacked him in Damascus (475 = 1082), and when the latter had fallen in battle with the Seldjūk of Asia Minor, Sulaimān [q.v.] (478 = 1085), Malik-Shāh himself hastened to Ḥalab and installed Akṣonkor, the ancestor of the Zangids there, as governor, to the great vexation of Tutuḡ who had in the meanwhile disposed of his rival for the possession of the town, Sulaimān, in an encounter at ʿAin Salm (Sailam?), not far from Ḥalab (479 = 1086), where the latter met his death. It was only the death of Malik-Shāh (485 = 1092) that enabled him to gratify his ambition, to make great conquests and to set up as a claimant to the sultanate against his nephew Barkiyārūḳ [q.v.], till he finally was defeated in 488 (1095) and fell on the battlefield. For details see the article TUTUḢ. His son Ridwān [q.v.] then became lord of Ḥalab and another son, Duḳāḳ (the statement in Abu l-Maḥāsīn, ed. Popper, ii. 344, that he was Duḳmāḳ is wrong), of Damascus. The latter died soon after in 497 (1104) but the real power lay in the hands of his Atabeg, Tuḡtegin [q.v.], who next had the *khutba* read for a short time in the name of an infant, then for a brother of Duḳāḳ, named Artāsh (in Ibn al-Athīr called Begtāsh), then made himself independent and founded the Būrid [q.v.] dynasty

Ridwān of Ḥalab died in 507 (1114); he was followed by his son Alp Arslān who was soon afterwards murdered by his servant Luʿluʿ. The latter then had his brother Sultān-Shāh proclaimed Sultān but was himself murdered in 511 (1117). The inhabitants then handed over the town to Ilghāzī [q.v.] and Seldjūk rule came to an end.

V. The Seldjüks of Asia Minor (al-Rūm), 1077—1302.

The ancestor and founder of this dynasty was SULAIMĀN B. KUTULMISH B. ARSLĀN (Isrāʿīl) B. SELDJUK. His father Kutulmish was one of the Seldjūk paladins under Tuḡhril-Beg but later rebelled against Alp Arslān, and in the end fell on the battlefield near al-Raiy (456 = 1064). Sulaimān himself came to Asia Minor after the great battle of Malāzkind (1071) (in which the Byzantines suffered a terrible defeat and their emperor was taken prisoner), like so many other Turkish emirs, with the intention of making new conquests there and founding a kingdom. Being a prince of the ruling family he was successful in his aim and we therefore find him prince of Nicaea about 1077 when the fighting for the Byzantine throne seemed to give him a fine opportunity to play a prominent part. When this hope was thwarted by the accession of Alexius Comnenus, he turned eastwards, took the town of Antākiya from the Armenian Philaretus (477 = 1085), was thereby brought into conflict with Muslim b. Kuraish [q.v.], and, after the conquest and death of the latter, with Tutuḡ, which brought about his death in the following year (1086). These events caused Malik-Shāh to make the journey to Ḥalab to arrange matters there and elsewhere, e.g. in Antākiya and Edessa. Sulaimān's son, Kılıdġ Arslān, was taken back by him on his return, and only returned in the reign of Barkiyārūḳ after Malik-Shāh's death to Asia Minor. We have only scanty information in Arabic sources regarding events in the interval in Asia Minor, so that we have to rely on Byzantine, Syrian and Armenian originals. We cannot go into these here, nor is this the place to deal with the history of Kılıdġ Arslān and his successors; the reader is referred to the separate articles. Here we give only their names and lengths of reign: KILIDJ ARSLAN I — 1107, MALIK-SHĀH and MASʿUD — 1155, KILIDJ ARSLAN II — 1192 (Interregnum, see below), RUKN AL-DIN SULAIMĀN II — 1204; KILIDJ ARSLAN III and GHIVĀTH AL-DIN KAIKHUSRAW I — 1210, ʿIZZ AL-DIN KAIKĀʿUS I — 1219, ʿALĀʾ AL-DIN KAIKOBĀD — 1237, ʿIZZ AL-DIN KAIKHUSRAW II — 1245, ʿIZZ AL-DIN KAIKĀʿUS II (for several years [see the article] with his two brothers) — 1256, RUKN AL-DIN KILIDJ ARSLAN IV — 1266, GHIVĀTH AL-DIN KAIKHUSRAW III — 1284, GHIVĀTH AL-DIN MASʿUD II and ʿALĀʾ AL-DIN KAIKOBĀD III down to the year 702 (1302).

The kingdom of these Seldjüks underwent many vicissitudes of fortune. More than once its fall seemed imminent, but it revived again until finally it sank into insignificance with the Mongol invasion and collapsed altogether. Sulaimān's capital, Nicaea, was lost in the First Crusade in 1097 and never belonged to the Seldjüks again and with this ended Turkish rule in the whole of western Asia Minor, as the Byzantines under the Comnenoi again brought this region under their sway and were able to retain it throughout the period of the Seldjüks. In the south-east the Seldjüks were cut off from the rest of the Muslim world by the Christian

principalities of Antäkiya and Edessa, which had recently arisen, and by the rise of the kingdom of Little Armenia. Practically only the interior of Asia Minor was left to them and even there they were not the only rulers, as they had dangerous rivals in the Dānīshmandids [q. v.]. Kılıdġ Arslān's thrust towards al-Mawṣil came to an inglorious end with his premature death. It was his son Mas'ūd who first succeeded in founding a securely established dominion in Konya, after overcoming his brothers, and gradually extending his power. His successor Kılıdġ Arslān II continued his work and forced the Dānīshmandids to submit to his rule, although the powerful Nūr al-Dīn took up their cause. He was also not unsuccessful in his wars with the Byzantines and succeeded in inflicting a severe reverse on the Emperor Manuel in the vicinity of Murioképhalon (the pass of Çardak) (572 = 1176). But when he grew old, he became a pawn in the hands of his numerous sons, each of whom ruled a territory of his own; in addition, the Crusaders invaded his lands and even captured the capital Konya (1190). He died soon after this in 1192 while with his youngest son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw and left his kingdom in a state of complete anarchy, as his sons were fighting among themselves. In the end one of them, Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān, lord of Tokat, succeeded in overcoming his other brothers and taking Erzerüm from the Soltukids. He then granted this town to his brother Tuğhrıl-Shāh, who ruled there till his death in 1225 as an independent ruler and had coins struck in his own name there. His son Djahān-Shāh was, however, dethroned by Kaikobād I during the war with the Khwārizm-shāh Djālāl al-Dīn and his kingdom incorporated in the victor's. After an unsuccessful war with the Georgians Rukn al-Dīn died and his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who after many wanderings had found a refuge with the Byzantines, ascended the throne. This happened about the time that the Latin kingdom was being founded in Byzantium and this gave him a fine opportunity to extend the power of the Seldjüks. In 1207 he seized the important harbour of Antalia and his successor 'Izz al-Dīn Kaikā'us also took Sinope. The Turkish empire was thus opened to world trade: relations were established with the Italian merchant republics; the export of the valuable products of the district and the through-commerce with Little Armenia assumed great proportions and "Turkey" at that time became considered the richest land in the world. The Greek princes of Nicaea and Trebizond and the kings of Little Armenia in Cilicia pledged themselves to pay tribute either voluntarily or under compulsion. The Ortukids and Aiyūbids in the border cities of the south-east frontier recognised the suzerainty of the Seldjüks on their coins and in the *khutba*. The Sultāns and their great emirs vied with one another in the erection of splendid buildings, mosques and madrasas, bridges and caravanserais. In brief, the Seldjūk kingdom passed through a period of glory such as had not been seen in Asia Minor for centuries; but the picture was not without its other side. The luxurious life of the rulers made them weak and effeminate and aroused the indignation of the lower classes and of the devout. Even Kaikā'us I and Kaikobād I, although they were able rulers, had to rely in their military enterprises on foreign, Greek, Armenian and Arab, mercenaries; this became still more the case when

the worthless Kaikhusraw II ascended the throne (1237). In the meanwhile the Mongol deluge had reached the frontiers of Asia Minor. Erzerüm, the frontier fortress, fell before their onslaught and soon afterwards the Turkish army suffered an ignominious defeat at Közadagh (1243). The future of the kingdom was thereby decided. It is true that a peace was concluded and the Sultān granted an appearance of independence on payment of a huge tribute, but the wealth of the land continually stimulated the covetousness of the Mongols and incited them to new raids, pretexts for which were given by the struggles for the throne among the sons of Kaikhusraw. In the end, in the reign of Hülagū, a partition of the kingdom was drawn up whereby 'Izz al-Dīn was to rule on the one and Rukn al-Dīn on the other side of the Kızıl Irmak, but when the former entered into secret negotiations with the arch-enemies of the Mongols, the Egyptian Mamlūks, an end was soon put to his rule and he had to seek a refuge in Byzantium. Rukn al-Dīn henceforth ruled alone but the real power was exerted by Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaimān with the title of Parwāna, as agent for the Mongols, and when Rukn al-Dīn became inconvenient to him he had him put out of the way in 1266 so that he might rule all the more unchecked in the name of Rukn al-Dīn's infant son Ghiyāth al-Dīn. In the meanwhile the Turks began to rise against the Mongols in Laranda and elsewhere. A number of Turkish Begs therefore appealed to the Mamlūk Sultān Baibars [q. v.] and proposed that he should send an expedition into Asia Minor, where he would find the whole population on his side, if only the Mongol troops stationed in the country had once been defeated. Baibars agreed, defeated the Mongols in the bloody battle of Albistān and advanced as far as Kaṣariya (1277). But the Parwāna and the Sultān held aloof and the people did not move so that Baibars was forced by lack of supplies to retire again and leave things as they had been before. Soon afterwards Abaka appeared in Asia Minor and took fearful vengeance on the Turks, who, as he thought, had conspired with the Egyptians. The Parwāna also had to pay for his inactivity with his life. The Mongol regime now became stricter. Mongol financial officials settled the taxation which for the most part was used to maintain the troops stationed in the country. The Seldjūk Sultāns, whose names appeared on the coins down to 702 (1302), had no longer any authority worth mentioning. The turbulent Turkish emirs, among whom the Banū Qaramān and the Banū Ashraf played the most prominent part, were more than once brought to periods of obedience by ruthless punitive expeditions led by the Mongol princes Kungkaratai and Gaikhatū, only to come again from their retreats and found independent emirates when Mongol sovereignty finally diminished in power. In this way there arose on the ruins of the Seldjūk empire a dozen Turkoman dynasties, on which see the separate articles. The last descendants of the Seldjūk family of whom we have historical notice are found in Sinope and perhaps in Alaya. The Kılıdġ Arslān b. Luṭfibeğ, who had to yield in 876 (1471—1472) to the Ottoman general Gedik Ahmed Pasha, was deported with his whole family to Stambul and had Gülmüdjina allotted to him by the Sultān as *timār* [q. v.] but afterwards fled to Egypt, presumably belonged to the old family of rulers.

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SELEBES. [See CELEBES].

SELEFKE, the ancient Σελεύκεια, Seleucia Trachaea or Ciliciae, a small town, capital of the sandjak of Iḱ-Il in the province of Adana. It was built by Seleucus Nicator towards 300 B.C. The river Gök-Sū (Calycadnus) runs past it, about 10 miles from its mouth. In it is a reservoir called *Tekfūr Anbārī*, "the Emperor's storehouse", hewn out of the rock and covered by a vaulted roof; it is a great cistern carved out of the rock, 30 cubits broad and deep and 60 long; the aqueduct which brought the water to it has been destroyed. There are numerous ancient ruins and a mosque dating from the Arab epoch; the town was actually conquered by al-Ma'mūn but soon afterwards evacuated. There is a Byzantine castle on the mountain (xith century). The town is mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 119, *Marāṣid al-Iṭīlā'*, ii. 44, under the name Salaghūs.

The district, for the most part mountainous, contains 3 *nāhiya*: Bulādja, Yāghda and Āyāsh; in the *Sāl-nāme* of 1325, p. 816, Yāghda is given as the capital of Iḱ-Il and its district has now only two *nāhiya*; the number of its inhabitants is 24,860 of whom 1032 are Christians. The exports are the abundant agricultural produce; coarse carpets and sacks are manufactured there. The people in the hills rear cattle and those on the plains are farmers. The district at one time belonged to Cyprus and was administered like the islands of the archipelago by the Ḳapudan-Pasha (Grand Admiral) [q. v.].

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SELİM I, ninth sultān of the Ottoman Empire, known in history as Yawuz Sultān Selim, reigned 918—926 (= 1512—1520). He was one of the sons of Bāyazid II, born in 872 (= 1467/68) or 875 (= 1470/71) (*Sijill-i ‘Othmānī*, i. 38). Towards the end of his father's reign, he was governor of the sandjak of Trebizond. Although his brother Ahmed, older than he but younger than prince Korkud, had been designated his successor by Bāyazid, Selim also cherished designs on the throne, knowing that he had the support of the greater part of the army. Civil war finally broke out between the two brothers as a result of the nomination of Selim's son Suleimān as governor of Boli. Ahmed protested and the sandjak of Kaffa in the Crimea was then given to Suleimān. Selim soon afterwards (1510) went to join his son in Kaffa and refusing to obey Bāyazid, who had ordered him to return to Trebizond, he went to Adrianople in March, 1511, with a body of Tatar troops. He then asked for a sandjak in Rūm-ili. Only after the Sultān had made up his mind to send troops against his son, did Selim consent to retire, after receiving the sandjak of Semendere as a result of negotiations conducted through the mediation of Mewlānā Nur al-Dīn Sarfkürz [q. v.]. But he soon took the field again, giving as a pretext the rebellion of Shāh Kuli or Shaitān Kuli [q. v.] in Asia Minor. This time he was defeated on August 3 near Çorlu by his father's troops and again sought refuge in the Crimea with his father-in-law, Khān Mengli Girāy. But the Janissaries in the capital were in favour of Selim; they forced prince Ahmed, who had advanced against Constantinople, to retreat (August 21). The attempts of Ahmed and Korkud to profit by the absence of their brother only increased the latter's popularity. Selim therefore left the Crimea in January, 1512, and reached Constantinople in April, where the Janissaries had openly declared for him. Bāyazid in vain attempted to open negotiations. He was dethroned on Šafar 8, 918 (April 25, 1512), by a great mob of Selim's partisans and died a month later on the way to Demotika (see the art. BĀYAZID II).

Selim employed the first year of his reign in exterminating his brothers and nephews. By July, 1512, he had set out against Ahmed and his son ‘Alā al-Dīn, who had taken Brussa; he put them to flight, but did not capture them. Ahmed entrenched himself in Amasia. An attempt by Selim to take him by surprise there failed, probably through the treachery of the Grand Vizier, Muṣṭafā Paṣha [q. v.]. The latter in any case was executed and replaced by Hersek Ahmed Paṣha. On November 27, five nephews of the sultān were executed at Brussa, sons of his deceased brothers Maḥmūd, ‘Alam-shāh and Shāhin-shāh. In the end Korkud, who had fled to the sandjak of Teke, was captured and put to death. The same fate overtook Ahmed, who, after several successes, was finally defeated and captured on the plain of Yeḥi Shehir (April 24, 1513).

Peaceful relations with Venice, Hungary and Russia were maintained as a result of negotiations conducted by the embassies which these powers had sent to Constantinople and Adrianople. The warlike spirit of Selim found an outlet in the east, where Shāh Ismā‘il [q. v.] had founded the powerful empire of the Shī‘ī Šafawids. Ismā‘il had supported the cause of prince Ahmed and had

given asylum to the latter's son Murād. Ismā‘il, moreover, had many partisans in the Shī‘a element in Asia Minor. His own dynasty owed its success to the Kızıl-bash of Anatolia, who had rebelled only recently under Shāh-Kuli against Sultān Bāyazid. Selim, urged either by hatred of Ismā‘il or by his zeal for orthodoxy, began a systematic persecution of the Shī‘is in his empire. The total number killed or imprisoned was forty thousand, according to all the Turkish sources. War was inevitable after this. On March 20, 1514, the Sultān left Adrianople and a month after the whole army met on the plain of Yeḥi Shehir. During this time Selim had begun with a declaration of war his celebrated correspondence with Shāh Ismā‘il in a series of letters written in an elegant style and insulting and provocative in their contents (see the *Munsha‘at* of Feridūn Bey, i. 374 sqq.), which often resulted in the immediate slaughter of their bearers. At the same time he had turned to ‘Ubaid Khān, prince of the Uzbeks, to incite him to war against the Shāh. The Turkish army marched by Konya, Kaṣariye (where ‘Alā al-Dawla of the Dhu ‘l-Kadr dynasty showed little enthusiasm to assist the expedition) and Siwās, while the fleet went to Trebizond with the commissariat. After Erzindjān the Janissaries began to murmur at the length of the campaign, but Selim restored his authority with a few executions. The Shāh's army was not met till the plain of Çaldıran [q. v.] between Lake Urmiya and Tabriz. Here on Raddjab 2, 920 (August 23, 1514), the Persian army was utterly routed by the Ottoman, mainly through the latter's superiority in artillery. Ismā‘il fled, leaving the whole of his harem in the hands of the victor. On September 5, Selim entered Tabriz. He left it by the 13th, carrying off vast treasures and several hundred artisans, to spend the winter at Kara-Bāgh, but the opposition of the Janissaries forced him to resume the road to Anatolia. He went via Kars and Baiburt, where Bīyıklı Muhammad Pēy had been left with a force. Selim himself went into winter quarters at Amasia; the Janissaries, who had begun to mutiny once more owing to the shortage of food, were sent to Constantinople. These disorders resulted in the dismissal of the Grand Vizier and the raising to the office of Khādīm Sinān Paṣha, Beylerbey of Anatolia (October, 1514). During the same year the Sandjak-Bey of Semendere had driven back a Hungarian invasion near Belgrade.

The year 1515 was marked by the conquest of eastern Anatolia and Kurdistan. Selim, who had assumed the title of Shāh after his victory (according to the coins), went in person to Kumakh or Kemākh [q. v.] which he took in May and then returned to Siwās. From here he sent the new Grand Vizier against the aged ‘Alā al-Dawla, lord of the Dhu ‘l-Kadr [q. v.]. Selim had previously, in the autumn of 1514, invested ‘Alī Beg, nephew of ‘Alā al-Dawla, with the sandjak of Kaṣariye and ‘Alī had defeated and killed Sulaimān, son of ‘Alā al-Dawla. On June 12, 1515, Sinān Paṣha defeated the Dhu ‘l-Kadr army in the plain of Gökün. ‘Alā al-Dawla was killed and his four sons captured and executed. The conquest of the land of the Dhu ‘l-Kadr, including the fortresses of Albistān and Marāsh, was one of the causes of the war with the Sultān of Egypt, who had been recognised as suzerain of this dynasty. Selim then returned to Constantinople, which he reached on

July 17; there he had executed several high officials accused of having incited the rebellion of the Janissaries, including the *Kādî* 'Asker and the poet *Dja'far Çelebi* [q.v.]. In August a great fire destroyed a part of the capital and was followed by more executions.

After the battle of *Çaldıran*, the Begs of *Kurdistan* [q.v.], the population of which was for the most part Sunni, declared for Selim; the inhabitants of *Diyār Bakr* and other towns had opened their gates to the Turks, but the citadels of several towns (e.g. *Mardin*) were still occupied by Persian garrisons. *Bıyıklı Muḥammad*, who had been appointed *Beylerbey* of *Diyār Bakr*, had been given military control of the country and the historian *İdris Bitlisî*, himself a Kurd, had been appointed to assist him as high commissioner for civil administration. In the beginning of 1515, however, the Persian general *Kara Khān*, brother of the former governor of *Diyār Bakr*, *Ustādîli Oghlū* killed at *Çaldıran*, was sent to reconquer the country. He besieged *Diyār Bakr*, but was forced by *Bıyıklı Muḥammad* to raise the siege in October, 1515. At the beginning of 1516, *Kara Khān* was defeated a second time near *Koç Hisār* between 'Urfa and *Nisibin* by *Muḥammad* and the Kurdish Begs, a battle in which *Kara Khān* himself was killed. In this way the towns of *Kharpūt*, *Maiyāfariqin*, *Bitlis*, *Hisn Kaifa*, *Diyār Bakr*, 'Urfa, *Mardin*, *Djazira* and the lands farther south as far as *Rakka* and *Mawşil* fell into Ottoman hands, the conquest being completed in the reign of *Suleimān I.*

In the capital, Selim had been busy with the construction of a new fleet and arsenal under the direction of *Piri Pasha*, while he had reorganised the corps of Janissaries so as to secure a more effective control over the higher ranks of this turbulent soldiery. These were the preparations for a new expedition against Persia. The Sultān left *Constantinople* on June 5, 1516, and went first to *Konya*; *Sinān Pasha*, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, was awaiting him in *Albistan*. In the meanwhile, the Sultān of Egypt, *Kānsūh al-Ghūrî* [q.v.], disturbed by Selim's annexation of the lands of the *Dhu 'l-Kadr*, had left his capital on May 18 with a large army with the object of supporting *Shāh Ismā'il* and retaking *Mar'ash*. Selim, having learned of the arrival of *Kānsūh* at *Aleppo* (August, 1516), was the first to send ambassadors. The latter were not at first well received, but returned with an offer of mediation in the war with *Ismā'il*. Selim did not accept the proposal; on the contrary, he sent back with contumely an envoy of the Sultān of Egypt after executing his companions. In the end Selim set off via 'Aintāb, capturing towns like *Malatya* on his line of march. He met the Egyptian army on the field of *Dābiq* [q.v.], north of *Aleppo*. On August 24 (on the date see *Islām*, vi. 389, note 4) the Egyptians were completely routed in a short battle; their defeat was due to dissensions among their troops and to the superiority of the Ottoman artillery. *Kānsūh* himself fell either in or after the battle. *Yūnus Pasha* had been sent by Selim against *Khā'ir Beg*, governor (*malik al-umarā'*) of *Aleppo*; the latter surrendered the town to the Ottomans without striking a blow. Selim encamped for eighteen days on the *Kök Maidān*, near *Aleppo*, and then resumed his march via *Hamā* and *Hims* to *Damascus*, which the Mamlūk Begs had abandoned on September 22. *Damascus* was surrendered by negotiation with

the traitor *Khā'ir Beg* and he occupied the town on the 26th. Selim stayed about two months here and ordered among other edifices a mosque to be built over the tomb of *Muḥyî al-Din b. al-'Arabî*. On October 22, the Mamlūks in *Cairo* had chosen their new Sultān, *Tūmān Bāi*. Selim sent him two envoys to offer him peace on condition that the Sultān of Egypt recognised Ottoman suzerainty. The two ambassadors were put to death, much against the wish of *Tūmān Bāi*, which rendered inevitable the continuation of the war. The Egyptian army left *Cairo* towards the end of October, under the command of *Djānberdi Ghazālî*. They met the Ottoman vanguard under *Sinān Pasha* near *Ghazzā* and were defeated. Selim had left *Damascus* in December; before rejoining the army at *Ghazzā*, he made a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. The decisive battle was fought on January 22, 1517, at *Ridāniya* near *Cairo*, after the Ottoman army had crossed the desert in thirteen days. The defeat which the Egyptians suffered there is attributed to the treachery of *Djānberdi Ghazālî*, acting in arrangement with *Khā'ir Beg*, who was in Selim's army; they are said by a ruse to have immobilised the Egyptian artillery, which was served by Europeans. The two Sultāns took part in the battle in person. *Tūmān Bāi* slew the Grand Vizier *Sinān*, believing he was Selim. *Sinān's* office was filled by the appointment of *Yūnus Pasha*. By the battle of *Ridāniya*, the fate of *Cairo* was decided; although *Tūmān Bāi* succeeded in regaining the city five days later he was driven from it on January 30, after desperate and bloody fighting in the streets followed by the execution of eight hundred Mamlūk Begs and a general massacre. After the definite occupation of *Cairo*, Selim, who had pitched his camp on the island of *Bulāk*, continued the war with *Tūmān Bāi*. The latter had retired to the *Delta* and endeavoured to resist with the help of the Beduins. But after another defeat at *Djiza*, his allies betrayed him and handed him over to the Turks. Selim at first treated him with consideration, but in the end yielded to the pressure of *Khā'ir Beg* and *Ghazālî* and ordered his execution on April 12 or 13 (cf. the article *TUMĀN BĀI*).

Selim, being recognised as undisputed master of Egypt, remained a month in *Cairo*. Among the numerous embassies which came to pay him homage, one of the most important was that of the *Sharif* of *Mekka*, *Barakāt*, who sent a deputation led by his own son, *Abū Numaiy Muḥammad*, then aged twelve, which was received by the Sultān towards the end of May. The *Sharif*, who had not much reason to speak highly of the Mamlūk Sultāns, readily submitted to the Ottoman Sultān, who had already, during his stay in *Damascus*, showed his solicitude for the holy places. *Barakāt* declared himself ready to insert the name of Selim in the *khutba*. *Abū Numaiy* returned with rich gifts and in December following (*Dhu 'l-Hidjja*, 923) the pilgrim caravan (*surre-i humāyūn*), sent by Selim from *Damascus*, carried for the first time a covering for the *Ka'ba* as a gift from the Ottoman Sultān. From this time onwards the Ottoman Sultāns bore the title of *Khādim al-Ḥaramain al-Sharīfain* which has given them such a great prestige in the Muslim and Christian world. Selim, however, in spite of his solicitude for the sacred places, took care to take with him to *Constantinople* as hostages several *Hidjāz* notables resident in *Cairo*.

Another important delegation consisted of the two ambassadors from Venice, who came to negotiate regarding the payment of the tribute for the island of Cyprus hitherto paid to the Sultān of Egypt. They had, besides, to defend their city from the charge of having assisted the Egyptians against the Ottomans. Their ancient privileges were confirmed by a document of September 8, 1517. There is, however, in existence an Arabic document by which Selīm confirmed as early as February 16, 1517, to the Venetian consul in Alexandria the privileges enjoyed by the Venetians (B. Moritz, *Ein Firman des Sultans Selīm I für die Venetianer*, in the *Festschrift Sachau*, p. 422 sqq.).

Among the monuments of Cairo, Selīm paid most attention to the Nilometer, the *mikyās* on the island of Rawḍa (cf. the article CAIRO, § 4). He had a pavilion built there which was his favourite abode during his stay in Cairo. Towards the end of May, he undertook a journey to Alexandria to visit his fleet which had arrived there under Piri Pasha, and returned to Cairo on June 12 to remain another three months there. He left the city on September 10, leaving Khā'ir Beg as governor of Egypt (but he had sent his harem and children as hostages to Filibe) and arrived in Damascus on October 8. The main reason for his return was the discontent in the army. He left Egypt without having been able to do much reorganisation there during his stay. Although, according to the Ottoman historians, "true justice" was introduced there (Rustem Pasha), the numerous abuses had not been diminished; Idris Bitlisi, who had dared to call the Sultān's attention to them, was sent back with the fleet. Yünus Pasha, the new Grand Vizier, was no more pleased with the expedition; the Sultān had already removed him from the governorship of Egypt; then Khā'ir Beg aroused the Sultān's suspicions of him, which led to his sudden execution on September 19 in the desert near Ghazzā. His successor was Piri Pasha. Selīm spent the winter in Damascus and resumed his journey in February, 1518, having appointed Djanberdi Ghazālī governor of Syria. He spent a further two months in Aleppo, from where Piri Pasha made an expedition against the Kızıl Bash, and returned to Constantinople on July 25 and went on to Adrianople on August 4. His son Suleimān, who had taken his place in his absence, was sent as governor to Sarukhān.

Among the notable personages whom Selīm had sent as Egyptian hostages to the capital was al-Mutawakkil, the last of the "Abbāsīd" Caliphs at the court of the Mamluks in Cairo. He had accompanied Kānşūh to Aleppo along with three of the chief Kādīs of Egypt and was made prisoner after the battle of Dābiḳ. Treated with great consideration by Selīm, he accompanied the latter to Egypt, where during his absence his place had been taken by his father and predecessor at the investiture of Tūmān Bāi. Selīm had endeavoured on several occasions to make use of the authority of the Caliph in his negotiations with Tūmān Bāi, but without success. In June, 1517, al-Mutawakkil had to leave Cairo and seems to have been sent by sea to Constantinople. Here his conduct is said to have decided the Sultān to imprison him in the castle of Yedi Kule, where he remained till the death of Selīm, after which he returned to Cairo at some time not now exactly known. These details regarding the Caliph al-Mutawakkil

are only given by the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyās, who probably much exaggerates the part played by him in the Egyptian campaign, while the Ottoman chroniclers do not say a single word about him. It may be concluded from this that the importance of the "Abbāsīd" caliphate and Caliph had become infinitesimal by the time of Selīm I and existed practically only for theologians. These early and almost contemporary sources in no case guarantee the authenticity of the tradition which appeared two and a half centuries later, according to which al-Mutawakkil formally renounced the caliphate in favour of Selīm. It seems that this story was first given in d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1788, i. 232 and 270. It is afterwards found in several Ottoman historians and thus became an article of general belief in Turkey. It is obvious that this story is intended to justify the claim of the Ottoman sultāns to the caliphate, but it is unnecessary to assume that d'Ohsson invented it, as Barthold thinks, for the tradition seems in every way worthy of the great conqueror and may have been originated by the Turks themselves. Selīm in any case had been called caliph even before the conquest of Egypt; the historians say on several occasions that the *khutba* of the caliphate was pronounced in his name in different places. Cf. also the article KHALIFA.

Selīm's successes made a deep impression on the Christian world. The Pope Leo endeavoured to enlist the Emperor and the kings of France and England in common action against the Turks. But Selīm's relations with Europe remained peaceful during the next few years; the truce with Hungary was continued and a Spanish envoy obtained the confirmation of the privileges of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Sultān also recognised the new Khān of the Crimea, his brother-in-law Muḥammad Girāy, son of Mengli Girāy. The Grand Vizier was sent to the eastern frontier to defend the empire against the Persians. During this time two new Shī'a risings had to be put down, that of Ibn Hanush in Syria in 1517, which was suppressed by the governor Ghazālī and the Begs of Tripolis and Hamā, and that of a certain Shāh Weli (according to Luṭfi Pasha) at Terkhal near Toḳat. He and his followers are called Djelālī, a name found in several Shī'a risings, e. g. that of Kara Yazdī [q. v.]. Ferhād Pasha was sent against this Djelālī, but it was 'Alī Shehsuwār-Oghlu, who had been appointed in 1516 governor of the country of Dhu 'l-Kadr, who finally defeated and slew him in 1518.

In 1519 Selīm left Adrianople for Constantinople, where the equipment of a great fleet was begun, intended for the conquest of the island of Rhodes, but before the preparations were finished he died suddenly on Shawwāl 7, 926 (September 20, 1520). He was on the way from the capital to Adrianople when an illness, signs of which had shown themselves a few days before (an ulceration called *shir pendje*; according to others it was cancer) forced him to stop near Çorlu; the father of the historian Sa'd al-Dīn, Ḥasan Djān, was present at his death-bed. His death was kept secret by the viziers until the new Sultān Suleimān reached Constantinople. The body was buried on the hill on the north-west side of Stambul; Suleimān had the mosque of Selīm I built there, to which the *türbe* was joined; it was completed in Muharram, 929. The *türbe* also covers the tombs of the mother

of Selim, of several of his daughters and of several princes (Hafız Hüsnai al-Aiwanserâyî, *Hadîkat al-Djawâmî*, i. 14 sqq.).

The personality of Selim I dominates all the great events of his reign. His unrelenting severity and the numerous executions which he ordered earned him the name of Yawuz, expressing at once horror and admiration. It is the latter sentiment that has prevailed regarding him. A whole series of histories are devoted specially to him with the title of *Selim-nâme* (see *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, vol. ii., p. vii.). Selim I has been made a national hero (one of the two German warships which the Turks acquired in 1914 was baptised Yawuz Sultân Selim). Just as his vast conquests of Muslim lands have given rise to the tradition of the transfer of the caliphate, so there has been attributed to him the deliberate pan-Islamic idea of reuniting all the lands of Islâm under his sceptre and in this way an attempt has been made to excuse his apparent cruelty (cf., for example, the pamphlet *Yawuz Sultân Selim we-Ittihad-i Islâm Siyaseti* by Yûsuf Ken'ân, printed at Constantinople n. d., but since the revolution). In reality the conquered lands had at the beginning of the sixteenth century just entered on a period of decline and depopulation as a result of the change by the Portuguese of the trade route with the Indies. The conquests were nevertheless of enormous importance for the religious and political orientation of the Turkish empire, which henceforth became the great Sunni power in opposition to Shî'î Persia (cf. e. g. the *qaṣida* addressed to him by the poet Khwādja Isfahānî in Browne, *A Literary History of Persia in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 78). It is also from this time that Persian Shî'a influence in Turkey definitely gives way to Arab Sunni influence (Babinger, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvi. 143). The Ottomans, besides, imposed several of their manners and customs on the conquered, such as the practice of shaving the beard (Selim is always represented beardless) and the style of dress and mode of dressing the hair, without, however, exerting a greater influence for the moment on the civilisation of Syria and Egypt.

Selim is equally celebrated as a poet. His *Divân* is entirely in Persian and was printed in Constantinople in 1306. It was again published in Berlin in 1904 by Paul Horn, by order of the Emperor Wilhelm II. Only a single one of the verses in Turkish attributed to him is regarded as authentic (*Tedhkir-i Latîfî*, Constantinople 1314, p. 57 sqq.). From his early days in Trebizond, Selim was fond of the society of poets; among the better known of these are Djâ'far Celebi, whom he made marry the wife of Shâh Ismâ'il, taken prisoner in the battle of Çaldîrân, and whom he had executed in 1515 (cf. above), Âhî and Rewânî, whose *Mathnawî Wasâ'il* was dedicated to Selim; other influential men of his time were Kemâl Pasha Zâde [q. v.], and the Muftî 'Alî Djemâlî Efendi [q. v.] who legalised by a *fatwâ* the war against the Sunni Sultân of Egypt and who was one of the few men powerful enough to oppose on several occasions the execution of the Sultân's sanguinary orders.

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SELİM II, eleventh Sultân of Turkey, reigned from 974—982 (1566—1574). He was born probably in 930 (1524). He was the son of Suleimân I and the celebrated Khurrem Sultân (Roxelana) (*Sidjill-i 'Othmânî*, i. 39, gives three different dates) and was the eldest of the latter's four children: Selim, Bâyezîd, Djahângîr (d. 1553) and Mihrmah (became wife of the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha). Khurrem Sultân favoured Bâyezîd and to secure his succession to the throne she brought about by her intrigues and influence over Suleimân the execution of the heir presumptive Muştafâ (October 6, 1553, at Ereğli). After the death of the Sultâna in 965 (1557/58) a rivalry began between Selim and Bâyezîd which reached its height in 1559 on the occasion of the changing of the sandjaks of the two princes. Bâyezîd was moved from Konya to Amasia and Selim from Maghnisa (where he had been since 1545) to Kutâhiya; the former refused to move and collected troops. According to the historian 'Âlî, this quarrel was the result of the intrigues of Lala Muştafâ Pasha, who had been appointed in 1556 to the post of Lala with Selim by the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha, with the object of bringing about Muştafâ's downfall, as he was an old enemy of his. Muştafâ is said to have provoked insulting letters from Bâyezîd to Selim, which resulted in the orders for the change of sandjak; as 'Âlî was himself secretary to Muştafâ Pasha, his statements may be considered accurate. The modern historian Ahmed Refik, however, thinks that it was the Sultân himself who, with the help of Rustem, wished to get rid of Bâyezîd in favour of Selim. Bâyezîd was defeated on May 30, 1559, on the field of Konya, fled to Amasia and thence to Persia to the court of Shâh Tahmâsp. The latter, after a long correspondence with Suleimân and Selim, consented to

hand over the prince and his four sons to Selim (so as not to break the oath by which he had sworn to Bāyazīd not to deliver him up to his father). As a result, Bāyazīd was put to death on September 25 1561. Selim remained in his sandjak until the day when a messenger from the Grand Vizier, Muḥammad Şokolli Paşa, informed him of the death of Suleimān (September 6, 1566) and the taking of Szigeth (September 8). Reaching the capital on September 24, where no one had expected him, the death of the Sultān being still kept secret, the new Sultān set out two days later for Belgrade. Here he awaited the return of Şokolli with the army and his father's body. When on October 24 the death of Suleimān was finally made public, Selim refused to receive the solemn *bai'a* of the troops and had distributed among them accession presents which were thought insufficient. They then returned to the capital. Suleimān's body was sent in advance with a small escort and buried in Constantinople without any ceremony. By the time Selim reached the capital in the early days of December, the Janissaries began to mutiny near the Adrianople gate and would not allow the new Sultān to enter his serail until the increase in the accession presents they demanded had been promised them. The distribution took place on December 10. Besides the Janissaries, the 'ulemā' and notably the Mufti Abu 'l-Su'ūd had handsome gifts given them; there was not even enough left in the treasury to pay the other troops.

Re-entering his palace, Selim abandoned himself to his taste for wine and dissipation, leaving the government in the hands of Muḥammad Şokolli [q. v.]. It was the latter who throughout the reign of Selim continued the traditions of the glorious reign of Suleimān. Here it is sufficient to give a brief résumé of the political and military events of the reign of Selim II. In April the Kapudan Paşa Piyāle returned with the fleet from the taking of Chios (Şakız) and the ravaging of Apulia and was given the rank of a vizier. At the same time negotiations were begun with Austria as a result of which plenipotentiaries arrived to discuss peace, which was arranged at Adrianople on February 17, 1568, between Maximilian and the Sultān; in addition to agreeing to the rectifications of the frontier, the Emperor promised to pay an annual present of 30,000 ducats. In the same month a Persian embassy arrived with great pomp in Adrianople to renew the truce. The peaceful relations existing with Poland, France and Venice were likewise confirmed. The French and Venetian capitulations were renewed. In 1569 took place the unsuccessful expedition against Astrakhan [q. v.], undertaken to make possible the project of making a canal from the Don to the Volga; this plan had been conceived by the governor of Kaffa, Čerkes Kāzim, but the enterprise fell through, chiefly as a result of the secret opposition of the Khān of the Tatars; next year peace was concluded with the Russians. From 1568 to 1570 a Turkish army was engaged in the reconquest of the Yaman from the Zaidīs, who had driven out all the Turkish garrisons in 1567 except that of Zabīd. At first Lala Muştafā Paşa — who, after a period of disgrace, had returned to the Sultān's favour, but never enjoyed that of Şokolli — had been appointed commander of the Yaman expedition, but was recalled as a result of intrigues by the governor

of Egypt, Kōdja Sinān Paşa, who replaced him as Ser-asker. After the successful commencement of the campaign by Özdemir Oghlu 'Othmān Paşa in 1568, Sinān arrived in 1569 and saw his conquests crowned by the taking of Şan'a (July 26, 1569) and Kawkabān (May 18, 1570). Several Turkish poets celebrated this victorious campaign, e. g. Nihālī, *Futūḥāt al-Yaman*. The taking of the island of Cyprus in 1570—71 was more due to Selim's own initiative; it was his favourite, the Jew Joseph Nassy, appointed by him Duke of Naxos, who is said to have suggested the plan to him. The violation of the truce with Venice was justified in a famous *fatwā* of the Mufti Abu 'l-Su'ūd. Lala Muştafā commanded the expedition; he took Nicosia on September 9, 1570, and forced Famagusta to capitulate on August 1, 1571. After this capitulation took place the horrible execution of the commander Bragadino. (The conquest of Cyprus is described in a *Tārīkh Kībrīs*; see Flügel's Catalogue, i. 236, N°. 1015). In the same year an alliance was formed by Venice, Spain and the Pope. Their combined fleets almost completely destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto (October 7, 1571), but this defeat was not enough to weaken Turkey; a new fleet was built during the winter and by the peace of March 7, 1573, Venice had to give up Cyprus and promise to pay a war indemnity. The war with Spain was continued. The Spaniards occupied Tunis in 1572, but were driven out again in September, 1574, by Kōdja Sinān Paşa. During the same period (1572—1574) there were troubles with Poland in Moldavia on account of the pretender Ivonia; the latter at first supported by the Turks was in the end defeated and killed by them in June, 1574. Peace was renewed with Austria in November, 1574, in spite of the troubles on the frontier and the intrigues of the claimants for the throne of Transylvania.

Selim died in the night of December 12/13, 1574 (Sha'bān 27/28, 982), as the result of an accident in the palace. He was the first Ottoman Sultān to spend his life in the Serail, where the Sultāna Nūr Bānū was all powerful. His fondness for wine gained him the name of *Mest Sultān Selim*. During his reign dissipated habits spread even among high 'ulemā'. The system of bribery and corruption, which had begun under Rustem Paşa, penetrated to all ranks of society. But the traditions of the reign of Suleimān were still able to maintain the empire at the height of its glory under the direction of capable men like Şokolli and Abu 'l-Su'ūd. The *Kānūn-nāme* of Suleimān I, legalised by *fatwā*'s of the Mufti, was put into force, especially in all that concerned the disposition of landed property and the fiefs (cf. *Millī Tettebb'at Medī-mū'asā*, 1331, vol. i., Nos. 1 and 2).

Selim II's most famous building is the Selimiya mosque in Adrianople, built from 1567 to 1574 by the architect Sinān (detailed description in vol. iii. of the *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi). He also carried out various buildings and repairs in Adrianople, Navarino, Mekka (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 16) and Constantinople (Āyā Sofia). According to Gibb, he is the best poet among the Ottoman Sultāns. He wrote his poems under the *makhlaṣ* of Selimī and surrounded himself with poets, such as Fazlī [q. v.]; Bākī also enjoyed his favour.

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Tārīkh, Constantinople 1281, p. 52—125; Pečewi, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1283, i. 438 sqq., 385 sqq.; the portion of 'Alī's *Kunh al-Akhbār* relating to Selim II has not been printed; *Selīm-nāme* of Uşūlī, used by von Hammer, is in the Vienna Court Library (Flügel, ii. 234, No. 1013); Hādījī Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*, Constantinople 1141, fol. 40 sqq.; 'Othmān Zāde, *Hādīkat al-Wuzarā'*, Constantinople 1271, p. 32 sqq.; Rāshid, *Tārīkh Yemen we-Şan'ā'*, Constantinople 1291, i. 113 sqq.; von Hammer, *Hist. de l'emp. ott.*, Paris 1836, vol. i., vi.; Ahmed Refik, *Kadınlar Saltanatı*, i., Constantinople 1332, p. 64 sqq.; Ghālib Edhem, *Takwīm-i Meskukat-i 'Othmāniye*, Constantinople 1307, p. 117—132; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1907, i., iii.; *Busbequii omnia quae exstant*, Amstelodami 1660, p. 126 sqq. (on the war against Bāyazid).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SELİM III, the twenty-eighth Sultān of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1203 (1789) to 1222 (1807). He was born on Djumādā I 26, 1175 (Dec. 24, 1761), a son of Sultān Mustafā III and the Wālide Sultān Mihr-Şāh (d. 1805; see *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, i. 83) and succeeded on Radjab 11, 1203 (Apr. 7, 1789), to his uncle 'Abd al-Ḥamid I [q. v.] who had died on that day. Selim's reign is characterised by disastrous wars against the European powers and revolts in the interior, showing the weakness of the Ottoman Empire, and at the same time by the continuous efforts of the Sultān and a party of enlightened men to reorganise the old decayed institutions of the state, which led finally to his deposition.

On his ascension to the throne he energetically continued the war against Russia and Austria, but the Turks were beaten in Moldavia at Focsani by the Austrians (Aug. 1, 1789) and especially at Martinesci on the river Būza in Wallachia by the Austrians and Russians (Sept. 22). Here the Grand Vizier Djenāze Hasan Paşa (who had previously replaced Kođja Yūsuf Paşa) died and was succeeded by the famous Kapudan Paşa Djezā'irli Hasan [q. v.]. On Nov. 10, the Austrians occupied Bucarest, while, on October 8, Belgrad had already fallen into their power. At the same time the Russians under Potemkin continued their conquests in Bessarabia (Khotin and Oczakow had fallen already) and took Bender (Nov. 15). The treaty with Sweden (July 11) to subsidise this country in the war with Russia was of little avail, and Selim, being prevented by tradition from joining the army himself, summoned in a *Khatt-i sherif* all the Muslims to the holy war. Next year the Austrian danger lessened, especially after a treaty of alliance with Prussia (Jan. 31, 1790) and the death of Joseph II. In June the Turks even gained some success against them. After Prussia had concluded with Austria the Convention of Reichenbach on July 27, in which Austria promised to make peace with Turkey and both nations undertook to guarantee the integrity of that empire, an armistice was concluded at Djurdjewe (Sept. 17), followed, after very long negotiations, by the peace of Zistowa (to the West of Rustuk on the Danube) of Aug. 4, 1791. This treaty, concluded by the mediation of Prussia, England and Holland, restored the Danube principalities to the Porte; only Old-Orsowa had to be ceded to Austria. The war with Russia had been disastrous in 1790. The new Grand Vizier

died in March and was succeeded by Hasan Paşa Sherif [q. v.], who was not able to stop the Russian advance in Bessarabia. The Russians took Kilia in Oct. and, after a desperate struggle, Ismā'il [q. v.] on Dec. 22. They were also successful in the Black Sea and beyond the Kubān river, though they did not succeed in taking Anapa. Moreover, Sweden had concluded peace with Russia (Aug. 14). In the Aegean, however, the small Greek fleet commanded by Lambro Canziani and equipped at Trieste with Russian aid, was destroyed by the Turks. In February, 1791, the Grand Vizier was executed, by order of the Sultān, in his camp at Shumla and replaced by Kođja Yūsuf Paşa who made energetic preparations to continue the war. But the Russians under Repnin crossed the Danube at Galatz and beat the Turks completely at Matchin (April 9). As spirits in Constantinople had sunk very low, and there had been a big fire, the Porte ordered the Grand Vizier to propose an armistice, which was concluded at Galatz on August 11 and followed by the peace treaty of Jassy of January 9, 1792. In its 13 articles the treaty of Küçük Kainardji was renewed; in the West the Dniestr became the frontier between the two powers, whereas in the east the Porte undertook to bridle the Tatar tribes on the left bank of the Kubān; the Crimea was definitely lost to the Turkish Empire.

Immediately after the war the Sultān took up the question of the reforms which he considered inevitable to restore the strength of his Empire. In the beginning of his reign he had already made an attempt in this direction by insisting on the application of the sumptuary laws (on them see e. g. Mehmed Ghālib, *Selīm ṭhālithiñ ba'd ewāmiri muhimmesi*, in *T.O.E.M.*, No. 8, p. 500—504). Soon afterwards he invited a number of prominent and enlightened personalities belonging to the army, the administration and the 'ulemā to submit to him schemes of reform. All the projects were sent to the palace, and, as it seems, treated in a way which gave the anti-reform party the opportunity of turning them into ridicule and beginning its never ceasing propaganda against them (Djewdet, *Tārīkh-i*, vi. 7; here all the people who presented *Lawā'ih* are mentioned). The Sultān, however, proceeded with energy. The *diwān* was enlarged to a body of about 40 members under the chairmanship of the Grand Vizier or the Mufti, according to the matters treated. The new regulations which were elaborated successively were called *Kānūn-nāme's* or *niṣāmāt* and the total of Sultān Selim's reforms is known as *niṣām-i djedid*, which word, however, is also especially employed for the new regular troops. One of the first measures was the foundation of a new treasury (*irād-i djedid*) for the cost of the new institutions. It was formed by all available revenues and especially by confiscating a large amount of fiefs, the titularies of which had not fulfilled their military obligations (*mahtūl olan zī'āmet we-timārlar*); a special regulation for the investigating of these fiefs was made. By these and other revenues the financial base of the innovations increased steadily. The first corps of new regular troops was formed from the Bostandji's in 1792. They were destined for the protection of the big waterworks of the capital near the Black Sea at the village of Belgrad Köy, where at that time a Russian invasion was feared. Large barracks were built for them at Lewend Çiftlik,

where they were drilled, though it proved difficult to get volunteers. This first attempt was followed by a still larger establishment at Skutari, where around the enormous Selimiye barracks almost a new town with mosques and baths was created for the new troops. Other regulations concerned the provisioning of the army, the restoring of discipline among the Janissaries, the reorganisation of the *Djebedji*-corps and the artillery; to the reorganisation of this arm the French contributed considerably. Bonaparte is said to have had in 1794 the intention to put himself at the head of the Turkish artillery, and in 1796 the French ambassador Dubayet even brought with him to Constantinople a mounted artillery brigade. The reforming activity extended also to the improvement of the Bosphorus fortifications, the building of new warships under the energetic direction of the *Kapudan Paşa Küçük Hüseini* [q. v.], Selim's foster-brother, the manufacture of gun-powder and the instruction of the officers. The engineering-school at *Süddedje* in the harbour of Constantinople, founded under 'Abd al-Hamîd I, was also completely reorganised under French and English direction and a new navigation school was opened. Although the unfortunate experiences of the last wars made the people comply with all those innovations, there was, of course, a strong party opposed to them, consisting chiefly of the Janissaries and the *'ulemâ*, the more enlightened of whom, however, supported the reforms. As a measure of precaution not too many new troops were stationed on the European side of the Bosphorus. It is a remarkable fact that, as the reforms proceeded, there was much less opposition to them in Asia than in Europe, where rebellious chiefs took them as a pretext for their taking arms against the government.

The peaceful period from 1792 to 1798 had made possible the taking of all these measures; even the two formidable rebels in Europe, *Pazvân-Oghlû* [q. v.], who in 1792 had entrenched himself in *Widdin*, and 'Alî Paşa *Tepedilenli* [q. v.], who had become Paşa of *Yanina* in 1788 and failed in 1792 in his first expedition against the *Sulîotes*, were comparatively quiet; *Servia* enjoyed the generous administration of the Paşa's *Ebû Bekir* and *Hâdjîdî Muşafâ*. During this time the Porte paid much attention to her relations with foreign powers; new ambassadors were sent to the European courts and in Constantinople a great diplomatic activity was displayed by the *Re'is Efendi Râşid* (d. 1798). The international situation became more and more influenced by the French Revolution. Although the execution of *Louis XVI* made a bad impression, especially on Selim, who had, even before his accession, been in correspondence with him, the emissaries of the revolutionary government (*Descorches*) succeeded in arousing sympathy, even in the *diwân*; they pointed, for instance, to the fact that, now that France had instituted the "culte de la raison", they were no more in religious opposition to the Muslims. They had influential helpers in Constantinople, e.g. the well-known *Mouradgê d'Ohsson*, then Swedish dragoman and from 1796 to 1799 Swedish minister, and had nearly induced Turkey to declare war to Russia.

The situation was completely changed by the French expedition against Egypt. In vain the French representative in Constantinople, *Ruffin*, tried to tranquillise the Porte about the peaceful intentions of his government; on September 4,

1798, war was declared on France and *Ruffin* was imprisoned, as were also the French consuls and merchants. For the operations of the French in Egypt (they landed on July 1, 1798, after having taken *Malta*) see the article *KHIDIW*; the action of Turkey was here much less important and much slower than that of England. On January 5, 1799, the Porte concluded an alliance with England and the first Turkish troops landed on July 25 in *Abûkir*, but they were compelled by Bonaparte to retreat to their fleet, after the French army had just returned from the siege of 'Akka, where *Djazzâr Paşa* in defending the town had shown himself for the time a faithful vassal of the *Sultân*. In the last part of that year a Turkish army of 80,000 men commanded by *Diya Yûsuf Paşa*, *Grand Vizier* since 1798 (*Kodja Yûsuf Paşa* had been replaced already in June, 1792, by *Melek Muḥammad Paşa*, to whom after 2½ years had succeeded *'Izzet Muḥammad Paşa*), and containing about 4000 men of new regular troops had reached *Syria* where it was joined by *Djazzâr's* troops. The Turks took the little fort of *al-'Arîsh* on December 20 and at the same place the *Grand Vizier* concluded an armistice with *General Kleber* on January 28, 1800, in which the French promised to evacuate Egypt. But after the treaty had been broken by the English, *Kleber* attacked the *Grand Vizier*, who was advancing to *Cairo*, and defeated the Turkish army near the ruins of *Heliopolis* (March 20) after which the Turks retreated into the desert. Only a year afterwards, in March, 1801, the Turks participated again in the Egyptian campaign under the *Kapudan Paşa Küçük Hüseini*; this expedition resulted in the definitive evacuation of the country by the French and the occupation by British troops of Egypt. Turkey's other ally in this war was Russia. After a Russian fleet had already appeared in the Bosphorus in September, 1798, an alliance treaty was concluded on December 23. The combined Turkish and Russian fleets then went to the west coast of Greece and expelled, in March 1799, the French from the *Ionian Isles*, which former possession of *Venice* had been left to France by *Austria* in the peace of *Campo Formio* (October 17, 1797). The *Ionian Isles* then were constituted a republic under protection of Turkey and Russia. In the meantime 'Alî Paşa of *Yanina* succeeded in occupying temporarily some sea-ports in *Albania*. Notwithstanding the Russian alliance, the relations with Russia remained strained. By the mediation of Prussia a preliminary peace was concluded with France in Paris on October 9, 1801, in which the complete sovereignty of the Porte over Egypt was recognised, as well as the new republic of the seven *Ionian Isles*; for the ratification of these preliminaries the famous *Sebastiani* was sent for the first time to Constantinople on an extraordinary mission. To the peace treaty of *Amiens*, where the same stipulations were confirmed (March 27, 1802), the Porte was no party; she concluded in June a separate peace with France. In the meantime the *Grand Vizier* and the *Kapudan Paşa* tried to restore order in Egypt by exterminating the great *Mamlûk Beys*. As the latter were protected by the British, they did not succeed and in December returned to Constantinople leaving *Khosrew Paşa* as governor in *Cairo*; the evacuation by the English troops only followed in 1803, after on January 9 of that year an agreement had

been reached at Constantinople between the ambassador Lord Elgin and the Re'is Efendi, in which the Porte pledged itself [to pardon the Mamlüks.

The situation in the interior had been equally unsettled in these eventful years. Since the peace of Jassy bandit chiefs ('Othmān Pasha) had been terrorising Rumelia; they were patronised by influential people in Constantinople, enemies of the reforms, especially by Yūsuf Agha chief equerry of the Wālide Sultān. In 1797 Pazwān-Oghlū had taken possession of a large part of Bulgaria and, when an expedition against him under the Kapudan Pasha Husein failed, the Porte had to comply with his claims and recognised him as Pasha with three *tugh's*. But soon afterwards Pazwān-Oghlū, who was protected by Austria, invaded Wallachia (1801). The Porte then tried to restore order by appointing 'Alī Pasha of Yanina Beylerbey of Rumelia (1803), but in vain. The latter was suspected of having an understanding with Pazwān-Oghlū and was deposed again. In December, 1803, he then exterminated the little people of the Suljotes. In combating the Rumelian rebels that year the Porte derived great advantage from the use of the new *niṣām*-troops. Pazwān-Oghlū's invasion of Wallachia gave Russia the opportunity of intervention in the Danube principalities. Under Russian pressure the Porte consented to a revision of the former settlements, which increased the autonomy of the principalities, and appointed Ypsilanti as *hospodar* of Wallachia and Muruzi as *hospodar* of Moldavia, both for seven years (1803).

In 1803 difficulties arose in Servia [q. v.] occasioned by invasions of Pazwān-Oghlū and by the return of the Janissary chiefs or *dāy's*, who had been expelled after the war with Austria. These troubles resulted in the rising of the Knezes under the famous Kara Georg in 1804. Neither Turkish troops nor the diplomacy of the Porte were able to subjugate the Servians in the next years; they had since 1805 their own constitution and were masters of the citadel of Belgrad since Dec. 12, 1806. In the same year 1803 Mekka fell into the power of the Wahhābites (April 30), after nearly the whole of the Arabian peninsula had already recognised the authority of their chief 'Abd al-'Azīz (cf. R. Hartmann in the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1924, p. 195). In the same year also Muḥammad 'Alī [q. v.] came to the front for the first time who, after having broken the resistance of the Mamlūk Bey Bardisi, was appointed in 1804 governor of Egypt.

After, in May 1803, war had broken out again between France and England, the Porte had decided to maintain a strictly neutral attitude, but she was put in a difficult position by France's demand that she should recognise Napoleon as Emperor, from which, however, Russia's menaces withheld her. A personal letter of Napoleon to Selim was of no avail. Only in 1806, after in 1805 the alliance with Russia had been renewed, recognition followed. In 1805 General Sebastiani had come as Napoleon's ambassador to Constantinople and finally French influence prevailed. The Porte went so far as to depose the two russophile *hospodars* of Wallachia and Moldavia; the Czar then ordered General Michelson to occupy the two principalities. Notwithstanding the resistance of Pazwān-Oghlū and Muṣṭafā Bairakdar, the Pasha of Rusçuk, this order was completely executed in Decem-

ber, 1806. Under the influence of anti-Russian manifestations in Constantinople and Sebastiani's pressure war was declared on Russia (Dec. 27). Next month England came with exaggerated claims, e.g. the departure of Sebastiani, enforced by the presence of the British fleet at Tenedos. When the Porte refused to accept, Admiral Duckworth entered the Dardanelles, scarcely meeting any resistance, and appeared on February 10, 1807, before the capital. After a moment of consternation, in which the Kapudan Pasha was executed, the defence of Constantinople was organised under the direction of Sebastiani and French officers (Juchereau de St. Denis). As the British shrank from the responsibility of bombarding the town, they retired again, after fruitless negotiations, on March 1, and reached Tenedos with considerable losses. Immediately afterwards Turkey declared war on England. The English were no more successful in Egypt. Though an English fleet occupied Alexandria on March 17, they were beaten everywhere by Muḥammad 'Alī and had to evacuate the country in September.

In the meantime the interior political situation had passed through a grave crisis. After 1802 the reforms had been taken up again and in March, 1805, a *Khaṭṭ-i Sherif* had ordered a general levy among the population for the *niṣām*-troops. This occasioned at last an open revolt of the Janissaries, who concentrated themselves in Adrianople and Kırk Kilise. They completely defeated the *niṣām*-troops which the government sent against them in August, 1806. The result was that the reforms had to be given up for the moment; it was due to the influence of the Mufti Şālih-Zāde Es'ad Efendi [q. v.] that no worse things happened. The Grand Vizier Hāfiz Ismā'il Pasha (succeeded in 1805 to Diyā Yusuf Pasha) was replaced by the Agha of the Janissaries, Ibrāhīm Hilmī Pasha. The Porte did not even dare to send *niṣām*-troops against the Russians in Rumania.

The successes against England had not restored the Sultān's authority. On the contrary, the opposition had been still more alarmed by the influence of the French during the fortification of Constantinople. Though the reform party continued its work unostentatiously, a plot was devised in order to depose Selim, the leaders of which were Mūsā Pasha (so the name is given by Djewdet; Zinkeisen and others have Musta Pasha), the *Kā'im-maḥām* of the Grand Vizier (who himself had marched against the Russians), and the new Mufti 'Atā-ullāh Efendi. They incited the rude auxiliary troops (called Yamak), that were encamped on the Bosphorus, to rebellion. The rebellion broke out on May 15, 1807, because they refused to put on *niṣām*-uniforms; the leader of the rebels, Kabakdjī-Oghlū, pitched his headquarters at Büyük Dere. In the following days, while Mūsā Pasha and the Mufti were calming the alarmed Sultān, the propaganda against him spread rapidly and a fortnight afterwards Kabakdjī went with his followers to Constantinople, provided with a list of all the notorious reform partisans. Nearly all these people were dragged to the At Meidān and killed. At this last moment the Sultān hoped to save his throne by a *Khaṭṭ-i Sherif* abolishing the *niṣām-i dīdīd*. But his dethronement had already been decided. Next day, Rabi' I 22, 1222 (May 29, 1807), the Mufti declared with feigned reluctance

to a deputation of the Yamağs that the deposition of Selim was lawful; after this comedy he himself went to inform Selim of the decision of the people. Selim, yielding immediately, retired and as he had no children, the elder of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's two sons, Muṣṭafā, was placed on the throne as Muṣṭafā IV [q. v.].

Selim's tragic death happened a year afterwards, when Muṣṭafā Bairakdār [q. v.] marched against Constantinople with his own troops and those of the Grand Vizier Čelebi Muṣṭafā Paşa to re-establish the reforms and to restore Selim to the throne. On Djumādā II 4, 1223 (July 28, 1808), Bairakdār entered with his troops the first court of the Serāy, demanding Sulṭān Selim. Muṣṭafā IV then allowed the execution of Selim, which had been postponed until that time, and that of his own younger brother Maḥmūd. Bairakdār came just too late to save the unhappy Sulṭān, who had been already killed when the Serāy gates had been broken open. Then Muṣṭafā's brother Maḥmūd was brought forth from his hiding place and put on the throne.

Selim III is described as a ruler of great gifts (cf. especially his necrology by Djewdet, viii. 262 sqq.). He wrote poems under the *takhalluṣ* Ilhāmī and is said to have had musical talents. His zeal for reform proves his high intelligence, but was checked by his inclination to occupy himself with the minutest details. He also seems to have been unable to tolerate powerful characters in his immediate surroundings; during his 18 years' reign he had no less than ten 'Grand Viziers. Of the pious works he had carried out, are chiefly mentioned a silver gate for the *türbe* of Abū Aiyūb Anṣārī and the complete restoration of the mosque of Fātiḥ. The greater part of his constructions were the barracks and schools for the reform projects.

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SEMĀ'-KHĀNE, a Persian formation from the Arabic *samā'* [q. v.] and Persian *khane*, the dancing hall or dancing room, i. e. the space in the monasteries devoted to those Ṣūfī dances always held in abhorrence by Muslim orthodoxy, to *mukābele* (*mugābele*) and to *dhikr*. Dancing and

music are, as a rule, particularly associated with the Mewlewī. But the Bektāshī monasteries have also their *semā'-khāne*; the great old Bektāshī monastery of Seiyid-i Ghāzī, for example, has three *semā'-khāne* in one suite, in front of the *türbe* of Seiyid Baṭṭāl. Cf. K. Wulzinger, *Drei Bektaschi-Klöster Phrygiens*, in the *Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft*, part 21, Berlin 1913, p. 32 and plan. Cf. also the Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries. (TH. MENZEL)

SEM. [See *SĀM*],

SEMENNÜD, a town in the Delta of Egypt, in the province of Gharbiya on the west bank of the Nile (Damietta arm), a railway station on the Tanṭa-Damietta line (11,550 inhabitants in 1884.) The Arabic name is based on the Greek Σεβέννυρος (which gave its name to the Sebennytic arm), in Coptic Djemnūtī, and *Zab nutir* in ancient Egyptian. The ancient town was perhaps built on both sides of the river; in any case there is a little town opposite Semennūd on the east bank of the Damietta arm called Mīt (Minya) Semennūd (4372 inhabitants in 1884), capital of a district (*markaz*) of the province of Daqahliya, known from at least the sixth century A. H.

Succeeding the pagarchy of Sebennytos, the *kūra* of Semennūd included an area not easy to define on account of the difficulty of identifying certain adjoining *kūra*'s. It was bounded on the east by the Nile; to the south by the *kūra* of Banā and Buṣīr (places which exist to this day); on the west by the *kūra* of al-Buḍjūm, which seems to correspond to the ancient Βουβύλια, even if we do not admit the phonetic relationship of the two words; on the north by the *kūra* of al-Awīsiya, which al-Ya'qūbī identifies with al-Damīra about 15 miles from Semennūd. The Fāṭimids and the Aiyūbids had an independent province called Semennūdīya, which was not much larger than the old *kūra* (129 villages against 108).

Semennūd, which, according to a tradition preserved by Ibn Duḡmāl, was founded by an eponymous magician, a descendant of Lud, the son of Shem, had a temple which was destroyed about 350 (961) after having been used for a short time under Arab rule as a storehouse for fodder. It seems from a passage in the Jacobite Synaxarion that this temple had suffered abuse before the days of Islām. Arab legends credit this temple with possessing a *djinn* of a dark complexion, with long hair and a short beard, and Maspero thinks that the Arabs were describing a statue of Osiris or Phtah, whose face was painted blue or green.

Coptic tradition records the passage of the Holy Family through Semennūd during the flight into Egypt, and locates a certain number of martyrs here. This town was the see of a bishop still mentioned as late as the ixth century A. D. The town had a Coptic population which gave Egypt several Jacobite patriarchs. Al-Makrizī, however, tells us that the principal church, dedicated to the Apostles, was in a private house.

Semennūd was not on the line of march of the Arab army of invasion, which went from al-Faramā via Bilbis, and the Arab writers do not mention it in connection with the conquest of Egypt. John of Nikiu mentions that the local soldiery refused to fight the Muslims. Semennūd is again mentioned in 132 (750) on the occasion of a local revolt directed by a certain John (Yuḥannis), who was captured and put to death.

Savary found it a medium-sized town, populous and busy. 'Alī Pasha gives a list of the mosques of Semennüd, all modern or recently restored.

Bibliography: John of Nikiu, transl. Zotenberg, p. 245, 366, 560; *Hist. des Patriarches*, Patrol. or., v. [460] 206; x. [547] 433; *Synaxaire*, Patrol. or., i. [76—77] 290—291; xvi. [973, 1050] 331, 408; xvii. [1218] 676; Abū Shāma, ed. Cairo 1288, i. 269; al-Kāḷkashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, Cairo 1331—1338, iii. 327; Ibn Duḡmāḳ, ed. Cairo 1314, v. 77, 91; al-Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ed. Inst. franç., iii. 223—224, iv. 101; ed. Būlāḳ, ii. 519; Ibn al-Djī'ān, ed. Cairo 1898, p. 60, 80; Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé des Merveilles*, p. 217; G. Maspero, in the *Journ. des Savants*, 1899, p. 79; 'Alī Pasha, *Khitaṭ Djādīda*, xii. 46—50, xvi. 65—66; Baedeker, *Egypt*; Guide Joanne, *Égypte*, p. 361, 366; J. Maspero, *Organis. milit. de l'Égypte byzantine*, p. 131, 139; do., *Hist. des Patr. d'Alexandrie*, p. 371—373; Caetani, *Chronogr. islamica*, p. 1707; and the bibliography given in J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux p. servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, p. 29, 31—32, 106, 187—188. (G. WIET)

SEMĀNĀN, a town in Persia, on the main road from Media to Khurāsān, situated in the old province of Kūmis (Comisene; cf. Marquart, *Érānsāhr*, p. 71), between Ṭīhrān (in the middle ages Raiy) and Dāmghān, at the foot of the Alburz mountain and on the border of the great Kawīr. The form Simnān is most frequently found (e.g. Yāqūt); the modern pronunciation is rather Semnūn. The foundation of the town is ascribed to Taḥmūrath (al-Ḳazwīnī), and it is probably of considerable antiquity, although it is not mentioned in the sources dealing with pre-Muḥammadan history. Semnān is often mentioned by Arab and Persian historians à propos of the frequent passing of armies on the road to Khurāsān. In the time of al-Ḥadjdjādī the *ispahbād* of Raiy defeated there the Khāridjī Ḳatārī (Ibn Isfendiyār, *History of Tabaristān*, transl. Browne, p. 104; cf. also the article ḲATĀRĪ B. AL-FUDJĀ'Ā).

In the beginning of the tenth century Semnān belonged to the lands of the Ziyārīds, who lost it in 331 (943) (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 140). In the time of the Būyīds the towns of Kūmis were considered to belong to Dailām. In 427 (1036) Semnān suffered from the ravages of the Ghuzz tribes (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 268). But when Nāṣir-i Khusrāw passed through it in June, 1046, it seems that the town had been rebuilt (*Sefer-nāme*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1881, p. 3—4). It was laid waste in 618 (1221) by the Mongols under Subutai (al-Djuwainī, *Djahāngushā*, Gibb Mem. Series, i. 115) and Yāqūt still found it for the most part in ruins (iii. 141). In the xvth century Semnān belonged to the little dynasty of the Čelāwīds of Ṭabaristān (Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, p. 52). In the present administrative division the province of Kūmis no longer exists and Semnān is now the most westerly town in the province of Khurāsān.

The distances from Semnān to Raiy and to Dāmghān are given by al-Makḍīsī as 3 days' journey each, but the town is nearer Raiy. The water supply of Semnān and its vicinity comes from the little streams that run down from the Alburz. The surrounding plain is quite extensive and well watered. Tobacco is the principal crop. This plain is separated by a range of hills from that of Dāmghān.

The town has been famous since the time of Yāqūt for its manufacture of cotton goods. It is surrounded by a wall of clay and contains the ruins of several castles. There is also a xiith century bath (*ḥammām*) there and a fine minaret, of which the mosque is now a ruin in the centre of the bazaar. It is probably this mosque which is mentioned by al-Makḍīsī (p. 356), although, according to Fraser, it cannot be older than the xvth century (Sarre in *Islam*, xi. 170). At the present day the town has a fine mosque built by Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh. The population was estimated by Curzon in 1890 at under 16,000.

The dialect of Semnān, remarked upon even by Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, has the reputation in Persia of being particularly unintelligible. Geiger (*Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i. 421) connects it with the group of Caspian dialects. Christensen, who was the last to study the Semnānī, reckons it among the numerous dialects of central and north-western Irān, the place of which in the general scheme cannot yet be definitely fixed.

Several traditionists and lawyers have the *nisba* Semnānī (Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 373).

Bibliography: B. G. A. (al-Isṭakhṛī, Ibn Hawḳal, al-Makḍīsī, Ibn Khordādhbeh, Ibn Rustah, al-Mas'ūdī, see Indices); al-Ḳazwīnī, *Nuḥṣat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. and transl. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser., p. 157; Ḥādjīdī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1140, p. 339; Morier, *Second Journey to Persia*, London 1818, p. 384; C. Ritter, *Erkunde*, viii., Berlin 1838, p. 459; Prellberg, *Persien, eine historische Landschaft*, Leipzig 1891, p. 24; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i. 221, 290; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 20, 366; A. Houtum Schindler, *Beschreibung einiger wenig bekannten Routen in Chorasān*, in the *Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdkunde*, xii. 115 sqq. On the dialect of Semnān: *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, i. 347 sqq., 380; Bassett, *Grammatical Note on the Simnūnī Dialect*, in the *J. R. A. S.*, xvi. 120; Arthur Christensen, *Le dialecte de Sāmnān*, Copenhagen 1915, in *Det Danske Vid. Selsk. Skr.*, Series 7, Hist. og Fil. Afd., vol. ii. 4).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SENĀR. [See SANĀR].

SENEGAL. The origin of the word Senegal has not been definitely ascertained. The majority of modern writers have connected it with the name of the Berber tribe of the Ṣanhādja or Zenāga, representatives of which have occupied since a fairly remote period a district north of the lower course of the Senegal, and they have interpreted the "river of Senegal" to mean "river of the Ṣanhādja". This explanation seems to be based simply on a fortuitous resemblance of two names denoting distinct objects. From the information supplied by early geographers and travellers, Muslim as well as Christian, it seems evident that there was at one time in the lower valley of the river a black kingdom called Sanaghāna or Sanghāna (al-Bakrī, xith century) or Senegany („Pilot-book" of the Medicis of 1351) or Sanaga (Deniz Fernandez, 1446) or Senega (Ca da Mosto, Thevet, Marmol) or *S-n-g-l* [the vocalisation is uncertain] (Maḥmūd Kōlī, author of the *Ta'rikh al-Fattāsh*, xvth cent.). The same authors and documents give the Ṣanhādja, whom besides they place more to the north, names clearly different (Ṣanhādja, Assenages, Azanaghēs, Zanhagu,

Sénègues, etc.). To this day the Moors descended from the Ṣanhādja give the lower valley of the river the name of Isongān. It is probably from the name of the province that the word "Senegal" comes. Marmol further says that Lancelot du Lac, who visited the region in 1447, gave the river the name of a kingdom within which its mouth lay.

In any case in the form Senegal the name has been applied since the xviith century to the river which flows into the Atlantic about 120 miles north of Cape Verd and to the colony founded by the French in this part of Africa. This colony, the capital of which is St. Louis on the Senegal river and near its mouth, and which includes the town of Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, measures approximately 75,000 square miles and had (in 1921) 1,225,523 inhabitants of whom 5,287 were European and 1,220,236 were natives; of the latter, 1,021,791 belong to the negro race, 191,351 to the hybrid branch of the Fulbe or Pul and 7,094 to the white race (Moors). It is bounded on the north by the course of the river Senegal from the region of St. Louis up to the confluence of the river Faleme; in the east by the latter river from its mouth up to about 12° 40' N. Lat.; in the south by a line running from the upper Faleme to the ocean at Cape Roxo, a little south of the estuary of the Casamance. Inland there is a foreign enclave formed by the British colony of Gambia which consists of the two banks of the river Gambia from Yarbutenda to the sea. Geographically the two colonies are sometimes included under the composite name of "Senegambia".

Senegal was perhaps the first of all the negro countries of Africa to succumb to the attacks of Islām. It was in a hermitage built on an island of lower Senegal that the religious movement of the Almoravids began about 1040 A.D. and the Almoravids won over to the Muslim faith about 1050 the sovereign and principal notables of the negro kingdom of the Taktūr or Tokorōr, which lay in the present province of Senegalese Fūta and the name of which slightly altered to the form Tuculor is still employed by the French to designate the negro inhabitants of this province. It was presumably soon afterwards, towards the end of the xith century, that Islām was introduced among the Sarakolle or Soninke of the province of Galam, above Fūta. Much later, towards 1770, the Tuculor clan of Tōroḡbe preached the holy war against the pagan Fulbe, then in political control of Fūta, a war which ended in 1776 with the defeat of the latter, the forced conversion to Islām of a great number of them, and the establishment at Fūta in the hands of the Tuculors of a Muslim theocracy with an elected government which lasted till 1890, the time of the definite annexation of Fūta to the French colony of Senegal. It is from this religious centre founded by the Tōroḡbe of the Senegalese Fūta that several great campaigns of conquest and islamisation covering a very wide field, have started, notably about 1800, that led by 'Uthmān Fōdye which ended in his conquest of the Hausa country and the foundation of the Muslim empire of Ṣokoto, and about 1845 that of 'Umar Tal, called al-Ḥāḡḡi 'Umar, which ended from 1854—1862 in the conquest by the Tuculors of the Cambara kingdoms of Kaarta and Sēgu, and the Fulbe kingdom of Māsīna. Meanwhile Islām had spread among a considerable part of the Mandingo peoples of the upper Faleme, of

the upper Gambia and the upper Casamance. At a more recent period it won over almost all the Wolof of the lower Senegal river and of the lands to the south as far as Cape Verd. The other native populations of the colony (Serer, Non, Banyun, Balant, Dyola, Basari etc.) are still faithful to their ancestral animism and resist Islām.

The statistics divide the native population of Senegal into 719,000 Muslims, 469,500 animists and 4,700 Christians. (M. DELAFOSSE)

SENKERE, a village on the Lower Euphrates, situated 15 miles E. S. E. of Warkā [q. v.] on the mound of Tell Sifr; it is built on the ruins of an ancient Chaldaean city, Larsam, the town of the god Shamash; it is in the present qaḍā of Samāwa.

Bibliography: Razzūk 'Isā, *Kitāb Djoḡhrā-fiyat al-'Irāq*, Baghdād 1340, p. 216; Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, p. 244—245; Trelawney Saunders, *Surveys of Ancient Babylon*, London 1885, plate vi. (L. MASSIGNON)

SENNA is written Sinna or Sinandij (dij = *diz* "castle, fort"). The form Sihna leading to confusion with Ṣahna [q. v.] is wrong.

1. Capital of the Persian province of Kurdistān, the ancient seat of the wālis of Ardilān [q. v.]. For the period before the building of the present town see the article SĪSAR.

Under the year 988 (1580) the *Sharaf-nāme* (i. 88) speaks of a fief of Timūr-Khān, Ardilān, including Ḥasanābād, Sīna, etc., but the historian of Senna attributes to Sulaimān-Khān the building of the modern town on the site of a ruin already there. According to Rich, i. 208, the ancient Senna(?) was built on a flat hill to the south of the present town. The Persian *tārīkh* for the building of the latter is *ghamhā* ("woes") which gives 1046 (1636).

The town lies between the right bank of the Kishlak and Mount Āwīdar which separates Senna from the old capital Ḥasanābād. The castle of the wālis crowns the hill about 70 feet high which rises in the centre of the town. The principal decorations date from the wālis Khusrāw Khān I and Amān Allāh I. Malcolm, Rich and Čirikov have given descriptions of the castle. The hall of honour of Amān Allāh Khān (*tālār*), covered with transparent marble with numerous figures and inscriptions (dated 1233 = 1818) formerly had a gallery of pictures representing the principal sovereigns of the world (Napoleon, Alexander I), celebrated battles, etc. Another was still in 1918 decorated with eleven portraits of wālis and their viziers. A beautiful panorama is revealed from the now ruined *tālār* on the mountain separating the valley of the Kishlak ("winter grazing") from the plateau of Lēlagh (*yaylak*, "summer grazing").

The population of Senna in 1820 (Rich) was 4,500 families of whom 2000 were Jews and 50 Chaldeans. In 1851 Čirikov counted 10,000 houses. The census of 1295 (1878) gave the figures of 5,484 houses and 24,744 inhabitants. In 1918 the number of inhabitants was about 30,000 with 500 households of Jews and 60 of Christians, Aramaic-Catholics (Chaldeans) and Armenians. There is a Turkish consulate-general at Senna. Senna is a busy centre of trade. The exports are gall-nuts (*māsū*), tragacanth (*katīra*), skins of the fox, marten and wolf, cattle and carpets of a special design.

2. The province of Senna (Persian Kurdistān in the strict sense) is bounded on the north by southern Ādharbāidjān (cf. the art. *SAWĀJ-BULĀK*), in the N.E. by Šā'in-Kāl'a [q. v.], in the E. by Bidjār (Garrūs), in the S.E. by Hamadān, in the S. by the province of Kirmānshāh and more especially by its divisions: Sunkūr, Dainawar, Balā-Darband, Māhidasht and Zohāb; in the E. Kurdistān of Senna is bounded by the former Turkish districts: Šahr-i Zūr (Halabča and Khūrmal = Gul'ambar), Pendjwin and Shilēr.

Within these boundaries the land of Senna with the exception of Sakḳiz [q. v.] and Bāna, now attached to Ādharbāidjān, has an area of about 75 square miles; except for the principal routes the province is insufficiently explored. In the N. E. and S. E. we have high plateaus devoid of trees; the centre cut up by numerous narrow valleys slopes down to the E. where we find forests (oaks, nut-trees, elms and beeches).

The main group of mountains is formed by the massif of Čihil-Čashma (about 12,000 feet); it begins in Persia at the eastern extremity of the enclave of Shilēr which runs deeply into Persian territory. Towards the south the Čihil-Čashma sends out a prominent spur which forms the barrier of Kārān on the Senna-Mariwān road (see below). The continuation of the Čihil-Čashma to the east forms the southern boundary of the basin of the *Djaghātū* which turns northward towards Lake Urmiya. To the N. E. of the Čihil-Čashma is the frontier district of Haft-dāsh with its capital Sakḳiz and watered by the main branch of the *Djaghātū*. In the S. E. of the Čihil-Čashma are the sources of the *Khorkhōra*, the first important tributary of the *Djaghātū* on the right bank. A little below their junction the river of Tilakū flows into the *Djaghātū*; its valley is separated by the mountain Tandūrtū(?) from the next tributary which is called Sārūkh.

In this valley there are three districts of Senna: 1. *Khorkhōra* with 8,000 inhabitants and 50 villages of which the chief are: Bast, with a mosque built in 929 (1523) and Mawlānābād; 2. *Tilakū* (with the canton of Kōciān), 4,240 inhabitants and 24 villages of which the best known is Bāshmak; 3. *Karastū* on the left bank of the Sārūkh: 4,600 inhabitants, 15 villages. The Afshārs of Šā'in-Kāl'a encroach upon Karastū.

To the south of *Khorkhōra* and *Tilakū* are the northern sources of the *Kizil-Uzān* (in Kurdish *Kizil-wāzān*) which run into the Caspian Sea. The plateau through which these waters flow is covered with snow for four months of the year but in the summer is covered with rich pastureage. Three cantons administered together and including 82 villages are situated here. 4. *Kara-tawara* in the N. (village Bārbarār); 5. *Hōbātū* in the S. (villages of Kelekowā and Diwāndara) and 6. *Sārāl* to the east of *Hōbātū*. The southern bank of the *Kizil-Uzān* also has its sources in the territory of Senna but the fork between the two branches, north and south, is occupied by the basin of *Kishlak*, the waters of which run eastward.

The basin of the southern sources of the *Kizil-Uzān* is situated to the S. E. of Senna on the Senna-Hamadān road. It is a large plain sloping north-east, watered by numerous streams and having an altitude of 6,200—6,600 feet. The pass of Kargābād-Šalawātābād (8,300 feet) separates it from Senna (5,788 feet); to the south the pass of Mē-i Muḥammad separates it from the plain of Hamadān;

to the east it is bounded by the low chain of Pandja-i 'Alī behind which lies the district of Sunkūr (Songhor). This chain ("Alī's five fingers") corresponds to the *Kūh-i Pandj Angusht* mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 209. To the N. E. the mountain of Talvantū forms the frontier of Bidjār. The principal source of the south branch of the *Kizil-Uzān* is called Talwār (Tarwāl) or Arzand; its tributary from the south is called Hādjidjā (Adjī-čai "bitter water"). The Talwār waters the district of 7. Eilāk (Kurd. Lālāgh), noted for the coolness of its climate and having 80 villages with 12,000 inhabitants. The Hādjidjā waters the district of 8. Isfandābād (*ispand* "lycopodium"), 94 villages with 14,000 inhabitants; the old capital of Isfandābād is Qaslān; its present centre is Korwa. Khanykov visited in these regions the tomb of Bābā-Gürgūr, near which is a sulphurous spring and quarries of translucent marble (*balghamī*). This saint, Djāmāl al-Dīn, bears the same sobriquet (Turkish *gür-gür* "coming in torrents") as the well known Bābā Gürgūr of Kirkūk, on whom see W. Schweer, *Die türkisch-persischen Erdölorkommen*, Hamburg 1919, p. 10.

The central part of the province is much more undulating and less well known; it is bounded on the west by the mountains forming the Persian frontier (the Awrāmān chain). All the streams of this area are carried off by the river Sirwān (see the art. *DIYALA*) which makes its way westwards by the formidable defile separating the mountains of Awrāmān from those of Shāhō. Although Haussknecht mentions a village of Sirwān near the confluence of the *Kishlak* and Gāwarūd, the great river of Sirwān only has this name below the defile of Awrāmān.

Two main arms form the Sirwān: one coming from the east and the other from the north.

The eastern branch is called Gāwarūd (Gābarūd) and rises near the pass of Asadābād. It flows first through the lands of Suḳūr (Songhor) and then waters the districts of Senna south of the capital. From the right the Gāwarūd receives its important tributary the *Kishlak* which rises in the fork between the two arms of the *Kizil-Uzān*. On the left it receives waters rising in the Murwārī, the Palangān(?) etc. The lower course of the Gāwarūd is given on the maps as hypothetical.

In this valley are the following districts: 9. Ḥusainābād on the *Kishlak* above Senna, with 34 villages and 5,000 inhabitants; 10. Ḥasanābād with 32 villages and 5,500 inhabitants which form the immediate neighbourhood of Senna. The district takes its name from the ancient capital Ḥasanābād, a stronghold on a considerable height 6 miles S. E. of Senna. 11. Żāwarūd with 58 villages must lie near the confluence of the *Kishlak* and Gāwarūd. The canton of Sūrsūr with the village of Faḳīh-Sulaimān (on the Kirmānshāh road) seems to belong to the same district. The 12th district, Palangān, must be farther down along with 13. Amīrābād and Bilāwar which are said to have 35 villages with 3,000 inhabitants. Palangān has an ancient ruined stronghold in which had lived an independent clan of the tribe of Kalhur, the chiefs of whom are given in the *Sharaf-nāme* (i. 317—318). The new English map places Palangān on the Gāwarūd at the mouth of the river that comes from the villages of Shāhīnī and Luhon (Lōn) on the northern slopes of the Shāhū.

The northern branch of the Sirwān is formed by a fan-shaped series of streams; the topography of several of them is still uncertain.

After these rivers join one another, they flow into the Gāwarūd near the village of 'Abbāsābād in the Awrāmān-i Takht.

Four districts lie in the northern basin of the Sirwān. 14. Kalāt-Arzān with 64 villages and 10,000 inhabitants immediately west of Senna. 15. Korrawaz, with 20 villages and 2,500 inhabitants, may be located on the south of the Senna-Gārān road. Lycklama praises the beauty of the landscape in this wooded district. 16. Mariwān (formerly Mihribān), an important district with 200 villages and 26,000 inhabitants which stretches east of the pass of Gārān up to the western frontier of Persia. The great Senna-Gārān-Pendjwin-Sulaimāniya road crosses it. Its centre is occupied by Lake Zaribār; this depression in the frontier range has always been of great strategic importance. 17. Awrāmān-i Takht (the "A. plain") lies east of the chain of the same name and is immediately south of Mariwān. The northern arm of the Sirwān crosses it from north to south. It is an inaccessible district governed by its hereditary *sultān*'s ("captains"). Their capital is Razāw. The district includes 33 villages with 4,000 inhabitants. The people of A. have preserved their own particular costume from early times (Rich, *op. cit.*, i. 202) and still use their own dialect. They are very brave but not hospitable. 18. Awrāmān-i Luhūn lies S. W. of the preceding. According to the natives, *luhūn* means "rocky" (cf. Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii. 1108; *lahana* "rock"). The district has 22 little villages buried among the spurs of the mountain to the north of the defile of the Sirwān. It occupies the western face of the chain and its frontier with Turkey is much complicated. A. Luhūn is also governed by its *sultān*'s, who are related to those of A. Takht and live in Nāfsūd.

In 1049 (1639) the Turco-Persian treaty confirmed the rights of Persia to Awrāmān and Mariwān but Persian suzerainty was only nominal.

To the south of the Sirwān running N. W. to S. E., as usual with Persian mountains, lies the great massif of Shāhō (= Shāh-Kūh) from which descend the left bank tributaries of the Sirwān: Dāriyān, Sarāb-i Hawli watering Pāwa, Lēla and the oriental sources of the Zimkān. The important district to the north and south of the Shāhō (between the Sirwān and the district of Zohāb) is called 19. Djawānrūd and has about 100 villages with 15,000 inhabitants. It is governed by a collateral branch of the Ardilān family. Djawānrūd is the principal centre of the great Djāf tribe and its name may be explained as Djāfān-rūd ("the river of the Djāf"). The little canton of Pāwa dependent on Djawānrūd lies opposite Awrāmān-i Luhūn. The *Sharaf-nāme* (i. 319) mentions "Bāwa" among the possessions of the Kalhur-i Dartang. Local tradition attributes the foundation of Pāwa to Bāw, eponymous ancestor of the Bāwandids (cf. above, BĀWAND); the Arabs, led by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, are said to have entered Kurdistan via Pāwa where there was a sacred fire.

To the south and outside of the basin of the Sirwān are two districts dependent on Senna: 20. Rawānsar and 21. Bilāwar, both lying on the northern sources of the Kara-su (cf. the art. KARKHĀ). Rawānsar stretches to the S. E. of the Djawānrūd on the south slope of the outer spurs of the Shāhō. It is ruled by relatives of the governors of Djawānrūd.

The canton of Shādiabād (in Kurd. Shālīawa) on the road from Kirmānshāh is governed from Rawānsar. Bilāwar is on the direct Senna-Kirmānshāh road, to the south of the Murwāri pass. Its waters flow into the Rāzāwar river which belongs to Kirmānshāh. Its principal village in Kām-i Yārān.

Such are the four principal river systems of the province of Senna; those of the Lake of Urmiya, of the Caspian, of the Tigris and of the Karkhā.

Population. The total settled population of the province, according to the census of 1298 (1881), was about 150,000 in about a thousand villages. With the exception of the district of Isfandābād, peopled by Persian and Turkish elements and the tribes of Awrāmān belonging to a particular Irānian stock, the population is Kurdish.

The nomads of Senna are following the general course of evolution towards a settled or semi-settled life: in the winter they remain in their villages and in summer after the harvest (April-May) they go up to the neighbouring heights; thus, for example, the Kōmāsī tribe seems to have become definitely settled at Korrawaz.

The tribe of Djāf is the most important among those of Kurdistan of Senna. There are about 4,000 families of Djāf on the Djawānrūd which represents a total of at least 20,000 men (Kūbādī, Ēnakhi, Kalāshi, Ulād-begī sections etc.). In the xviii century a part of the Djāf migrated to the west and gradually occupied the left bank of the Diyālā, Shahr-i Zūr and Pendjwin. Towards 1914 these Turkish Djāf numbered 10,000 families; of this number about 2,000 are settled and 8,000 are semi-nomadic and go every year to the pastures of Persia. They go by the enclave of Shīlēr by which they reach the Čihil-Čashma mountains where they pass the time from May to October. Another emigration from Djawānrūd took place about 1850 when some 150 families of the Djāf settled on the Zohāb under the protection of the Gūrān.

The other important tribes of Senna are the Mandumī at Husainābād and their neighbours, the Galbāghī at Hōbatū, Sārāl and Kara-tawara. The first-named numbered 2,000 families (in 1286 A.H.) and the latter about 3,000. The two tribes are very turbulent and the central government frequently sends expeditions to punish them. Less important are the Shaikh-Isma'ilis (1600 families) and the Prpishū (1000) at Isfandābād. At Lelāgh ("summer pasture") we have the Tamar-tōza (300), the Korākā (1500), the Lāla (600), the Mahmūd-Djibrā'ili (400), the Baliwand (1500) and the Durrādī (1200). A section of the two last-named tribes leads a nomadic life on the Kishlak and the Gāwarūd. At Žawarūd and Kalāt-Arzān we have the Kōik (1000) and at Bilāwar the Gashkī (1500), a very turbulent tribe. To the north-east along the Karastū the Bōrākā lead a nomadic life (450) and a number of tribes lead a scattered existence: the Sakūr (300), the Giwa-kash ("cobblers"), the Kharrāt ("turners") and the Lurr-i Kulāghar ("hatters"). These last tribes (1700), whose names give their professions, are rather associations of workmen, "travelling guilds", serving the needs of nomads and settled tribes.

In conclusion we may mention quite near Senna the village of Kishlak occupied by the Sūzmāni whose men are musicians and women dancers of rather light morals (Lycklama, iv. 53).

Religion. The great majority of the population of Kurdistan of Senna belong to the Sunnī Shāfi'i

school. The *Shaikhs* of the Nakshbandī religious order have many devoted followers among the Kurds; the real hereditary centre of these *Shaikhs* is in the villages of *Ṭawīla* and *Bēyāra* which form an enclave in *Awramān-i Luhūn*. Even in Senna, Lycklama (iv. 51) says he saw a *Shaikh* who, holding a seance, cured sores which his dervishes inflicted upon themselves in the course of their ecstatic meeting (*dhikr*). *Shī'is* are only found in the non-Kurdish district of *Isfandābād*. It may, however, be noted that the family of *wālis* of *Ardilān* professed the *Shī'a*, which perhaps is explained by the sojourn which their ancestors had made among the *Gūrān* who were fervent 'Alī-Ilāhīs. The great sanctuary of the latter sect, *Perdiwar*, is on the right bank of the *Sīrwān* at *Awramān-i Luhūn* (above the *Prdi-kurān* bridge). The people of *Ḥajjīdj* (in the same district) claim to be descended from the seven dervishes whom the "Kūsa" (*kōsa* "beardless"), who is buried in this village, had brought with him. This saint is said to be no other than 'Ubaid Allāh, brother of the eighth *Shī'ī* Imām. According to the people of *Awramān*, the people of *Ḥajjīdj* were rather late in being converted to Islām by a certain *Gushāish*; they still venerate the tomb of *Pir Shāhriyār*, their religious chief before they adopted Islām. A manuscript book (in the local dialect) of his moral precepts is said to be preserved at *Nafsūd*.

The very costume of these peaceable woodcutters seems to suggest ethnic peculiarities. Lycklama speaks of their "bonnet in the shape of a cornet bent back behind, quite like the headdress . . . of one of the personages on the bas-reliefs of *Bisutūn*."

The only Christians (60 families) are in the town of Senna. These are for the most part Aramaic Catholics (*Kalānī*) whose head is the patriarch of *Mawṣil*. They have a church built about 1840 on the site of an older church. The Jews are more numerous: 500 families in Senna and little groups in the villages.

Language. The *Mukrī* Kurd dialect (*Kurmāndjī*) stops at *Bāna* and *Sakiz*. To the south of the *Djaghātū* in the *Khorkhōra* and *Tilakū* districts the *Kurdīstānī* dialect begins and continues to the southern frontier of the province. Its linguistic peculiarities still await systematic study. The language of *Marīwān* like that of the *Djāf* closely resembles *Kurmāndjī*.

A non-Kurdish Irānīan dialect is spoken in the two *Awramāns*. It is called *Awramī*, or popularly *mačū* (= "I say" in *Awramī*). To the same group belong the language of certain villages of *Pāwa*, that of the great tribe of *Gūrān* (on the *Zohāb*), that of the village of *Kandūla* (between *Dainawar* and *Kirmānshāh*) etc. In the heart of Armenia in the district of *Darsjīm* the "Zaza" dialect is related to the *Awramī*. According to O. Mann (*Die Tadjik-Mundarten der Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. xxiii.), all these dialects can be classed with the "central" dialects of Persia (*Samnānī*, *Kohrūdī*, *Maḥallātī*, etc.). We have no original Kurdish texts from Senna, but the *Awramī-gūrānī* dialects have a whole literature of lyric and epic poetry. The *wālis* of *Ardilān* particularly encouraged at their court the production of this dialect poetry which has certainly passed beyond the limits of the people speaking these dialects. It is curious that "to sing" in Senna Kurdish is *gūrānī čarrin* "to recite *Gūrānī* poetry". The Chaldeans and the Jews of Senna speak their Aramaic dialects in addition to Kurdish.

History. There are no monuments like those of *Kirmānshāh* or even of *Kurdīstān-Mukrī* (see the art. *SĀWQJ-BULĀQ*) in Senna.

For the oldest period we may mention the chamber cut out of the rock near *Rawānsar* (*Čirikov*, p. 528); it seems to belong to the same category of monuments as the sepulchres (Median?) of *Šahna* [q.v.]. Its entrance has the typical rectangular form but its ceiling is vaulted. At the other end of the territory of Senna (N. E.) are the caves of *Karāftū*, which seem (Ker Porter, ii. 538—552) to have been used for the Mithraic worship. The Greek inscription there is an invocation of *Heracles*. The caves lie off the usual route, but at the period when *Gaznā* (*al-Shīz* of the Arabs, the modern *Takht-i Sulaimān*) flourished they must have led to its sanctuary (the fire-altar *Ādhargushasp*).

As to the ancient toponymy, *Streck*, *Billerbeck* and *Thureau-Dangin* have collected the Assyrian references to Persian *Kurdīstān*. Unfortunately no concordance of modern names has so far corroborated their hypotheses.

The leases in Greek and Pahlavī found about 1909 in a cave in *Mount Kōsālān* (*Awramān-i Takht*) and going back to the first century B. C., mention names which may refer to the locality where the find was made (the hyparchies: *Βασιρεα* and *Βασιρδωρα*, the stations-σταθμοί: *Βαϊθαβαρτα* and *Δυσανδρίς* and the village-κώμη: *Κωφάνις* or *Κοπάνις*).

The ingenious identification of Median places mentioned in *Ptolemy* (vi. 2) proposed by F. C. *Andreas* refer to territories outside of the modern Senna. For the Arab period see the word *SĪSAR*.

Kurdīstān of Senna and *Ardilān* [q. v.] were for at least four centuries governed by hereditary *wālis*. Their legendary history makes them originate in the *Sāsānīan* or early 'Abbāsīd period. The *Sharaf-nāma* only says that *Bābā Ardilān*, a descendant of the *Marwānīds* of *Diyār-bakr*, had settled among the *Gūrān* and towards the end of the Mongol period became governor of *Shahr-i Zūr*. According to *Rich* (i. 214), the *wālis* were of *Gūrān* origin (of the clan *Mamū'ī*). Their history became better known from the time of *Ma'mūn b. Mundhīr* to whom the historian 'Alī Akbar gives the date 862—900 A. H. The *wālis* took an active part in the struggle between the *Safawīs* and the Ottoman *Sultāns*, sometimes on the Persian side and sometimes on the Turkish. The *Sharaf-nāma* stops at the reign of *Halō-Khān* (*halō* "eagle" in Kurd.) oscillating between the two rival empires (994—1014). Local historians continue the tradition to our day.

With only slight interruption the *Ardilān* family retained authority throughout the *Safawīd* period when the four western frontier districts enjoyed a semi-independence: 'Arabīstān (the *Shī'ī* *wālis* of *Huwaiza*), *Lurīstān*, *Kurdīstān* and *Georgia*. During the *Afghān* invasion *Khāna Pasha Bābān* of *Sulaimānīya* seized Senna in 1132. The coming of *Nādir* brought back to Senna *Subhān Wardī Khān Ardilān* (1143—1169 with interruptions). In 1164 *Karīm Khān Zand* laid waste the district of Senna. After a period of troubles *Khusrav Khān Ardilān* (surnamed "the Great") settled at Senna (1168—1204). *Āghā Muḥammad Qādjār* as a reward for his exploits assigned *Sunkur* (*Kulyā'ī*) to him. His son *Amān Allāh* "the Great" (1214—1240) much improved the town. *Malcolm* and *Rich* were his guests. His son *Khusrav Khān Na-kām* ("not having enjoyed life" i. e. died young) succeeded him.

(1240—1250); he is celebrated for his literary abilities. Under his son Riqā-Kūli quarrels broke out in the family. The wālī (1250—1266) was imprisoned at Teherān whence he only escaped after the death of Muḥammad Shāh. His brother Amān Allāh (1265—1284) was the last hereditary wālī of Kurdistan. In 1851 Čirikov was a witness of the intervention by the central government in the affairs of the province under the pretext of discontent among the subjects of the wālī. In 1284 (1868) the energetic prince Tarḥād Mirzā was appointed governor-general from Teherān. He ruled Senna till 1291 and restored order to the ancient fief of the Ardilān. Their descendants still exist in Senna but are now of no importance. On the other hand the old families who held office at the court of the wālīs continue to play a prominent part in local life.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SENNÄR. Modern Sennär is a village situated on the Blue Nile about 170 miles south of Khartūm. It is the seat of a District Commissioner, and the headquarters of an administrative district of the Blue Nile Province. The district has a population of about 50,000, which is composed of a mixture of Sūdān tribes and Fellata immigrants from West Africa. The Sennär dam, which irrigates a large cotton growing area, is situated at Makwar, about six miles to the south of Sennär village.

The older usage which extended the name of Sennär to the triangular territory between the Blue and the White Nile with undefined borders in the south is obsolete, and the country in question now forms the Blue Nile Province and the Fung Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān.

The discovery of pre-historic remains at Gebel Moya and of Meroitic finds near Sennär itself shows that the district has been inhabited since a remote period, but historically Sennär has only been of note as the seat of the Fung [q. v.] Sulṭānate, which formed the most important political organisation in the Eastern Sūdān from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. and the foundation of Sennär itself is connected by native chroniclers with the establishment of this kingdom in A. D. 1504. The semi-barbaric dynasty, known to natives of the Sūdān as the

Blue Sultānate (*al-salṭana al-sarḡā*), claimed sovereignty over the territory extending from the Red Sea to Ḳordofān and from the borders of Abyssinia to the third cataract, but its rule was never effective except in the immediate neighbourhood of Sennār itself; the rest of the country was split up amongst a number of petty kings and tribal chiefs, who were attached to the paramount power by means of a loosely-knit feudal organisation. The chronicle of the Sennār kings, a dreary record of internecine wars and barbaric diplomacy, may be read in MacMichael's *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*. The organisation and laws of the kingdom are of some interest as exhibiting a blend of pagan African and Arabo-Muslim elements. Even in the time of Bruce, the discoverer of the Blue Nile, there still survived the law that a king might be slain "if it were decreed that it is not for the advantage of the state that he be suffered to reign any longer", and a high functionary of state, styled *sid el-gōm* (*saiyid al-ḡawm*), was charged with the duty of carrying out the decree. Parallels to this law are afforded by the custom of Meroë in the 3rd century B.C. and an analogous custom still observed by the Nilotic Shilluk and Dinka. The intercourse between the kings and the vassal chiefs was regulated by an elaborate ceremonial; the more important of the latter bore the title of *mangil* (a word of unexplained origin) and were distinguished by the rights of *kakar* and *taḡiya*, i.e. the right to use a royal chair of state and a peculiar head-dress shaped like the horns of a bull.

Arab and Muslim influences, on the other hand, made themselves felt from an early period. The kings claimed descent from a remnant of the Banī Umaiya, who were said to have entered the country from Abyssinia, where they had taken refuge after the rise of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, and this tradition may well refer to the immigration of small parties of Arabs, who married into an aboriginal tribe and introduced Islām without materially affecting the ethnic characteristics of the tribe (cf. the marriage of Djuhaina Arabs with the daughters of Nubian kings in the account of Ibn Ḳhaldūn, quoted by MacMichael, *op. cit.*, i. 138). In any case it is clear that the Fung were nominally Muslims at the time of the establishment of their kingdom and that the overthrow of the kingdom of Aloa and the disappearance of Christianity from Sennār were brought about by an alliance between the negroid Fung and a coalition of the Arab tribes, which had immigrated into the Sūdān during the period of decay which beset the Christian kingdoms of Nubia. The Islāmisation of the country is intimately connected with the missionary activities of a number of scholars and saints who flourished under the Fung sultānate, and whose lives are related in the still unpublished *Ṭabaḡāt* of Wad Ḍaif Allāh. Yet owing to the isolation of the country Sennār has played no serious part in the cultural life of Islām, and the *riwāḡ* (or hostel) of Sennār students at al-Azhar is a foundation of the Egyptian government subsequent to Muḥammad 'Alī's conquest of the Sūdān.

After a period of rapid decay Sennār became a dependency of Egypt in consequence of Muḥammad 'Alī's expedition in 1821. Under Egyptian rule the town was a centre of trade and the headquarters of a *mudiriya*, the buildings of

which were destroyed by the Mahdists in 1885. The palace and mosque erected by the Fung kings was already in ruins at the time of Cailaud's visit.

Modern Sennār is about a mile and a half distant from the ruins of the old town. It is now of comparatively small importance, and its place as a centre of trade and administration has been taken by Wad Medani.

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(S. HILLELSON)

SEPOY is the English corruption of *sipāhī*, the adjective formed from the Persian word *sipāh*, "army". *Sipāhī* is used substantively for "member of an army, soldier", and occurs in literary Persian, though it is no longer current in the modern language. The Turks and the French have borrowed the word, the latter in the form *spahi*, and in these languages as well as in Persian it invariably means a horse-soldier, in which sense it is used by the English traveller Hedges (*Diary*, ed. Hakluyt Society, i. 55) in 1682. In India both the French and the British adopted the word, which seems to have reached them through the Portuguese, the former writing it *cipaye* or *cipai*, and the latter *sepoi*, *sepoi*, *sepoi*, *sepoi*, *sepoi*, etc., but there both nations have applied it since the beginning of the eighteenth century to natives of India trained, armed and clad after the European fashion as regular infantry soldiers. Regiments of sepoys were first raised and employed by the French. In 1748 Dupleix raised several battalions of Muslim infantry, armed in the European fashion, and in 1759 Lally wrote to the Governor of Pondicherry: "De quinze mille cipayes, dont l'armée est censée composée, j'en compte à peu près huit cents sur la route de Pondichéry". Stringer Lawrence soon imitated Dupleix in forming regular battalions of sepoys in Madras, and in 1757 a force of sepoys accompanied Lord Clive when he left Madras in order to recover Calcutta. The military establishment of Bengal had consisted of one company of artillery, four or five companies of European infantry, and a few hundred natives armed in their own fashion, but after the recovery of Calcutta from the Nawwāb Sirāj al-Dawla a force of Madras sepoys was used to form the nucleus of an army for Bengal, and 2,000 sepoys fought at the battle of Plassey in June, 1757. About the same time sepoys were raised and employed in Bombay, and European adventurers in native states raised and drilled battalions of sepoys for their masters.

In 1795 the infantry of the three Presidency armies was organised in regiments of two battalions each, each battalion consisting of eight battalions and two grenadier companies. Of such regiments Bengal possessed twelve, Madras eleven, and Bombay four, with an additional marine battalion. Henceforward the three armies grew on divergent principles and with different organisations. The

Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 shattered the old Bengal army and seriously affected that of Bombay, but both were reconstituted and remodelled. Early in the twentieth century Lord Kitchener, then commander-in-chief in India, formed the three Presidency armies into one Indian army.

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SER. [See SAR].

SERAIL. [See SERĀY].

SERĀY (P.) This word which is derived from an old Persian form **srāda* (from the root *brā* "to protect") has in Persian the general meaning of dwelling, habitation. The Arabic word *surādīk* "tent" has been borrowed from a diminutive in *k* formed from **srāda* (Horn, *Grundriss der neu-persischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1895, p. 199).

We frequently find in Persian the word *serāy* compounded with another substantive to indicate a particular kind of building, like *kār-wān-serāy* (cf. the art. KĀRWĀN). In Persian mystic poetry *serāy* is an expression for the terrestrial world, the temporary abode of man (cf. *Sipendī*).

It is in Turkish lands that *serāy* has come to mean particularly the seat of government (like the Turkish word *honağ*) and the residence of a prince, a palace. From this meaning come the names of towns in Tatar countries and in Turkey called simply *serāy* (cf. the articles SARĀY and SERAYÉVO) or compounded with *serāy* (Ağ-Serāy etc.). In Turkey the *serāy* par excellence was the *serāy-i Humāyūn* of Top Kapı in Constantinople [q. v.].

In Arabia the form *sarāya* is used for palace in the 1001 Nights. The Italian loanword *seraglio* and the French *sérial* are sometimes found with the meaning harem but this limitation of meaning is not Oriental.

SERAYÉVO, Turk. Bosna Serai or simply Serai (cf. the art. BOSNA SARAI), capital of Bosnia in the Southern Slav states, picturesquely situated on the Milyačka in a valley open to the west enclosed on other sides by high and rocky hills, 1730—2273 feet above sea-level, with 60,087 inhabitants (1921) (of whom one third are Muslims); they mainly live by local industries (copperware, silver-filigree, carpets and tobacco). In the xvth century we find in place of Serayévo the powerful fortress of Vrhbosna, part of which still survives in the modern citadel of Serayévo. Even in the xvth century Serayévo was still generally known as Varbosania. The place is first mentioned in the Christian period in 1379 as the residence of Ragusan merchants and again in 1415 as the burial-place of the voivod Paul Radenović. The Turks saw the admirable situation of the place and chose it as the military centre of the conquered district when they captured Bosnia under Mehmed II in the spring of 867 (1463); tradition records us the name of the alleged leader, Girāy Khān (= Hādjdī Girāy Khān, d. 871 = 1466?), who was also buried near Serayévo (cf. *Die früh-osmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch*, ed. by F. Babinger, Hanover 1925, p. 126, 4—5, and F.

Giese, *Die altosm. anonymen Chroniken*, i., Breslau 1922, p. 112, 23 sq.; ii. [German transl., Leipzig 1925, p. 150 (*Abh. f. d. K. d. Morgenl.*, xvii/1.)]. We already find here as early as 1438 and 1439 a Turkish governor who had been appointed to control the tributary native dynasts. After the final conquest of Bosnia by the Ottomans the Turkish governor of Bosnia ruled at Vrhbosna which name was retained, as the journals of Petantius and Benedict Kuripešić (1530; cf. B. Curipeschitz, *Itinerarium der Botschaftsreise*, ed. by El. Lamberg-Schwarzenberg, Innsbruck 1910, p. 33 sq.: Verchbossen) and the Ragusan correspondence (cf. J. Gelcich and L. v. Thallóczy, *Ragusa és Magyarországgal*, Budapest 1887, p. 674 [1513]: Verbosavia) show; forms like Werchbossen, Varbosania, Verchbössania etc. are also found. About the middle of the xvth century, however, the name Bosna Sarai ("Palace on the Bosna"), Slav. Sarayévo, Ital. Seraglio, Seraio (cf. Giac. di Pietro Luccari, *Copioso Ritratto degli Annali di Rausa*, Venice 1605, p. 17: *il castello di Varch-Bosna, da cui crebbe la città di Saraio*), appeared and gradually drove out the older name. Serayévo is found in 869 (1464) in a *waḡf-nāma* as *Medīne-i Serāy*. The name Bosna Serai or simply Serai comes from the palace which Mehmed II built after the capture of the town, on the site of the *Khunkār Djām'ī* (Imperial mosque, Careva Jamiya) (cf. Ewliya, v. 428; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 160). Under Ottoman rule Serayévo increased in importance, particularly because it was the residence of the governors of Bosnia (cf. C. v. Peez, *Die ottoman. Statthalter in Bosnien*, in the *Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien* etc., ii. 344 sqq., Vienna 1894), who did much to beautify the town and transformed it into a Muḥammadan city between 900 and 1000 A.H. Numerous mosques, madrasas and baths arose, some very splendidly equipped, like the foundations of Ghāzī Khusrav Pasha (1506/1512 and 1520/1542) which are still kept in existence to-day. Ghāzī Khusrav (cf. and the document in *Cod. Turc.* 320 of the Saxon National Library in Dresden) is buried in Serayévo (cf. Ewliya, *Seyāhat-nāma*, v. 441, and *Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, i. 503 sqq.). Although after the definitive conquest of Bosnia the residence of the Turkish governor was moved from Serayévo to Banyaluka, the former retained its importance. Apart from a brief interruption by Prince Eugene's occupation of the town in October, 1697, which lasted a few hours only, Turkish rule lasted 415 years in Serayévo. On Aug. 18, 1878, the town was taken by the Austrian Artillery General, Josef Freiherr von Philippovich (1818—1889) after a sharp fight and incorporated in the Danube monarchy. On Oct. 6, 1908, the annexation with the consent of the Powers was proclaimed. On June 28, 1914, the Austrian heir, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated here. After the collapse of the Danube monarchy in 1918 Serayévo with Bosnia and Herzegovina passed to the newly formed Southern Slav State.

Serayévo which is the residence of a Muslim *Ra'is al-'Ulamā'* and has a Sher'at school, has a number of buildings from the Muslim period. Among the eight mosques, all of the xth century, of which Ewliya Čelebi (xviii century) mentions the mosque of Ferhād Pasha (built 969 = 1561), of Khusrav Pasha (built 937 = 1530),

of Ghāzī 'Alī Pasha (built 960 = 1553) and of 'Isā Pasha (built 926 = 1520), the finest is that of Ghāzī Khusrav (Begova Jamiya). Of the monasteries (cf. Ewliya, v. 431 sq.) that of the howling dervishes, Sinān Tekkesi (Sinan-tekiya), founded by Hādjīdī Sinān Agha (d. Ramaḍān, 1049 [began on Dec. 26, 1639]) in 1638 (cf. *Wissensch. Mitteil. aus Bosnien*, i. 506 sqq., with a picture), still exists. The description which Ewliya gives of Serayévo in the xviii century is surely much exaggerated (cf. Ewliya, v. 428—441); at least of the splendours of all kinds described there not very much has been saved for the present day. It is true that in course of time many edifices have been destroyed by numerous devastating fires (1480, 1644, 1656, 1687 and 1879). Serayévo was an Ottoman mint: copper coins (*manḡlir*) were struck here under Sultān Mehmed IV and Suleimān II in the years 1085, 1099 ("Bosna") and 1100 ("Serai") (illustrations in St. Lane-Poole, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Or. Coins*, vol. viii., *The Coins of the Turks*, London 1883, pl. vi., No. 401; cf. Ghālib Edhem, *Takwīm-i Meskūkāt-i 'Oṭhmāniye*, Stambul 1307, p. 228 sqq.); Č. Truhelka, in the *Wissensch. Mitteil. aus Bosnien*, ii. 350 sq., iv. 396 sq. (copper coins struck in 1085 [1674/75] in the reign of Mehmed IV; for general information E. v. Zambaur, *Prägungen der Osmanen in Bosnien*, in the *Nuism. Zs.*, New Series, vol. i., Vienna 1908). Serayévo is the birthplace of the important Ottoman poet Mehmed Nerkesi (cf. *Mitteil. zur osm. Geschichte*, i., Vienna 1922, p. 152 sqq., and *Yeñi Medjmu'a*, i., Stambul 1917, part 15—18), and intellectual life was always active in Serayévo and neighbourhood in the Turkish period (cf. Safvet Beg Bašagić, *Bosnjaci i Hercegovini u islamskoj književnosti*, Serayévo 1912, a Literary History of Muslim Bosnia Herzegovina).

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

SERBEDÄRS, the name of a line of robber chiefs who made themselves masters of a considerable part of Khurāsān; their subjects are also known as Serbedārs. This state, a regular republic of brigands, in which military considerations and the influence of Shī'ī dervishes predominated, was formed during the troubles that succeeded the death of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd; it collapsed before the great Timūr. The name Serbedār, which one might translate "gallows-bird" (or perhaps better "desperado"), goes back, according to the historian Khwānd-amīr, to a saying of the first chief, 'Abd al-Razzāk: "*Ba mardī sar-i khwād bar dār dādan hazār bār bihtar kih ba nāmardī ba kāt rasidan*" ("courageously venturing to be hanged is a thousand times better than being killed as a coward"). Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat*, ed. Browne, p. 278, gives, however, a different explanation of the origin of the name. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the Serbedārs were called in the 'Irāk: *Shuffār* (robbers) and in the Maghrib: *Ṣukūra* (birds of prey, falcons). Their capital was Sabzewār in the district of Baihaḡ. The first Amīr Serbedār, 'Abd al-Razzāk, was the son of an 'Alid, Shihāb (or Tādī) al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Bāshṭīnī, a former official of the Shāh or Djuwain.

'Abd al-Razzāk was able to gain the favour of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd (d. 736/1335) who gave him a public appointment. Appointed to administer the taxes of Kirmān, 'Abd al-Razzāk spent all the tribute he received; but the death of the Mongol prince took place in time to get him out of his difficulty. He went to Bāshṭīn (a village in the district of Baihaḡ), his former abode, where he collected a band of adventurers and malcontents, with the object of becoming independent sovereign of a part of Khurāsān. He had first of all to fight with the vizier 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Faryumadī, then all-powerful in this country; the latter was defeated and killed in 737 (1336/1337). After the death of 'Alā' al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Razzāk seized the town of Sabzewār (738) which became the headquarters for the Serbedār chief's brigandages. According to Dawlat-shāh, he also conquered Djuwain, Asfarā'in, Džādjarm, Biyār and Khudjand. In 738 (1337/1338) in the month of Safer (according to others in Dhū 'l-Hiǧǧja) 'Abd al-Razzāk died, assassinated by his brother Wadīḥ al-Dīn Mas'ūd, who succeeded to the throne. The Oriental authors, even those who, like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, are not prejudiced against the Shī'ī Serbedārs, represent 'Abd al-Razzāk as a tyrannical and unjust ruler, the opposite of his brother Mas'ūd. The latter, according to them, only killed him in legitimate self-defence. The romantic details that are given of the death of the first Serbedār prince have a very apocryphal look; probably the historians have blackened the character of 'Abd al-Razzāk to excuse Mas'ūd's fratricide. The latter, the second Serbedār chief, took the title of Sultān (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 65/66), and had warlike ambitions of further extending Serbedār rule. An ardent Shī'ī — Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that the Serbedārs at that time intended to exterminate the Sunnis in Khurāsān — he attached the dervish Ḥasan Džūrī to his person, who for political reasons had been thrown into prison by the prince of Nišāpūr. The dervish was able to escape the wrath of the latter; the authorities are not agreed if Mas'ūd aided him to escape or not. Dawlat-shāh says that Mas'ūd himself became a *murīd* of Džūrī.

The first campaign of the new Serbedār chief was directed against the lord of Nishāpūr, Arghūn-Shāh Djānī Kurbānī. It is probable that this expedition took place as early as 738. Arghūn's army was routed: Nishāpūr and Djām fell into the hands of Mas'ūd. The defeated ruler sought refuge with Togha Timur Khān of Djurdjān. It seems that Mas'ūd and Djūri had considered the possibility of extending their power over the whole of Khurāsān. The Serbedār forces seem to have begun by attacking Togha Timur. It would seem then that the defeat of the Khān on the banks of the Atrak, an event mentioned by Dawlat-shāh as happening before Mas'ūd's campaign against Husain Kurt of Herāt, took place during this first war of the Serbedārs against Djurdjān. In any case, to realise their projects of conquest, Mas'ūd and Djūri turned their attention to the king of Herāt already mentioned (743 = 1342—1343). On Šafar 13 of this year the two princes' armies met near Zāwa. In the battle Hasan Djūri fell, either killed by the enemy or assassinated by order of the Serbedār chief. Indeed, it would not be surprising if Mas'ūd feared the ascendancy of the Shaikh at this time when, according to the historian Zahir al-Din (ed. Dorn, p. 338): "*zimān-i iktitār-i ān wilāyat dar akhtar-i umūr ba dast-i shuyūkh būd*"; in free translation: "In this country most things are performed in accordance with the wishes of the shaikhs". The battle of Zāwa was decided in favour of the ruler of Herāt, although it at first looked as if the Serbedār army had won. Mas'ūd had to withdraw and returned to Sabzewār. The historian Khwāndamīr recounts after these events a campaign against Djurdjān as well as the defeat and death of a brother of Togha Timur; he says that as a result Mas'ūd was able to become master of Astarābād, while the Khān fled from his capital (end of 743). Another authority, however, puts these events in 742 (cf. B. Dorn, *Die Geschichte Tabaristans und der Serbedare nach Chondemir*, p. 165, note 5). This would be before the war with Husain Kurt; if this is correct the victory won by Mas'ūd over the brother of Togha Timur would be identical with the battle on the Atrak. Once in possession of Djurdjān the Serbedār began to cast covetous eyes on Mazandarān. This was the end of his career. He was attacked by surprise in the land of Rustamdār; he and almost all his army perished (Rabī' II, 745 = Aug.—Sept., 1344).

Mas'ūd was the greatest Serbedār prince; his kingdom, according to Dawlat-shāh, stretched from Djām to Dāmghān and from Khabūshān to Tarshīz. He was the *qāhīb kīrān* of the dynasty. After him the power fell into the hands of those who had been subalterns of the family of 'Abd al-Razzāk: that is to say, the empire having reached its zenith, fell into the control of a coterie of soldiers (and in this case of dervishes also) until the glory of the Serbedārs had departed for ever. This is the normal course of the history of oriental dynasties. Mas'ūd left one son, a minor, named Luṭf Allāh; one of his notables, Mu ammād Aitmur, who during the war with Djurdjān had been *mā'ib* at Sabzewār on behalf of the late prince, seized the actual power. He reigned two years and a few months; in 747 or 748 (1346/1347 or 1347/1348) he perished, the victim of a plot hatched by the dervish clique, *murīd*'s of Djūri, the prime mover in which was the Khwādja 'Alī Shams al-Dīn. The latter becoming master of the

situation, proposed as ruler a certain Kalwā (or Kulū) Isfendiyār, who reigned for about a year; 'Alī Shams al-Dīn had him assassinated in 748 or 749. It was then proposed to make Mas'ūd's minor son successor to Isfendiyār; 'Alī Shams al-Dīn appointed a brother of Mas'ūd, who also was called Shams al-Dīn, to be regent. He on'y held the throne for some seven months; in Dhu 'l-Hijja, 749, according to Dawlat-shāh, he resigned. 'Alī Shams al-Dīn himself then assumed the external attributes of royalty also. In general the historians approve his rule, although they admit that he was as bigoted as he was cruel. He is said on one occasion to have had 500 prostitutes buried alive; his officials and officers when they had to enter his presence used to make their wills first. Shams al-Dīn built or renovated the *masājid-i djamī'* at Sabzewār. He also built a great storehouse (*anbār*) in the same town. With Togha Timur he concluded a treaty which secured the Serbedār chief possession of all the territory formerly ruled by Mas'ūd. In return it is probable that the Serbedārs pledged themselves to pay tribute. Dawlat-shāh (p. 236) says that they obeyed Togha Timur (*muti' wa munkād shudand*), which can only be true of the period after the death of Mas'ūd.

'Alī Shams al-Dīn, already much detested for his avarice and cruelty, insulted in frightful fashion one of his treasury officials, Haidar Kaṣṣāb, from whom he wanted, in addition, to extort a large sum of money. Kaṣṣāb conspired with Yahyā Karrābī, a former officer of Mas'ūd, and killed 'Alī Shams al-Dīn with his own hand (towards the end of 753 or the beginning of 754: Karrābī was reigning in 754 because the assassination of Togha Timur by the latter's order took place on Dhu'l-Ka'da 16, 754 = Dec. 14, 1358, as is testified by the poem quoted in Dawlat-shāh, p. 237—238). Karrābī became chief of the Serbedārs while Kaṣṣāb became *sipāh-salār*. The new ruler was a devout man but a bloody tyrant in whom there were thought to be signs of madness. A quarrel soon broke out between the Serbedār and Togha Timur because Karrābī did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the Khān. On the occasion of a meeting at Sulṭān Duwīn, Karrābī had Togha Timur assassinated by an officer of his suite. One can hardly imagine that this attempt could have succeeded if the Serbedār had not had allies among the nobles of Timur's kingdom. With the latter's death the suzerainty of the descendants of Čingiz Khān in those regions came to an end. The Serbedārs, the Djānī Kurbānī and the Kurts of Herāt divided the empire of the Khān. Karrābī took Tūs from the Djānī Kurbānī. He paid a great deal of attention to the water-supply of this town and to that of Mashhad. Karrābī, like his predecessors, came to a violent end. 'Alā' al-Dawla, his brother-in-law, assassinated him (759 = 1358). Kaṣṣāb then placed on the throne a brother (or cousin) of the dead ruler, the insignificant Zahir al-Dīn. The *sipāh-salār* was, of course, the actual master of the kingdom and this was not altered when Zahir al-Dīn renounced the throne (Radjab, 760 = May/June, 1359). Kaṣṣāb himself took the reins of government, but it was not for long. While he was besieging the rebel Naṣr Allāh Bāshṭīnī (perhaps brother of Mas'ūd) in Asfarā'in he met his end, the victim of a conspiracy instigated by his own *sipāh-salār*, Hasan Dāmghānī (Rabī' II, 761 = Feb.—March, 1360). Hasan concluded a treaty of peace with Naṣr Allāh;

the throne returned to the old dynasty. Luṭf Allāh b. Mas'ūd was proclaimed king while Dāmghānī and Naṣr Allāh appointed themselves his guardians (*atabeg*), i.e. the actual holders of power. The faintest Luṭf Allāh only retained the throne as long as he pleased the *Sipāh-sālār*. As soon as a difference arose — à propos of nothing at all — between Mas'ūd's son and the Atabeg the latter had him thrown into prison, and shortly afterwards ordered him to be put to death (Radjab, 762 = May-June, 1361). Henceforth Hasan Dāmghānī reigned in his own name. Disorder was not long in breaking out. The dervish 'Aziz, a follower of Djūri, stirred up a rebellion which Dāmghānī was able to put down: 'Aziz had seized Tūs but the Serbedār king recaptured it and banished 'Aziz from his territory. The latter went to Iṣfahān. From the point of view of policy Dāmghānī had made a grave mistake in preserving the life of the dervish out of religious scruples. Besides, things were becoming worse in this part of the empire of Togha Timur which now obeyed Serbedār authority. Amīr Walī, son of an officer of Togha Timur, drove the Serbedār governor from Astarābād and routed the army sent to assist the latter by Dāmghānī. The Serbedārs seem to have lost the town of Tūs about the same time. One of Mas'ūd's old officers, Naḍīm al-Dīn 'Alī Mu'ayyad, hastened to take advantage of the troubles. He seized the town of Dāmghān and summoned the rebel 'Aziz from Iṣfahān. One part of the Serbedār army, which had been beaten by Amīr Walī, joined him. This took place while Dāmghānī was away from Sabzewār, because he was besieging the stronghold of Shaḳḳān. Mu'ayyad and 'Aziz were able to enter Sabzewār where they put Dāmghānī's vizier, Yūnus Sammānī, to death and made a *ta'ziyat* for Luṭf Allāh b. Mas'ūd. The military officers were exhorted to desert Dāmghānī in letters full of threats and promises. When the army besieging Shaḳḳān received a similar message the soldiers took the side of Mu'ayyad, and soon Dāmghānī's head was sent to Sabzewār (766 = 1364/1365). Mu'ayyad, who succeeded Dāmghānī on the throne, was the last Serbedār king. According to the historians, he was generous and pious, an ardent Shi'ī (this appears also from the inscriptions on the coins, struck by him; see Frāhn, *Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum*, p. 632—633). But his devoutness did not prevent him ridding himself of the dervish 'Aziz, who had been so bold as to disobey an order from his sovereign. Mu'ayyad, in any case, hated the dervishes of Djūri's sect. He desecrated the tomb of Khalīfa, Djūri's *murshid*, and that of Hasan Djūri himself. The last Serbedār also had ambitions to extend his dominions: among his conquests Tarshiz and Kūhistān are mentioned. In the war that he had to wage with Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn of Herāt (on which see *J. A.*, 1861, Series 5, vol. xvii. 515—516) he lost Nishāpūr. The relations of the Serbedār with Amīr Walī, ruler of the former kingdom of Togha Timur, were not in general very friendly. It appears that, in course of hostilities, Mu'ayyad held Astarābād for a time, as we know of a coin struck by him here in 755 (1373/1374; cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 737). On the other hand, Walī helped the Serbedār king to reconquer his kingdom when the latter had been driven from Sabzewār by the dervish Rukn al-Dīn, a rebel who had secured troops to help him from the ruler of Fārs (780 = 1378/1379).

Later, troubles broke out once more. At the siege of Sabzewār by Walī's forces, Mu'ayyad sought the help of the great Timur (783 or rather 781; cf. Dorn, *Gesch. Tabaristans*, p. 186, note 2). This meant that the Serbedār had to abandon all idea of independence and that his kingdom became a part of the great Mongol conqueror's empire. Mu'ayyad lived on for some time at the court of Timur. He was assassinated in 788 (1386/1387). His body was taken to Sabzewār and buried in the town.

Here ends the history of the Serbedārs, although in 807 (1404/1405) there was again a rising by a son of Mas'ūd, Sultān 'Alī, against Shāh Rukh, son of Timur, a rebellion which was duly suppressed. As a panegyrist of the Serbedār kings Dawlat-shāh mentions the poet Maḥmūd b. Yamin al-Dīn Faryumadi.

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(V. F. BÜCHNER)

SERDĀB (Pers. *serd-āb*, "cold water"; the *Kāmūs* has wrongly *sirdāb*), in Baghdād, a kind of rather large vaulted cellar, more or less decorated sunk four or five feet into the ground where the heat does not rise above 77°—80° F. while that of the rooms is from 92°—95°. It is supplied with a ventilator, a kind of chimney turned to the north side which ends at the highest part of the house; the air is also kept fresh, morning and evening, with the help of several small windows; in the summer the people of the house spend the time from 11 a. m. till sunset there. This arrangement is also found in the southern parts of Persia where it is called *sir-samin* "subterranean"; the ventilator is called *bād-gir* "wind-catcher". The name is extended to cover any kind of subterranean room or road (Ibn Baṭṭūta, Paris 1853, i. 264; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i. 647).

Bibliography: Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1804, ii. 381; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1780, ii. 239; Buckingham, *Travels*, London 1837, ii. 192, 210; Ker-Porter, *Travels*, ii. 261.

(CL. HUART)

SERDESİR (P), a cold place or a summer habitation in high grounds. The Persian *ferheng's* cite verses where the word occurs (e.g. *Ferheng-i Shu'ū'i*). The opposite is *germesir* [q.v.].

At present both words are used for the northern and southern part of the province of Fārs, corresponding to the division in Sarūd and Djurūm by the Arabic geographers (Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 249).

SERES. [See **SERRES**.]

SERRES (*Seres*, Turk. *Sirōz*), capital of the former sandjak of Sirōz in the wilayet of Salonika, situated on the edge of a broad well-watered fertile plain, not far from the Struma, on the Salonika-Dede-Aghaç railway. Serres has a castle, called Dragota in the middle ages, built on a steep hill, numerous mosques and Greek churches. The number of inhabitants is nearly 30,000, the majority Bulgarians. In the country around much rice, fruit, wine, tobacco and vegetables are cultivated, and a big export trade is carried on in tobacco, cotton and cloth. — Serres is the ancient Siris or Serrhai, a settlement of the Siropaeoni which existed even in the time of Xerxes.

The date of the Ottoman conquest, about which the Turkish chroniclers make inaccurate and contradictory statements (Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādī al-Tawārīkh* [probably following Neshrī], i. 92, gives 776 = 1374/1375, whom J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 180, apparently follows; Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, p. 243, 53 sqq.: 787 = 1385/1386 [codex Verantianus], = Giese, *Anon. Chron.*, p. 26, 11, 12; 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde, *Tārīkh*, Stambul 1332, p. 61: between 783 [or, according to codex Mordtmann-Cayol, p. 45: 784] and 787; Hādjdjī Khalifa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, ed. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 73 sqq.: 784 = 1382/1383), is known from several contemporary Greek sources, which unanimously give September 19, 1383 (cf. Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, i. 77—79; Sp. P. Lampros, *Nécs* 'Ελληνισμῶν, viii. 403, 407, Athens 1912; cf. P. N. Papageorgiou in *Byz. Zs.*, 1894, iii. 292). On this day the castle was taken by Deli Balaban and the Lala Shahin Pasha, who had hastened to his assistance. That the town was securely in Turkish hands a few years later is known from the contemporary evidence of two Athos chronicles (cf. L. Petit-W. Regel, *Actes d'Esphigménou*, p. 42, xxi., and L. Petit-Korablev, *Actes de Chilandar*, p. 335, No. 158).

Seres and the surrounding territory fell as a fief to the celebrated Ewrenos Beg [q. v.] and the neighbourhood was settled with Yürüks who were transplanted from Şarukhān (cf. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, p. 244, 25 sq.; Giese, *Anon. Chron.*, 26, 26). Henceforth Serres was an important Ottoman mint: the first coins were struck there in 816 = 1413/1414. The dangerous rising, half religious and half political, stirred up by Shaikh Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and his follower Bürklüdjī Muṣṭafā came to a tragic end in Serres, in the neighbourhood of which the rebels had assembled for their last stand, with the execution of the ringleader in the late autumn (cf. *Islām*, 1921, xi. 63 sq.). In the xvth century at the beginning of which the French zoologist Pierre Belon passed through Serres, the inhabitants were mainly Greeks; he found German and Spanish-speaking Jews there but the country people spoke Greek and Bulgarian. Hādjdjī Khalifa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 73 sqq.) following closely, almost literally, Mehmed 'Ashīk, *Menāzīr ül-Ewālim* (Vienna MS., fol. 240a sq.; Berlin MS. [inaccessible to me], fol. 246a — 247b), describes Serres in the xvth century as a town with 10 mosques, 7—8 baths, fine khāns, a besestān, kitchens for the poor and pleasant gardens. Ewliyā Çelebi also visited the town; his account is found in the eighth, still unprinted volume of his *Seyāhet-nāme*. Serres never attained particular importance in the history of the Ottoman Empire; only in the xviiith and xixth

century it was the seat of a Derebey [q. v.] of whom Ismā'il Bey was the most prominent (cf. E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris 1831, i. 157, [130]—166). Since the treaty of London (1913) Serres has belonged to Greece. — A favourite excursion from the town is to the pleasantly situated Hişārardı outside the gates of Serres (cf. *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 74). Here is buried the author of the work, very important for the history of Adrianople, *Enis ül-Müsāmirin* (cf. G. Flügel, *Orr. Hss. Wien*, ii. 259, where — wrongly — *Müsāfirin* is given), 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasan called Hibrī (d. about 1550; cf. Brusali Mehmed Tāhir in *Türk Yordū*, third year, vol. 6, part 27, 8. 2225).

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regarding the مارغریت (= Margarita?) monastery near Serres, probably taken from the *Tārīkh* by Rūhī [q. v.]. (FRANZ BABINGER)

SERT. [See **SE'ERD**.]

SERVET. [See **TAHIR BEY**.]

SETH. [See **SH'ITH**.]

SEVILLE, in Spanish SEVILLA, Arabic *ISHBİLĪYA* (ethnic *Ishbili*), a large city in Spain with over 150,000 inhabitants at the present day and capital of the province of the same name, formerly capital of the kingdom of Seville situated at an average height of 45 feet above sea level in a vast plain, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir (Arabic al-Wādī 'l-Kabir = Wād al-Kebir = the "great river"), which separates it from the suburb of Triana (Arabic Taryāna; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, q. v.). Although 60 miles from the sea the town has all the advantages of a seaport on account of the very gradual fall of the river; the tide is perceptible up to above Seville (cf. the *aequoreus annis* of the Latin poet Ausonius). The climate is dry and warm.

The province of Seville in the Muslim period comprised all the low valley of the Guadalquivir, and stretched to the east as far as the Sierra d'Arcos and Gadiz, to the west as far as the valley of the Guadiana (Wādī Ānā) in a very wealthy region fertilised by the great river. The slopes of Aljarafe (or Axarafe, Arabic *Djabal al-Sharaf*) in the immediate vicinity of the capital are specially favoured, and their groves of fig and olive trees were famous for their fruit throughout Muslim Andalusia. The Arab geographers were never tired of marvelling at the natural wealth of the country. It was the only district in the peninsula to produce cotton, the exports of which were important. Other

characteristic products were saffron and sugar-cane. The population of the country was of great density; no less than 8,000 villages, according to al-Iḍrīsī, were dependent on the capital.

The name *Ishbiliya* is derived from the ancient *Hispalis*, a name of Iberian origin which the Romans retained for the town. It was of great importance under them after its capture in 45 B.C. by Julius Caesar, who made it "Colonia Julia Romula". Under the empire it was alternately with Baetis (Cordova) and Italica (Arabic *Tālika*) the capital of the province of Baetica. It then became that of a Vandal kingdom (411) and from 441 the residence of the Visigothic kings, until in 567 Athanagilde transferred to Toledo the seat of his government.

It was in the spring of 94 A.H. (712) that Seville after the fall of Medina Sidonia and Carmona fell in its turn into the hands of the Muslims after a month's siege, according to some historians, but probably longer if we may believe the more detailed account of the capture of the town given by the anonymous chronicle entitled *Akhbār Madīnat al-Andalus*. A section of the Christian population took refuge in Beja (*Bādja*) and the conqueror, Mūsā b. Nuṣair, installed a Jewish colony in the city, left a garrison there under the Medinese ʿIsā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭawil as governor, and then laid siege to Merida. An attempted rising by the Christians in Seville, aided by their co-religionists of Beja and Niebla (*Labla*) in July of the same year was promptly put down and the town definitely re-captured by the son of Mūsā b. Nuṣair, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who massacred the rebels. When his father left for the east, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz became governor of Muslim Andalusia, and chose Seville as his capital; he there married the widow (and not the daughter, as is often said) of the Visigoth Roderick, Egilona (the Ailo of the Arab historians) and installed himself in the old church of St. Rufina, opposite which he built a mosque. It was there that he was killed by his soldiers in Rajab, 97 (March, 716), at the instigation of the Caliph of Damascus, Sulaimān.

After his death, the seat of the Arab administration was moved to Cordova; Seville nevertheless remained one of the richest cities of al-Andalus. Indeed, it escaped more than any other the influence of the conquerors and there is no doubt that its population only abandoned their old religion for Islām slowly, as much from policy as of necessity. It was in great part Roman or Gothic, and the names of notable citizens of Seville for long preserved the memory of this double origin. The spread of Islām in the Peninsula made commerce and agriculture still more active and the importance of its harbour augmented.

When residences and fiefs were allotted in al-Andalus to the *djund*'s of Syria and Egypt, Seville fell to that of Hims (Emesa) which was established in 125 (742) by the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Husām b. Dirār al-Kalbī, at the same time as the *djund* of Damascus was given Elvira, that of the Jordan Reyyo (Malaga), that of Kinnasrīn Jaen, that of Palestine Sidonia and that of Miṣr Tudmir (Murcia). The name of Hims was even sometimes applied to Seville (cf. Yāqūt, *Muḍjam al-Buldān*, s. v. Hims at the end).

When the Umayyad Caliphate of Spain was established in the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I b. Muʿāwīya al-Dākhil and his successors, Seville was

entrusted to his governors (for example the energetic ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar) and, like the other large towns of the country, was often the scene of rebellions. In 149 (766) two risings, those of Saʿīd al-Yaḥṣubī al-Maṭarī of Niebla and Abu 'l-Ṣabbāḥ b. Yahyā al-Yaḥṣubī, were quelled in turn. In 156 (773) the Caliph had again to suppress an attempt at independence by the governor ʿAbd al-Ghāfir (or ʿAbd al-Ghaffār) al-Yamanī and Ḥayāt b. Mulāmis (or Mulābis).

The town was surrounded by a fortified wall by ʿAbd al-Rahmān II. He also had a great mosque built in it. It was in the reign of this sovereign that Norman pirates captured Seville for the first time in 230 (844). It was stormed after a short siege, and the Caliph had to mobilise his forces to regain it and put the invaders to flight at the decisive battle of Ṭalyāfa. As a precaution against another attempt at landing by the Madjūs (Normans) he built an arsenal at Seville and constructed swift ships, which did not prevent his entering into friendly relations with the king of the Normans and even sending him an ambassador, Yahyā b. al-Hakam al-Ghazāl. In the reign of his son Muḥammad, in 245 (859), Spain was again attacked by the Normans, but the latter, who landed at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, probably did not go up to Seville but went direct to seize the town of Algeciras. Ibn Khaldūn and al-Nuwairī nevertheless suggest there was a Norman landing in Seville at this time (cf. particularly R. Dozy, *Les Normands en Espagne*, in *Recherches*³, p. 256-263 and 279-284).

In the reign of the Caliph ʿAbd Allāh, Seville was for a long time perturbed by the ambitions and proceedings of the two great families of Yamanī origin, the Banū Khaldūn and the Banū Ḥadjdjādī. These Arabs had large domains throughout the country and numerous clients, and hated the Islamised Spaniards of Seville as much as the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova. The head of the first family, Kuraib b. Khaldūn, soon after the accession of ʿAbd Allāh, raised the whole country of Aljarafe and rallied to his flag of rebellion the chief of the Banū Ḥadjdjādī family and other Arab or Berber chiefs of the south of Spain. He ravaged all the territory of Seville with fire and sword and later on, sometimes assisted by the caliph himself, he ruined completely the renegades of Seville (278 = 891). In the town the Arabs became all-powerful and it was not till four years later that the sovereign decided to send an expedition against them.

In 286 (899) the heads of the two families, who had hitherto been at peace, quarrelled, and Ibrāhīm b. Ḥadjdjādī was victorious and slew Kuraib. After an alliance with the famous rebel ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [q. v.] he finally submitted to the Caliph of Cordova while retaining practically unlimited power in Seville. There he set up as a regular sovereign and poets of talent and the famous singer Kamar were ornaments of his court. His return to loyalty to the Umayyad dynasty was the beginning of the return of order in al-Andalus. In the reign of the great caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III, Seville, without, however, rivalling Cordova in importance, entered upon an era of peace and prosperity and remained loyal to the central power.

But its most brilliant epoch, and the most important from the political point of view also, was that which followed the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate, when it became the capital of the independent dynasty of the Banū ʿAbbād or ʿAbbāids (cf.

above, i., p 7) from 414 = 1023. The founder of the kingdom, the *Qāḍī* Abū 'l-*Qāsim* Muḥammad I, was the son of an illustrious Andalusian jurist of Lakhmid origin, Ismā'il b. 'Abbād. He seized the power, at first recognising the suzerainty of the Ḥammūdīd sovereign Yahyā b. 'Alī, but was not long in repudiating this suzerainty which was quite nominal. At his death in 434 (1042) his son, Abū 'Amr 'Abbād, known by his honorific surname of al-Mu'taḍid, succeeded him and during a reign of 27 years his policy was marked by deeds of cruelty and treachery. He increased his kingdom at the expense of the neighbouring principalities of the west and south and only found a serious opponent in Bādīs, the Zirid king of Granada. He died in 461 (1068). His son, Abū 'l-*Qāsim* Muḥammad II al-Mu'tamid, is renowned for his poetic taste and talents. In his reign Seville became the rendezvous of the best scholars of the period. He took Cordova from the Banū *Djawhar* but soon came in conflict with the ambitions of the King of Castile, Alfonso VI, and then had to appeal for help to the new sultān of the western Maghrib, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfin. The latter crossed over to Spain with his troops and on *Radjab* 12, 479 (October 23, 1086), won the great victory of *Zallāka*. When the Almoravids returned to Morocco the Christians resumed the offensive and al-Mu'tamid had to go in person to the Lamtūni sultān to ask his assistance once more. Yūsuf granted it, but was not long in depriving him of his kingdom to seize its wealth. Seville along with Cordova, Almeria, Murcia and Denia, was taken in 484 (1091) by Yūsuf's general, Sir b. Abī Bakr b. Tāshfin. The Berber troops sacked the town from attic to cellar, and pillaged the palaces of the 'Abbāḍids and the unfortunate al-Mu'tamid was taken prisoner and exiled to Morocco, where he died at *Aghmāt* in 488 (1095) after giving expression to his misfortunes in elegies which came to enjoy a well merited reputation among literary Muslims: he left the reputation of a generous, chivalrous and cultivated prince. — All the texts relating to Seville in the 'Abbāḍid period have been collected by Dozy in his *Scriptorium Arabum Loci de Abbāḍiis*, 3 vols., Leiden 1846—1863.

The Almoravid general, Sir, governed Seville for his master and the town, like the rest of Muslim Spain, continued under the yoke of the Maghribī Sultāns. In *Radjab*, 526 (May, 1132), a Christian force from Toledo invaded the country round Seville. In the course of an engagement the governor of the city, 'Umar b. Makūr, was killed.

It was with satisfaction that the people of Seville heard of the decline of the Almoravids in Africa and the rise of the Almohads. Barrāz b. Muḥammad al-Masūfī, general of Sultān 'Abd al-Mu'min, after conquering the south-west of the peninsula, laid siege to Seville and took it in *Shā'ban*, 541 (January, 1147), putting to flight the Almoravid garrison. Next year a deputation of notables of Seville went to the Almohad sultān to give him the homage (*ba'ī'a*) of their fellow-citizens, led by the *Qāḍī* Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī, who died at Fās on the way back (cf. above, i. 362b). 'Abd al-Mu'min appointed governor of the town the Almohad Yūsuf b. Sulaimān and in 551 (1156), at the request of the inhabitants, his own son, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf. The latter kept this post till he succeeded his father in 558 (1163).

Under his reign Seville became the headquarters of the Almohad forces in Spain. Abū Ya'qūb stayed

there from 568 (1172) to 571 (1175), and on his departure left as governor his brother, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, with the general Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Wānūdīn and the admiral 'Abd Allāh b. *Djāmi'*. It was also in Seville that Abū Ya'qūb made his preparations in 580 (1184) for the Santarem (*Shantarīn*) expedition in which he met his death. His son, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (580—595 = 1184—1199), who succeeded him, brought back the Almohad army to Seville and returned to Morocco, leaving the *Hafṣid* chief Abū Yūsuf as governor of Seville. Summoned by the latter he returned to Seville in 586 (1190) to retake *Shilb* (Silves) from the Christians, who had taken it by force of arms. After the brilliant victory of Alarcos (Arabic al-Ark, cf. above, i. 205a) won on *Shā'ban* 8, 591 (July 19, 1195), over Alfonso VIII of Castile, the Sultān made a long stay in Seville, and it was during this period that he imprisoned the famous Cordovan philosopher, Ibn Ruṣhd (Averroes). He did not return to Morocco till 594 (1198), a year before his death.

In the course of the reigns of these two Sultāns Seville rivalled the glories of the most flourishing periods of the 'Abbāḍid dynasty. It had at this date more inhabitants than Cordova. The Almohad sovereigns and the great dignitaries of the court built palaces there, and the number of mosques, baths, caravanserais and markets increased considerably. It was in the reign of Abū Ya'qūb that the new great mosque was built on the site which the present cathedral was later to occupy in the xvth century. The *Rawḍ al-Kirfās* (ed. Tornberg, p. 138) gives 567 (1172) as the date of building this *djāmi'*, the anonymous chronicle entitled *al-Ḥulal al-Mawṣhiya* (ed. Tunis, p. 120) 572 (1176/1177). According to Ibn Abī Zar', it only took eleven months to build, which seems improbable. The same author mentions the building at Seville in the same year of a bridge over the Guadalquivir, of two *ḡaṣba's*, of ramparts and moats, of quays along the river and an aqueduct. Nothing now survives of the great Almohad mosque of Seville but the *ṣaḥn* (now *Patio de los Naranjos* "court of the orange trees"), with the gate known as "Puerta del Perdon", and most notable of all the celebrated minaret, called *Giralda* (because a statue of Faith which surmounts it "turns" [Spanish *girar*] at the least wind). This tower, as a whole less successful than its twin sisters, the tower of Ḥassān in Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ (Rabat) and that of the *Djāmi'* al-Kutubiyīn at Marrākush, built at the same time, has a base 43 feet square. It is built of brick; its walls, about seven feet thick, are pierced by numerous windows with Arab and Visigothic capitals. The lantern-tower which rose from the platform of the tower has been replaced by a campanile; the total present height is over 300 feet.

In 609 (1212) al-Manṣūr's successor, the Almohad Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, collected under the walls of Seville the great army which was to reconquer the part of al-Andalus then in the hands of the Christians. It was defeated on *Ṣafar* 15 (July 16) of the same year at las Navas de Tolosa and the Sultān and his forces returned to Seville utterly routed.

It was a little later, in the reign of the Almohad Yūsuf II al-Mustansir, in 617 (1220), that the governor, Abū 'l-'Ulā had built on the bank of the Guadalquivir a tower intended to protect the

royal palace (now the Alcázar, rebuilt in the xvth century by Pedro the Cruel) and the river. It has retained in a Spanish translation its Arabic name Burdj al-Dhahab ("Torre del Oro" "Tower of Gold"); the lower part, which is in twelve superimposed sections and is crowned with battlements, and the smallest tower at its top are still standing.

Some years later Seville again became the headquarters of the Almohad Sultān Idris al-Ma'mūn, and on his departure for Morocco in 626 (1228-1229) the town passed under the domination of the rebel Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Hūd, who ended by driving the Almohads out of Spain. Strengthened by the alliance which he had made with the first Naṣrid dynasty of Granada, Muḥammad I b. al-Aḥmar, Ferdinand III laid siege to Seville in 1247 and after blockading it for sixteen months took it on Sha'bān 1, 646 (November 19, 1248) (or four days later, according to some authors). The Muslim population was spared and allowed to emigrate to that part of Andalusia which still remained Muḥammadan and to Africa. The attempts of the Marinid Sultāns of Morocco to recapture the town from the Christians in the years following met with no success. In 674 (1275) Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥakḥ, after his victory over the troops of General Don Nuño de Lara, laid waste the country of Seville and Jerez (Sharish); but he had soon to abandon his siege of the capital. On his second campaign in Andalusia in 676 (1278) he again came up to the walls of Seville and pillaged the district of Aljarafe. He continued these raids, which are recorded in detail in the *Rawḍ al-Kirfās*, down to 684 (1285), and Don Sancho had to seek a truce which lasted till 690 (1290) in the reign of Abū Yūsuf's successor, his son Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf. In the end, after the defeat of the Sultān of the same dynasty, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, under the walls of Tarifa, the Muslims abandoned all hope of retaking Seville.

It would take too long here to give the names of all the famous Muslims who were born or lived in Seville. It is sufficient to mention the poets Ibn Ḥamdis, Ibn Hānī, and Ibn Kuzmān, the traditionalist Ibn al-'Arabi, the biographer Abū Bakr b. Khair, and to refer the reader to the separate articles on them.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SEZAY, a Turkish poet. Shaikh Hasan (Dede) Sezay Efendi was a Greek by birth, a native of Kordos (the old name for Corinth), who spent the greater part of his life in Adrianople. He belonged to the order of Gülshenī there, first as a disciple of the Shaikh Mehmed La'li and after his death as his successor. According to some sources, he was also head of a Gülshenī monastery in Constantinople. Ramadān, 1151 (end of 1738 or beginning of 1739), is given as the date of his death, the only date known of his career. His tomb is in a *derkäh* which bears his name.

We still possess several of Sezay's works. His *Diwān* is of a mystical and allegorical nature and is remarkable for the beauty of its language, so that Ottoman critics sometimes actually describe him as the Ḥafiz of Turkish literature. There is a MS. of the *Diwān* in the Vienna Hofbibliothek and in the Gibb collection (see Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. XXII below), and it has been printed at Constantinople. It begins with a series of *ḥazida*'s, on the works of the different kinds of the mystic path, the *Wasf-i Athār-i Aṭwār-i Ṭariqat*. Then come 333 *ghazal*'s, a few *takhlīs*, *tasdīs*, *rubā'ī*'s and other shorter pieces including a chronogram on 'Ushshakī Ṣadiq Efendi (d. 1094 = 1683). Among other works by Sezay, his *Mektūbāt* and his commentary on a *ghazal* of al-Miṣrī are mentioned. There are commentaries on some of Sezay's *ghazal*'s, including some of quite modern date. Among Sezay's pupils are mentioned Mehmed Ḥasib Bey, the author of a poem called *Gülshen-i Ebrār*, which deals with the *silsile* of Gülshenī, and the Turkish poet Mahwī Efendi and Mehmed Fakrī Krimī, who translated the *Menāzil al-Sā'irīn* of al-Anṣārī into Turkish.

Sezay is also the name of a modern Turkish novelist; cf. Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902, p. 43 sq.

Bibliography: Brusall Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmānlī Mü'ellifleri*, Constantinople 1333, p. 84 sq.; Sāmi, *Kānūs al-A'lām*, p. 2562; Mu'allim Nadji, *Esāmī*, Constantinople 1308, p. 164; v. Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iv., Pest 1838, p. 257-260; Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i. 665, N^o. 714. (WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

SFAX (SFĀḲES or SFĀḲEŞ), a town in Tunisia, on the eastern coast to the north of the Gulf of Gabes on the site of the ancient Taparura. Built on a flat piece of ground the native town, beside which the European quarter has grown up, is of an unusually regular plan. It is quite rectangular in shape (600 by 400 yards) and its streets are at right angles to one another. In the centre is the Great Mosque built about 275 (849), rebuilt at the end of the tenth century and several times since restored. The first wall built in the Aghlabid period was of clay and bricks. Parts that decayed were repaired in stone. Al-Bakrī describes it as built of stone and bricks. It was frequently repaired either by princes or by the gifts of pious individuals. This wall was flanked by square towers and, according to al-Tidjāntī (beginning of the xiiith century), it was a double one. Several *ribāṭ* defended the adjoining coast.

During the anarchy that followed the Hilālī invasion, Sfax was from 1095 to 1099 the capital of a little independent principality protected by the Arabs. In 1148 it was taken by Roger of Sicily. 'Abd al-Mu'min retook it in 1159. By then it had, however, lost much of its former splendour. The Arabs had almost entirely destroyed the plantations around the town. Before the invasion, Sfax had indeed been of a remarkable economic importance. It was one of the principal centres for the cultivation of the olive. Muslim and Christian ships exported the oil, particularly to Italy. In the tenth century the Pisans established a *funduq* here. Sfax was also noted for its manufacture of cloth, which was full of the processes used in Alexandria but with more perfection. Fishing was also an important source of income.

Sfax in 1881 was one of the few centres of resistance to the French occupation. A squadron came to bombard it. Since then it has begun to enjoy a new prosperity. It is a town of 75,000 inhabitants which exports sponges collected in the Gulf of Gabes and is surrounded by a double girdle of gardens and olive groves. The latter, planted according to methods improved during the sixteenth century, cover a depth of about 30 miles.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, text, Algiers 1911, p. 19; transl. de Slane, Algiers 1913, p. 46—47; al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 107; transl. p. 125—126; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, transl. Fagnan, p. 13; al-Tidjāntī, *Rihla*, MS. Bibl. Univers., Algiers, f. 38, 53; *J. As.*, 1852, ii. 127—137; Ibn 'Adhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Dozy, i. 308, 311; transl. Fagnan, i. 445, 451; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, x. 10, 19; transl. Fagnan (*Annales*), p. 470—471; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, i. 205, 216, transl. ii. 22, 38; Ibn Maḳdīsh, *Nuṣṣat*, p. 55, 72—75; al-Wazīr, *Hulal Sundasiya*, p. 136; N. Luciani, *Inscriptions*, in *Rev. Africaine*, 1890, p. 68 sqq.; 1891, p. 238; E. Mercier, *ib.*, 1890, p. 248 sqq.; G. Marçais, *Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 124—125; C. A. Nallino, *Venezia e Sfax nel Secolo XVIII*, in *Centenario i.o. di M. Amari*, i. 306 sqq. (G. Marçais)

SHABAK, a religious community of Kurdish origin in the wilāyet of Mawṣil. English statistics estimate the number of Shabaks at 10,000; the Muslims give them the nickname *a'wadj* ("turbulent", "disloyal"). The Shabak live in the villages in the Sindjār district ('Alī-rash, Yangidja, Khazna, Tallāra etc.). They are related to their neighbours, the Yazidis, most of whose assemblies and places

of pilgrimage they attend. On the other hand, if we may rely on Kather Anastase, they show a particular devotion to 'Alī whom they call 'Alī-rash (*rash* in Kurdish = "black"). Another statement connects them with the extremist Shī'īs, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (cf. the art. 'ALĪ-ILĀHĪ). The Shabak never cut their moustaches "which are proverbial in the country" (see Cuinet); in eating they hold them up with the left hand so that the food may not soil them. As is the case with all the secret sects, popular stories credit them with abominable practices; once a year they are said to assemble in a secret cave and spend the night in feasting and debauchery. This night is called among them, as among the Šārlī (cf. the art. ŠĀRLIYA), *lailat al-kafsha*.

The Šārlī who claim to belong to the Kurdish tribe of Kāka'ī are also found in the wilāyet of Mawṣil on the lower course of the Great Zāb (villages of Tell-Laban, Basātliya, Kabarlī, Kharrāb al-Sulṭāna) and in the district of 'Ashā'ir-i Sab'a. Their present chief, Ṭāha Koshak (Koṭak?), lives in Wardak. There are Šārlī in Persia in the border districts. The sacred book of the Šārlīs is said to be in Persian. Their name is explained as *šārat li* ('*l-djannatu*) "Paradise has been acquired by me" for the Shaikhs of the Šārlī are said to sell them places in Paradise at 25 madjidiyas the ell (*dharā'*). The Šārlī permit divorce and polygamy. Their Shaikhs also never cut their moustaches and grow enormous beards. The *lailat al-kafsha* among the Šārlī is accompanied by agapes (*aklat al-muḥibbati*) for which every married man kills a cock. The Shaikh blesses these offerings which are dressed with wheat or rice and proclaims a blessing on every child conceived that night. The candles are then extinguished and an indescribable orgy ensues. The Šārlī of Father Anastase evidently correspond to the *Khorūs-Kushān* ("cock-killers") and *Čirāgh-Kushān* ("candle-extinguishers") of other travellers.

Father Anastase mentions a third secret sect in the same region: the BAḌJÖRĀN; they are Kurds and call themselves "Allāhī" (Alī-allāhī?). They live in the villages of 'Omar-kān, Toprakh-ziyarat, Tell-Yaḳūb, Baṣḥpita etc. There are also a few in Persia near the Turkish frontier. The Baḏjörān venerate particularly the prophet (*imām*?) Ismā'īl. During the month of Muḥarram (*ashūrā*) they lament the death of Ḥusain and collect provisions which on the ninth day (of the month?) are distributed under the name of *shashshā*. When the chief visits a community of the faithful each man offers him seven fresh eggs; the Shaikh cuts each into seven pieces and places them in a jar. Those present drink wine. The Shaikh pronounces a prayer, offering the eggs to Ismā'īl as an expiatory sacrifice (*kurbān*). No one can eat them without forthwith confessing his sins.

Attention may be called to the links connecting these Kurdish sects with one another and with Persia, their devotion to the Shī'ī Imāms ('Alī, Ḥusain, Ismā'īl), the rites resembling the communion, the syncretist tendencies. The Shabak seem to be a link between the Yazidis and the extremist Shī'īs. Finally we may mention that a document coming from Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ circles and found in Khurāsān by W. Ivanov mentions Malak-Ṭā'as, the great saint of the Yazidis.

As to the "night of *kafsha*", Father Anastase explains this word from the Arabic root meaning "to seize" (?). Perhaps we have simply to deal with the Persian *kafsh* alluding to some part said to

be played by the shoe in the course of the ceremony. For *shashshā* we may recall the name *lailat al-ma'shush* which al-Shabushī gives to the alleged nocturnal feast and orgy of the Nestorian nuns; cf. Hoffmann, *Ausszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, 1880, p. 127.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, ii. 767, 778, 811, 815; Father Anastase in *al-Machriq*, Beirut 1899, ii. 395, 732; 1902, v. 577—582; the statements of people not members of the sects in question are, of course, to be taken with caution. V. Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahli-Hakk*, Paris 1922, p. 69, League of Nations, *Question de la frontière entre la Turquie et l'Irak* [C. 400. M. 147. 1925 VII], p. 34, 38, 51.

(V. MINORSKY)

SHA'BĀN, name of the eighth month of the lunar year. In classical *ḥadīth* it has already its place after Radjab Muḍar. In British India it has the name of *Shab-i barāt* (see beneath), the Atchehnese call it *Kandūri bu* and among the Tigrē tribes it is called *Maddagen*, i. e. who follows upon Radjab.

In early Arabia the month of *Sha'bān* (the name may mean "interval") seems to have corresponded, as to its significance, to Ramaḍān. According to the *ḥadīth* Muhammad practised supererogatory fasting by preference in *Sha'bān* (Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, b. 52; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 176; Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm*, b. 36). 'Ā'isha recovered in *Sha'bān* the fastdays which were left from the foregoing Ramaḍān (Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm*, b. 65).

In the early-Arabian solar year *Sha'bān* as well as Ramaḍān fell in summer. Probably the weeks preceding the summer-solstice and those following it, had a religious significance which gave rise to propitiatory rites such as fasting. This period had its centre in the middle of *Sha'bān*, a day which, up to the present time, has preserved features of a New-Year's day. According to popular belief, in the night preceding the 15th the tree of life on whose leaves are written the names of the living is shaken. The names written on the leaves which fall down, indicate those who are to die in the coming year. In *ḥadīth* it is said that in this night Allāh descends to the lowest heaven; from there he calls the mortals in order to grant them forgiveness of sins (Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, b. 39).

Among a number of peoples the beginning or the end of the year is devoted to the commemoration of the dead. This connection can also be observed in the Muslim world. For this reason *Sha'bān* bears the epithet of *al-mu'azzam* "the venerated". In British India in the night of the 14th people say prayers for the dead, distribute food, among the poor, eat *halwa* (sweetmeats) and indulge in illuminations and firework. This night is called *lailat al-barā'a* which is explained by "night of quittance" i. e. forgiveness of sins.

In Atchēh this month is likewise devoted to the dead; the tombs are cleansed, religious meals (*kandūri*, q. v.) are given and it is the dead who profit from the merits of these good works. The night of the middle of *Sha'bān* bears a particularly sacred character as is testified by the *kandūris* and the *ṣalāts* which are called *ṣalāt al-ḥādja* or, on account of certain eulogies, *ṣalāt al-iṣābiḥ*. During the last days of the month, a market is held in the capital.

At Makka Radjab, not *Sha'bān*, is devoted to the dead. Here, in the night of the 14th *Sha'bān*, religious exercises are held; in the mosque circles are formed which under the direction of an *imām* recite the prayer peculiar to this night.

In Morocco on the last day of *Sha'bān* a festival is celebrated which resembles a carnival. A description of it is to be found in L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat & Salé* (Paris 1921), p. 98 sq.

Bibliography: E. Littman, *Die Ehrennamen und Neubennennungen der isl. Monate in Isl.*, viii. 1918, 228 sq.; Herklots, *Qanoon-i Islam*; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 221 sqq.; do., *Mekka*, ii. 76, 291; A. J. Wensinck, *Arabic New-Year* (*Verh. Ak. Amst.*, new ser. xxv., No. 2), p. 6 sq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

SHA'BĀN AL-MALIK AL-AṢHRAF, a Mamlūk Sulṭān, was chosen Sulṭān on *Sha'bān* 15, 764 (May 30, 1363), through the influence of the all-powerful Atabeg Yelboghā al-ʿUmari when only ten years old. His father Ḥusain was passed over because the ambitious Atabeg Yelboghā wished to rule himself and therefore preferred the ten-year-old son, the grandson of Muhammad al-Nāsir. His reign was marked by frequent attacks by Frankish fleets on Mamlūk seaports like Alexandria and Tripolis in Syria. For example at the beginning of 767 (1366) ships of Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, together with Venetian, Genoese and Rhodian ships appeared before Alexandria which they plundered, but withdrew on the approach of the Egyptian troops, carrying off, according to the sources, 5,000 prisoners. The Christians in Egypt and Syria had to pay the ransom for the captive Muslims, and also pay for the building of a fleet which was to invade Cyprus. The negotiations with Egypt were not successful, as Yelboghā was not really anxious for peace but was planning a landing on Cyprus with his fleet. But troubles at home prevented his plan from developing. The king of Cyprus, however, took the offensive and sent a fleet to Syria to take the harbour of Tripolis and the town of Aiyās in the south of Asia Minor. His fleet was able to land raiding parties but had to withdraw before the superiority of the Muslim forces, as had another Frankish fleet which appeared before Alexandria. Peace was only concluded in the beginning of 772 (August, 1370). The Egyptians later exacted vengeance for these Frankish raids by falling upon the kingdom of Little Armenia, which was an ally of the king of Cyprus (776 = beginning of 1374), and conquering the towns of Aiyās, Sis and the rest of the kingdom; the king was brought a prisoner to Cairo and his land became permanently a Muslim possession.

A conspiracy broke out in 768 (1367) against Yelboghā, whose Mamlūks could no longer stand his harshness and cruelty. The Mamlūks wanted to take him prisoner, but receiving timely warning he was able to escape to an island on the Nile, and to hold out there, and soon afterwards to return to Cairo and appoint *Sha'bān*'s brother Önük Sulṭān. *Sha'bān*, however, who was now sixteen, was forced by the Mamlūks to put himself at their head and Yelboghā was forced to retire again to his island on the Nile. *Sha'bān* then succeeded in seizing the fleet newly built by Yelboghā; the latter had to leave his place of refuge and fly to Cairo. There he was taken by the Mamlūks who had in the meanwhile returned to the citadel, and soon after-

wards killed by a Mamlūk while attempting to escape. Yelboghā's Mamlūks now terrified the people and did not obey their new leader, the emir Esendemir. Constant fighting was the result, which ended by a great number of Yelboghā's Mamlūks being banished to Syria and interned in Kerak. They later played an important part in the Mamlūk Kingdom. After several changes in the person of the regent the emir Aḳtemir al-Ṣahābī came to power, and held his position till the death of the Sultān. The Sultān had transitory success in the south of the kingdom, in Nubia. The king of Nubia recognised the suzerainty of the Sultān of Egypt. But as a result of Aḳtemir's cruel treatment of prisoners, the Nubians rebelled again and destroyed the frontier town of Aswān.

The Sultān's idea of making a pilgrimage to Mekka in these troubled times was quite a mad one. In order to be secure against conspiracies of his relatives he had his brothers and cousins brought to Kerak and sent his regent to Upper Egypt to protect the frontier against the Beduins; but he had too little authority over his own Mamlūks to be able to risk such an expedition. The avaricious Mamlūks mutinied at 'Aḳaba and as the Sultān would not yield to their demands they threatened him with death so that he had to flee secretly to Cairo, but the Mamlūks had accomplices there who were hostile to the Sultān. He was able to remain concealed in Cairo for a short time in the home of a singing-girl but was soon recognised and strangled. He was lamented by the people as he had abolished burdensome taxes and in general treated his subjects with mildness. The main reason for the terrible state of the country was the insubordination and cruelty of the Mamlūks who ill-treated and oppressed the people.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, ed. Būlak, i. 213—338; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv. 510—530, where the European printed texts and the Oriental MSS. are given; Muir, *The Mamluke Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 97—101; on Yelboghā see *Manhal al-Sāfi*, ed. Cairo, v. 162, fol. 432^b—434^a. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

SHA'BĀN AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL, a Mamlūk Sultān, son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [q.v.], brother of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Isma'īl [q.v.], ascended the throne on Rabī' II 4, 746 (Aug. 4, 1345), after having won over during the illness of his brother the emirs of influence, notably his step-father, the Emir Arghūn al-'Alā'ī. He is said to have used threats as to what he would do to them if not elected. He forced his brother's widow to marry him and soon after also married the daughter of another Emir and, indeed, women always played a great part in his life. His main occupations were all kinds of gladiatorial contests, racing and cock-fighting. His court was marked by great extravagance and the very slave-girls wore jewels on their dresses in his and his brother's reigns. Offices were sold quite openly and shamelessly; the Sultān invented a special tax on the appointment to fiefs and offices, as his biographer al-Ṣafadī (see below) tells us. An edict issued in his reign has been preserved in the citadel of Tripolis (Syria) and in a fragmentary state in Kaḻat al-Ḥiṣn; by this certain overpayments to the Mamlūks resulting from the difference between the lunar and solar years, which in case of their death before the end of their period of service could be claimed by their heirs, were left to the latter (see *Bibliography*).

He had two of his brothers and two of his most important emirs murdered. Yelboghā al-Yahyawi, governor of Damascus, ran a similar risk. He therefore arranged with the other Syrian governors to send a letter to the Sultān in which he threatened him with deposition and reproached him vigorously with his wickedness. Sultān Sha'bān then sent an apologetic reply in which he promised to reform but made preparations against the rebels. When he wanted to put to death two more of his brothers he was prevented by their mother and his step-father. Other emirs who had once been friendly to him but who now saw arrest threatening them collected their followers and other malcontents in the neighbourhood of Cairo until the Sultān in the end had only 400 horsemen at his disposal. He took refuge with his mother in the citadel where he was discovered and taken prisoner. He was murdered two days later on *Djumādā* II 3, 747 (Nov. 20, 1346). In his brief reign he had proved himself one of the most worthless rulers who ever sat on the throne of Egypt.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv. 462—469. His biography in al-Ṣafadī, Berlin Ar. MSS., N^o. 9864, f. 51^a, and *al-Manhal al-Sāfi*, MS. Paris, Ar. 2070, f. 152^a. On the edict see M. Sobernheim in *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Syrie du Nord, p. 94—103, and thereon Becker, *Isl.*, i. 97—99, who interprets the inscription somewhat differently; also al-Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, ii. 217, 10 from below; on the new taxation on fiefs see Ibn Iyās, i. 184, and *Manhal*, loc. cit.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

SHABĀNKĀRA, name of a Kurdish tribe and their country. Ibn al-Athīr has *Shawānkāra*; Marco Polo: *Soncara*. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, the realm of Shabānkāra is bounded by Fārs, Kirmān and the Persian Gulf. Nowadays it forms part of Fārsistān; modern maps show a village of the name of Shabānkāra on 30° N. Lat. and 51° E. Long. Mustawfī says that the capital was the stronghold of Ig; other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were: Zarkān (near Ig), Iṣṭabānān (or Iṣṭabānāt), Burk, Tārum, Khāira, Nairiz, Kurm, Rūniz, Lār and Darābdjird. As for particulars and identifications it suffices to refer to the notes of G. le Strange on his translation of Mustawfī's *Nuḥat al-Kulūb* (G. M. S., XXIII/ii. 138/139); for Darābdjird cf. also the article (above, i. 960) and P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii. 92 etc.). As for the climate, Shabānkāra is reckoned among the warm countries (*garmsir*); but it encloses also regions of a moderate temperature (*hawā-i mu'tadil*). The products of Shabānkāra consist chiefly in corn, cotton, dates, (dry) grapes and other fruits; at Darābdjird mineral salt is found. Among the most fertile districts are those of Zarkān and of Burk. The revenues (*huḳūḳ-i dīwānī*) during the Seldjūḳ rule amounted to more than 2,000,000 dinārs, but at the time Mustawfī wrote ($\pm 740 = 1340$) they only came to 266,100 dinārs. The country abounded in strong places, e. g. Ig, Iṣṭabānān (destroyed by the Atābeg Cāwuli, rebuilt later on), Burk. At the time of Mustawfī, the fortifications of Darābdjird were ruined, but the mountain-pass of Tang-i Ranba, to the east of the town, had a strong castle. In the chapter on the Muzaffarid dynasty, intercalated in the manuscript of Mustawfī's *Tārīḫ-i Guzida*, facsimilized by Browne (G. M. S., XIV/i.

665/666), there is also mention of the fortifications of *Shabānkāra*, the fertility of that country ("beautiful and cultivated like the garden of Iram"), its mills, *bāzārs*, etc.

The *Shabānkāra* tribe were Kurds; in Ibn al-Balkhī's time (early sixth [twelfth] century) there were five subdivisions of them, viz. the *Ismā'īlī*, the *Rāmānī*, the *Karzuwī*, the *Mas'ūdī* and the *Shakānī*. They were herdsmen, but also intrepid warriors, who more than once, in the course of history, became a power to be reckoned with. Their chiefs boasted descent from *Ardashīr*, the first *Sāsānīan*, or even from the legendary king *Minūtīhr*. Leaving aside the exploits of the *Shabānkāra* in *Sāsānīan* times (as e.g. the fact that *Yazdedjird III* is said to have taken refuge among them at the time of the Muslim invasion), the history of the *Shabānkāra* begins at the epoch of the decline of *Būyid* power.

The *Ismā'īlīs* were regarded as the most noble in descent; their chiefs are said to descend from *Minūtīhr* and to have held in *Sāsānīan* times the function of *Ispāhbads*. The first time, so far as we know, this tribe came into collision with a great Muslim power was in the days of the *Chaznawid Mas'ūd* (421/1030—431/1040), whose general *Tāsh Farrāsh* drove them from the environs of *Isfahān*; so they were compelled to remove southward. But now they came within the sphere of *Būyid* influence. The *Būyids* not suffering their presence, they had to migrate once more, until they settled in the *Darābdjird* district. Ibn al-Balkhī gives the history of their ruling family at some length. It may be sufficient to state that in the course of the quarrels which arose among the kinsmen one of them, *Salk b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā*, called to his aid the mighty *Faḍlūya* of the *Rāmānīs*; at the time Ibn Balkhī wrote, *Salk's* son *Ḥasūya* was the ruler or the *Ismā'īlīs*, but his kinsmen contested his supremacy.

The *Karzuwī Shabānkāra*, taking advantage of the decline of the power of the *Būyids*, obtained *Kāzerūn* but were driven out of it by *Čawulī* when he made his expedition in *Fārs*. The *Mas'ūdīs* also came to some power in the days of *Faḍlūya*; the *Karzuwī* chief *Abū Sa'd* had also served under that *Rāmānī* ruler. For some time the *Mas'ūdīs* possessed *Firūzābād* and part of *Shāpūr Khura*, but they were no match for the *Karzuwīs*, whose chief, *Abū Sa'd*, defeated and put to death *Amīrūya*, the *Mas'ūdī* prince. When, later on, *Čawulī* ruled *Fārs*, he installed *Amīrūya's* son *Vištāsf* as ruler of *Firūzābād*. The *Shakānīs*, rapacious mountaineers of the coastland, present no historical interest. They also were subdued by *Čawulī*.

Historically the most important tribe is the *Rāmānīs*, to whom belonged *Faḍlūya* (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 48, calls him *Faḍlūn*), the mightiest Amīr of the *Shabānkāra*. This man, the son of a certain 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aiyūb, who was the chief of his tribe, rose to the rank of *Sipāhsālār* in the service of the *Šāhib 'Adil*, the wazīr of the *Būyid* ruler of *Fārs*. Even before this time the *Būyids* had been troubled by the *Shabānkāra*. The *Ta'rikh-i Gusiḍa* (ed. Browne, p. 432) mentions an insurrection of a certain *Ismā'īl* of *Shabānkāra* against the king al-Imād li-Dīn-Allāh *Abū Kālīndjār* (416/1025—440/1048). This prince was succeeded by his eldest son *Abū Naṣr*, who died in 447 (1055) and left the throne to his younger brother *Abū Maṣṣūr*, the royal master of the *Šāhib 'Adil*.

Abū Maṣṣūr put to death this wazīr, whereupon *Faḍlūya* rose in rebellion. He succeeded in capturing the king himself and his mother, the *Saiyida Khurāsūya*. *Abū Maṣṣūr* was confined in a stronghold near *Shīrāz*, where he was murdered in 448 (1056); the *Saiyida* was, by order of *Faḍlūya*, suffocated in a bath. The *Shabānkāra* chief, now ruler of *Fārs*, soon came into collision with the *Seldjūq* power. After fighting without success against *Kāwurd*, the brother of *Alp Arslān*, he submitted to the latter, from whom he received the governorship of *Fārs*. *Faḍlūya* afterwards revolted; the stronghold of *Khurshah*, to which he had betaken himself, was besieged and taken by the great *Nizām al-Mulk*, and *Faḍlūya*, after many vicissitudes, captured and executed (464/1071). Such is in substance the account of Ibn al-Balkhī, a younger contemporary. Ibn al-Athīr represents these events somewhat differently (x. 48/49; the *Kurd Faḍlūn*, who, according to Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 289, held part of *Ādharbaidjān* and raided the *Khazars* in 421/1030, cannot, of course, be identified with the *Shabānkāra* chief). With the *Faḍlūya*-affair is connected without any doubt, the expedition of *Alp Arslān* to *Shabānkāra* of the year 458/1066, mentioned by al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Šudūr* (G. M. S., New Ser., vol. ii.), p. 118.

The *Shabānkāra* were to be for many years a nuisance to the countries of *Kirmān* and *Fārs*. In 492 (1099), supported by the prince of *Kirmān*, *Irān-Šāh b. Kāwurd*, they defeated the *Amīr Unar*, who was wazīr of *Fārs* from the part of the *Sultān Barkiyārūkh*. About these times the struggles of the *Atābeg Čawulī* with the *Shabānkāra* begin. This prince, *Fakhr al-Dīn Čawulī*, who died in the year 510/1116 (the *Ta'rikh-i Gusiḍa* wrongly places his death under the rule of *Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh*), governed *Fārs* on behalf of the *Seldjūq* ruler of *Irāk*, *Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh*. The *Shabānkāra* *Amīr al-Ḥasan b. al-Mubārīz Khusrāw* refused to pay homage; thereupon *Čawulī* attacked him suddenly. *Khusrāw* had a narrow escape, being saved by the help of his brother *Faḍlū*. Now *Čawulī* subdued *Fasā* and *Djāham* in *Fārs*; thereupon he besieged for some time the stronghold where *Khusrāw* had taken refuge, but perceiving that the siege would be a long and hard one he came to terms with the *Shabānkāra* chief. Later *Khusrāw* accompanied the *Atābeg* on his expedition to *Kirmān*, the king of which had sheltered the prince of *Darābdjird*, *Ismā'īl*. In this connection Ibn al-Athīr mentions the fact that *Čawulī* requested the king of *Kirmān* to hand over some *Shabānkāra* forces who had taken refuge to him.

After these events the *Shabānkāra* seem to have kept quiet during the rule of *Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh*, but new troubles arose when under the following king, *Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad* (511/1117—525/1131), the wazīr *Nāṣir b. 'Alī al-Darkazīnī* began to illtreat these tribes also. This caused an insurrection during which the *Shabānkāra* wrought great damage. For the time up to the *Kirmān* affair there may be noted the following data: In the service of the *Salghārī* *Atābeg Sunkur*, the *Kurd Muḥammad Abū Tāhīr*, who afterwards became the first independent sovereign of the Greater *Lūr* dynasty (he died 555/1160), made himself meritorious by a victory on the chiefs (*hukkām*) of *Shabānkāra*. In 564/1168 the *Shabānkāra* sheltered *Zangī b. Daklā*, who was expelled from *Fārs* by the ruler of *Khuzistān*.

We now enter on the most glorious period of *Shabānkāra* history, which, however, lasted only a few years. The *Shabānkāra* chief Kutb al-Dīn Mubārīz and his brother Nizām al-Dīn Mahmūd, Amīrs of Īg, availed themselves of the disturbances which arose in Kirmān after the extinction of the ruling Seldjuk dynasty of that country. They responded to the call of the wazīr Nāsiḥ al-Dīn, who solicited their aid against the Ghuzz. Contrary to the intention of the wazīr, but assisted by the citizens, they occupied before giving battle to the Ghuzz the capital Bardasir and so secured the dominion of Kirmān (597 = 1200/1201). The two Amīrs now defeated the Ghuzz, but the strained relations between these rulers of Īg and the Atābeg of Fārs compelled them to return to their realm after having appointed as their *nā'ib* one of the nobles of Kirmān. Thereupon the Ghuzz appeared once more to repeat their ravages. One of the Kirmāni Amīrs, Hurmuz Tādī al-Dīn Shāhān-shāh, concluded a treaty with them. Nizām al-Dīn marched against him from Īg; in the battle which ensued Hurmuz fell and his Turkish allies were routed. Shortly after, Nizām al-Dīn entered Bardasir again. He made himself, however, by his debauchery and his rapacity odious to such a degree that a plot was laid against him. In the night the conspirators took him prisoner with his sons (600 = 1203/1204). They intended thereby to compel the commanders of Mubārīz's garrisons to surrender. These commanders, however, remained in their strongholds and the latter had to be besieged. In the meanwhile a new actor made his appearance on the political stage viz. 'Adjam Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, a protégé of the Khwārizm-shāh [q.v.]. 'Adjam Shāh had concluded an alliance with the Ghuzz who assisted him in his attempts to secure the realm of Kirmān. In short, the course of events was as follows. The prisoner Nizām al-Dīn was sent to the Atābeg of Fārs, but if 'Adjam Shāh expected to remain in the quiet possession of Kirmān, he was disillusioned by a polite message from the Atābeg, Sa'd b. Zangī, to the effect that Sa'd was sending his general 'Izz al-Dīn Faḍlūn to accelerate the reduction of the garrisons mentioned above (600). The troops of Fārs duly arrived and delivered Kirmān definitively from the *Shabānkāra*. An expedition which Mubārīz undertook in revenge had no results except bringing about once more sore devastations.

In 658 (1260) Hūlāgū destroyed Īg and killed the *Shabānkāra* Amir Muẓaffar Muḥammad; afterwards, in the year 694/1295 we find *Shabānkāra* among the countries which, according to the treaty between Baidū Khān and Ghāzān Khān, fell to the lot of Ghāzān. For the year 712/1312 mention is made of an insurrection of the *Shabānkāra* against the authority of Uldjāitu Khān. It was repressed by Sharaf al-Dīn Muẓaffar, who later became the first historically important member of the Muẓaffarid dynasty. It was the princes of that house who definitely put an end to the power of the *Shabānkāra*. In the year 755 or 756 (1354 or 1355) the last *Shabānkāra* ruler, the Malik Ardashīr, refused to obey the orders of the Muẓaffarid Mubārīz al-Dīn. The latter sent his son Mahmūd with an army to chastise the Kurdish prince. Mahmūd subdued the country and obliged Ardashīr to fly. From this time onwards *Shabānkāra* forms a part of the Muẓaffarid empire; incidentally, in the year 765 (1363/1364), we hear of a *ḥakīm* of *Shabān-*

kāra on behalf of the Muẓaffarid kings (G. M. S., XIV/i. 698). After the time of this dynasty mention is found of *Shabānkāra* as one of the fiefs (*kif*) held by Bāisonghur Bahādūr (Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 351).

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History: Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, p. x, 164 sqq.; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, i. 178 sqq. (cf. *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, i. 506); ii. 122; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, x. 48, 49, 192, 362—364; xi. 229; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Kāzwinī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, G. M. S., XIV/i. 432, 433, 466, 538, 591, 619, 620, 622, 639 (cf. Mirkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-Safā*, Bombay 1266, ii. 137), 654 (cf. Mirkhwānd, *op. cit.*, ii. 141), 655, 663, 665, 666 (cf. Mirkhwānd, *op. cit.*, ii. 144), 698, 786; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols*, ed. Quatremère 1836, i. 381, 385, 440—449; *Djihānnumā*, p. 279, 280 (gives the succession of the Amīrs of Īg); Cod. Leiden 1612, fol. 397 v^o., in margin, has a mutilated account of the *Shabānkāra* princes, who are said to have ruled 237 years; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 744; J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchane*, i. 68—70, 233, 234, 237; ii. 105, 136—139, 151; H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 204 sqq.; *J. R. A. S.*, 1912 p. 1 sqq. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-SHĀ'BI, ABU 'AMR 'AMIR B. SHARĀḤIL B. 'AMR AL-SHĀ'BI, traditionist, was one of the many South-Arabians who gained prominence in the early days of Islām. He was descended from the clan Shā'b, which is a branch of the large tribe of Hamdān, and was born in al-Kūfa, where his father Sharāḥil was one of the foremost of the *ḥurrā'* or *Qur'ān* readers. There is a great divergence in the dates assigned as the year of his birth, but we may assume that the date which he himself gives is approximately correct. He stated that he was born in the year of the battle of Djalūlā', which took place in the year 19/640, but, according to another statement, his mother was one of the captives made after that battle, so that the year 20 given by other authorities may be more accurate. He himself tells us that when al-Ḥādjdjādī came as governor to al-Kūfa in the year 75 he had him called to enquire from him about the conditions of the city and finding him well-informed he made him spokesman (*'arif*) of the tribesmen of Hamdān and settled a salary upon him. He kept in favour with al-Ḥādjdjādī till the time of the rebellion of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath (in 81/700) when several of the chief *ḥurrā'* of the city came to him telling him that he, as the foremost of their class in the city, ought to take part in the rising and finally persuaded him to join them. He actually went so far as to address the opposing armies and overwhelm al-Ḥādjdjādī with reproaches. The latter when informed about it said:

"Do not be surprised at this Sha'bi, the villain; if God grant me that I get hold of him, I shall make this world narrower for him than a camel's hide".

Soon after, the army of Ibn al-Ash'ath was defeated (in 83 A. H.) at Dair al-Djamādim and al-Sha'bi to preserve his life went into hiding. When he learned that al-Ḥajjīdādī had granted an amnesty to all who joined the army of Ḳutaiba b. Muslim, which was being raised to be sent to Khurāsān, he obtained through a friend a donkey and provisions and went to Farghāna. Here he remained unknown but was able to get into favour with Ḳutaiba who employed him as secretary. From one of his letters al-Ḥajjīdādī guessed that it was al-Sha'bi who was the composer and commanded Ḳutaiba to send him back to him without delay. Al-Sha'bi had been for a long time on friendly terms with Ibn Abī Muslim, the chamberlain or al-Ḥajjīdādī, and the latter had probably spoken in his favour before al-Sha'bi arrived before the governor. Ibn Abī Muslim and other friends advised al-Sha'bi what excuses to make, but when he came before al-Ḥajjīdādī he silently endured the many reproaches of ill-rewarded favours which he made and then admitted his guilt and stupidity. Al-Ḥajjīdādī, who must have valued his learning perhaps more than his position among his tribesmen, readily forgave him.

His reputation must have reached the caliph 'Abd al-Malik for he sent to al-Ḥajjīdādī to send al-Sha'bi to him and he spent the next few years at the court in Damascus. It is difficult to credit the account of the three years till the death of 'Abd al-Malik as, on the authority of al-Sha'bi himself, we are told that he was employed on two very important missions, one to the Greek emperor to Constantinople and the other to the caliph's brother 'Abd al-'Aziz who was governor of Egypt. The first mission related by al-Sha'bi himself was remarkable on account of the fact that the emperor tried to make the caliph suspicious against his ambassador, in which he was not successful on account of the straightforwardness of al-Sha'bi. The mission to Egypt was of the most honourable character, the caliph recommending the ambassador in flattering terms to his brother. The favour of the caliph did not confine itself to the person of al-Sha'bi, but we are told that thirty other members of his family were with him and all received salaries. After being present at the caliph's death-bed he appears to have gone after the decease of 'Abd al-Malik back to al-Kūfa and died there a short time before the death of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who died in 110/728. Here again the dates given by various authors differ very much; every year from 103 to 110 is mentioned, the latter being probably the right one.

As regards his personal appearance, al-Sha'bi was a slim, little man and he himself attributed it to having been born a twin. His mental qualities must have been great, and in contrast with other theologians he had a sense of humour. The celebrated traditionist al-A'mash was asked why he did not go to hear traditions from al-Sha'bi; he replied: "Because as soon as he sees me coming he makes fun of me and says: Does this look like a man of learning? He looks just like a weaver!" But Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i received him with honour.

Al-Sha'bi is said to have stated that he had heard traditions from more than 500 Companions and the general judgment of critics is very favour-

able as regards his trustworthiness. Among his many pupils was the great lawyer Abū Ḥanīfa whose oldest authority he was, and it is not surprising that his authority is cited no less than 37 times in the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* of Abū Yūsuf, the chief pupil of Abū Ḥanīfa. The passages in which he is cited in the canonical books of traditions are too numerous to be counted. Though he himself did not claim to be a lawyer it was the custom of lawyers in al-Kūfa to go to him for advice. He himself said: "I am not a *faqīh*, but I deliver those principles which have been handed down to me and they judge in accordance with them." He was a strong opponent of judging by analogy (*ra'y*) and examples are quoted by several of his biographers of his refutations of the principles of analogy. It is, however, not only in traditions that he handed down information; we owe to him a great amount of our knowledge of the history of the time of the Umayyads; a glance into the index of the annals of al-Ṭabarī will suffice to confirm this. He himself said that he could recite poetry for a month and not exhaust the store of his knowledge in this branch of learning. He did not compose any books — the time had not yet come —, and he is stated to have said that he had never put a single line in black and white but related all from memory. This can only apply to the transmission of knowledge, as we have from him himself the admission that he acted as secretary to Ḳutaiba.

Bibliography: His name is mentioned in nearly every book dealing with early Islām; the principal sources for his biography are: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Index; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, Index; Ibn al-Kaisarānī, *Djam' baina 'l-Rid'āl*, Haidarābād 1323, p. 377; al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth in *G.M.S.*, 1912, fol. 334 recto; Ibn al-Kaisarānī, *Homonyma*, ed. Leiden 1865, p. 201; Ibn Khallikān, *Cairo* 1310, i. 244; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1328, v. 65–69; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, Haidarābād, i. 69–77. (F. KRENKOW)

SHABIB b. YAZID b. NU'AIM al-SHAIBĀNĪ, a Khāridjī leader. He belonged to the region of al-Mawṣil, to which his family had migrated from the oasis of al-Laṣaf in the Kufa desert, and was born in Dhu 'l-Hijja 25 (Sept./Oct. 646) or 26 (Sept./Oct. 647). In the beginning of 76 (695) he joined Ṣāliḥ b. Musarraḥ, the leader of the Khāridjīs in Dārā between Naṣībīn and Mārdīn and when the latter was slain on 17th Djumādā I (2 Sept. 695) in battle against the troops of al-Ḥajjīdādī [q. v.] under al-Ḥārith b. 'Umayra al-Hamdānī at the village of al-Mudabbadī between al-Mawṣil and al-'Irāq, Shabīb assumed command and with the little body that survived fought his way through to the border country belonging to al-Mawṣil. During the whole of the war with the government troops he showed himself a master of guerrilla warfare. He never remained long on the same spot but continually changed his place of abode and was on good terms with the Christian inhabitants of the country. He was therefore easily able to find shelter for his force which was always very small, although the statements of the Arab historians regarding the smallness of the number of his followers in contrast to the strong bodies of government troops seem somewhat exaggerated, and he was always well informed regarding the enemy's movements. After his defeat

of the 'Anaza and the Banū Shaibān, he took his mother who lived on the slope of Mount Sātidamā near Mawṣil and went farther south. Sufyān b. Abi 'l-Āliya al-Khath'amī was defeated at Khānikin and Sawra b. Abdjar (al-Hurr) al-Tamīmī at al-Nahrawān, whereupon al-Ḥajjāj b. al-Asad collected a new army and put al-Djāz b. Sa'īd al-Kindī in command. The latter showed the greatest caution in following up his dangerous enemy, was always on his guard and ready for battle, and entrenched himself at night. An attack made by Shabīb failed. Al-Ḥajjāj b. al-Asad wanted a speedy end to the long struggle, then appointed Sa'īd b. al-Mudjalid al-Hamdānī and ordered him to attack at once, but he was killed. His successor Suwaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa'dī could do nothing and suddenly Shabīb appeared before Kūfa on the same day as al-Ḥajjāj returned from a journey to Baṣra. In the night Shabīb even entered the town and knocked at the gate of the citadel with a mighty blow from his mace, but on the following morning he had disappeared again. Al-Ḥajjāj then sent a body of cavalry under Zahr b. Kais al-Djufī against him; Zahr was however defeated at al-Sailāḥūn and when Zā'ida b. Kudāma, who succeeded him had fallen at Rūdhbar, Shabīb threatened the town of al-Madā'in. A new army was at once equipped and the command given to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Kindī [q. v.] who pursued the same cautious tactics as al-Djāz. As he did not succeed in gaining a decision, al-Ḥajjāj became impatient and replaced him by 'Othmān b. Katan al-Hārithī, who was defeated and killed in 'Dhu 'l-Ḥijjdja 76 (March 696) on the river Hawlāyā. While Shabīb was spending the next three months in the mountains, al-Ḥajjāj again collected a strong army the command of which was given to 'Attāb b. Warḳā' al-Riyāḥī. In the meanwhile al-Madā'in fell to Shabīb without a blow being struck. Soon afterwards he attacked the troops sent against him at Sūk Ḥakama near Kūfa. 'Attāb was killed and Shabīb was once more victorious. He therefore again threatened Kūfa; al-Ḥajjāj, however, had already appealed to the caliph for help. 4,000 men under Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī soon arrived and there was again a battle at Kūfa, in which Shabīb had the worst of it and had to take to flight to save himself. After an indecisive fight at al-Anbār he went to Djūkḥā, i.e. the region of al-Nahrawān, did not stay long there but went to Kirmān. When the Syrians pursuing him approached he went to meet them, crossed the Dūdjal into al-Ahwāz to attack Sufyān but was forced to retreat after a desperate struggle and was drowned while crossing the river (probably at the end of 77 = spring of 697). Shabīb's appearance was in keeping with his almost legendary exploits. He was very tall and is said to have possessed extraordinary physical strength.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SHABWA, a town in South Arabia, 6 hours journey from al-Sifal in the Wādī Djerdān and 2 days' journey (in Ibn al-Mudjāwir 9 parasangs) S.W. of al-'Abr, about 3850 feet above sea-level. The town is mentioned as early as the Ḥaḍramūt dedicatory inscription Osiander 29.6 (הגרהן שבח), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vi. 28, 154; xii. 14, 52) knows it by the name of Sabota as the capital of Ḥaḍramūt. According to him it was built on a high hill and had 60 temples within its walls. According to the authorities from whom C. Landberg got his information about Shabwa, the old town is actually on a hill called Karn, the only elevation in the wide plain, close to the modern settlement. Ruins on a great scale still exist on the top of the hill, enclosed by a wall; large buildings with columns and statues are still standing. Glaser also describes Shabwa as the centre of many ruins between Baiḥān and Shibām.

Al-Bakrī alone among the Arab geographers describes Shabwa as the first town in Ḥaḍramūt; the others transfer it to the region between Baiḥān and Ḥaḍramūt so that they do not include it in the latter. A. Sprenger (p. 306) suggested that this limitation of the geographical conception of Ḥaḍramūt was a natural result of the Ḥimyarite conquest. Shabwa indeed is actually described as a Ḥimyar town. Al-Hamdānī says that the people of Shabwa left the town during the war between Maḍḥidj and Ḥimyar and settled in Ḥaḍramūt. The new settlement was called Shibām after them, originally Shibāh; a *mim* was put in place of the *hā*. According to L. Hirsch this town is 6 days' east of the ancient Shabwa. D. H. Müller in the critical notes to his edition of al-Hamdānī (p. 89) has however described the connection of Shibām and Shabwa as sheer imagination on the part of South Arabian scholars. In any case there is evidence for Shibwa as a second pronunciation alongside of Shabwa. That the latter is older may well be deduced from Pliny's Sabota.

In ancient times Shabwa was the centre of the frankincense trade and of the trade between Egypt and India, which brought to Rome via Ghazza (Gaza) the rarest products of Arabia and China. Shabwa is still connected by three caravan routes with the north. One leads from Nadjrān via 'Elaiḥ, al-Setima, Ruwaik, Šafir, 'Irḳ Musabbāḥ to Shabwa, a second from Nadjrān via Khabb, the Djawf Mārib, 'Irḳ Dukhaim to Shabwa and the third via Mārib, Wādī Ḥarīb, al-Ayādim, Djaww el-Kudaif to Shabwa. The town however no longer plays an important part in commerce and is only of importance for its salt trade. Even in al-Hamdānī's time Shabwa was famous for its salt deposits. The salt-hill called Ḥaid el-Meleḥ, is two hours west of Shabwa and is still being worked; the diggings are open and still confined to the foot of the hill so that there is salt here for centuries still.

The ancient ruins of the city have given rise to many legends. Al-Makrīzī says that there is the tomb of a giant in Shabwa, whose bone from knee to foot measured 13 ells. Yāqūt (iv. 184) mentions that the tomb of the prophet Šāliḥ [q. v.] — which others say is in Mekka — is here and that the footprints of the Prophet's she-camel were to be seen there. As, according to C. Landberg (*Arabica* v. 248) Shabwa has nothing to do with the Sahwa visited by von Wrede — the latter is identified with a Saḥwa in a valley a considerable distance from Shabwa — this tomb cannot be identical with the Ḥimyar tomb described by von Wrede (p. 245). Yāqūt (iii. 257)

besides knows a castle on mount Raima (now the Djebel Rēma) in Yemen also called Shabwa.

Bibliography: E. Osiander, *Zur himjarischen Altertumskunde* in *Z. D. M. G.*, xix. (1865), 238, 252—255; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djaṣirat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884—1891, p. 87; ʿAzīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Šams al-ʿUlūm G. M. S.*, xxiv., Leiden 1916, p. 53; al-Makrīzī, *De valle Hadhramaut*, ed. P. Berlin Noskowsky, Bonn 1866, p. 32; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 257; iv. 184; *Marāṣid al-Iṭtilāʿ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, ii., Leiden 1853, 93 sq.; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 352, ii. 522, 799; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients (Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, III/3)*, Leipzig 1864, p. 140, 142; do., *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 141, 161 sq., 190, 251, 306, 309; do., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*², iii., Berlin 1869, 444, note 1; A. v. Wrede, *Reise in Hadhramaut*, Braunschweig 1873, p. 24, 244, 289; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien Mahra-land und Hadramūt*, Leiden 1897, p. 205; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 152; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, i., Munich 1889, 49; ii., Berlin 1890, 20, 87, 93 sq.; 174, 176, 240, 359, note 2; do., *Reise nach Märib (Sammlung Eduard Glaser, i., ed. D. H. Müller und N. Rhodokanakis)*, Vienna 1913, p. 26; M. J. de Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, p. 8, 17; C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v., Leiden 1898, 239, 247 sq.; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient II, Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 22, 171, 419; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i., Vienna 1922, 125 sq., 132, 181 sq.; do., in *Osterr. Monatschrift f. d. Orient*, xliii., 1917, 338. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHADD (or RAṬṬ AL-MIḤZAM), "ligature", "knot", "girt which is bound"; this is the most important rite in the initiation ceremony practised since at least the twelfth century A. D. in the guilds of artisans (*ḥirfa*, cf. *ṣiṇf*) as well as in certain mystical congregations (cf. *ṭarīqa*). At his initiation before the body of initiates, the candidate (*maṣḥūd*) if he is a Muslim, takes part if required in the recitation of the *fātiḥa*, the 7 *salām*'s, the *naṣḥāʾid* in honour of the Prophet, the latter preceded by his taking a preliminary oath. Then comes the *shadd*; the novice bends down and is "bound" by the initiator (*naḥīb*, *shādd*), either on the body, the head, or the shoulder (cf. the Turkish miniature in *Islam*, vi. 171), with a knot of material, a shawl of silk or wool (*miḥzam*), a cloth handkerchief (*fūṭa*, *mandīl*, *ghaiba*, *zunnār*), or a simple piece of string (*maṣṭūl*). Several successive twists, knots or turns are made in the cord, usually 4 (sometimes 3, 7 or 8); prayers are recited at each twist invoking some patron saint: when there are four of them, the prayer is in honour of the *maṣḥūd*, Gabriel, Muḥammad, ʿAlī and Salmān; in this case, two supplementary knots are added (called *gharṣa*, *shakla*) in honour of Ḥasan and Ḥusain.

The *shadd* is characteristic of the solemn initiation *ʿalā bisāʿ Allāh*, *fī maidān ʿAlī*, *bayn al-fityān*; it binds the initiate, whether he be Muslim, Christian or Jew to the corporation as a body, as the *ʾahd al-ḥirfa* of the mystics binds one to the whole brotherhood; on the other hand, the *takḥāwī*, called "pact without a knot" is a private

pact of brotherhood binding to a single individual only by a kind of foster-brotherhood (cf. *ʾahd al-yad wa ʾl-iḥtād* or *talḥīn*, for the novice mystic).

After the *shadd*, the initiate is sometimes partially shaved (forelock, moustache or beard); then he puts on a special dress (*libās*, *sarāwīl*) in the old guilds; *ḥirḥa* on the shoulders and *ʿādī* [*kuṭāh* or *ḥurmus*, according to Bakrī as early as 570 (1174) or *tāḥiya*] on the head, in the congregations. The initiate's solemn pledge is then taken (*ʾahd*, *bayʿa*, *mubāyaʿa*, *mithāk al-ikhā*), certain esoteric instruction on his new duties is given him with permission to make use of it (*idjāza*). He then takes his place with this brethren on the carpet of initiation (*bisāʿ*, *saḥḥāda*), for the traditional meal (*taṣṭīḥ walīma*).

During the last forty years this rite has begun to disappear with the gradual disappearance of the old guilds. Some congregations (*Risāʿiya* and *Bakfāshiya*), however, have still preserved the solemn *shadd*.

Thorning was the first to study and classify methodically the esoteric manuscripts relating to the guilds, or *kutub al-futuwwa*, which describe this ritual (they are a kind of catechism of initiation, like the masonic handbooks, compiled in vulgar Arabic with some Persian terms: *dastūr* "by your leave", *pīr*, *kār*); the earliest manuscript is dated 844 (1440) but the text is of the xiiith century; an inscription found by van Berchem in Egypt alludes to them as early as 771 (1369); the Caliph Nāṣir (d. 622/1225) is remembered for having based his attempt at an order of chivalry (*libās al-futuwwa*) on the rite of *shadd*, which is found even earlier in 578 (1182) among the *Nubuwwiya* of Damascus, and in 535 (1140) in a guild of thieves of Baghdād (cf. also Ibn al-Djawzī, *Tabṭis Ibtis*, ed. Cairo 1340, p. 42¹).

Its origins are still more remote, if we remember the significance from the fourth century A. H. among the mystics of the words already mentioned *bisāʿ*, *fūṭa*, and especially *futuwwa* [q. v.], this "knightly honour" which no threat nor prayer could turn from regarding their oaths (like Satan damned for his fidelity to the monotheistic pact, which he had taken, according to Ḥallādj, *Ṭawāṣin*, vi. 20—25, Abū Ṭālib al-Makrī, *Kut al-Kutub*, Cairo 1310, ii., p. 82, 1, 8—; Aḥmad Ghazālī quoted in Ibn Djawzī, *Kuṣṣaʿ*, Leiden MS., cod. Warn. 998, f. 117^a sgg.). The appropriation to the *shadd* of *Qurʾān*, vii. 171 and xlviii. 10 seems to be more modern. But certain elements of the ritual itself are ancient, probably of extremist Shīʿa origin. It is not by chance that the sect of the Nuṣairīs who practice initiation as reformed by Khāṣībī and Ṭabarānī in the fourth century A. H., already credits Salmān with the same qualities as initiator as do the guild catechisms describing the *shadd*; besides the oath of secrecy and the right to initiate non-Muslim monotheists point to the Karmaṭians.

Bibliography: H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens auf Grund von "Baṣṭ madad et taufiq (Türkische Bibliothek, xvi.)*, Berlin 1913, p. 1—7, 123—164 and 197—199; this is the standard work; cf. also v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 187; Elia Koudis, in *VII^e Congrès des orientalistes*, Leiden 1884, ii., p. 134; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 1899, ii., p. lxxvii.—lxxxix; Köprülüzaḍe, *Türk Adabiyatında ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, Stamboul 1919, p. 412.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

SHADDĀD, BANU. The Banū Shaddād, of whom there is little record, ruled over Arrān from 340—468—951/952—1075/1067 when most of the country was conquered and annexed by Malik-Shāh. Members of the family continued, however, to hold governorships in various districts, such as Gandja and Ānī, which they purchased from the Seldjūks, at any rate down to the end of the vii/xiii century. They were probably Kurds. The principal towns included in Arrān were Nakhčuwān, Gandja, Tiflis, Damirkapu and Karabāgh. The inhabitants were called لَشْكَر or Lesghians.

In 337/948 the Musāfarid ruler of Ādharbāidjān, the Sallār Marzubān Muḥammad, was captured before the gates of Raiy, whereupon that country was thrown into confusion and any chief who had a following set himself up as independent governor of some town or district. Among these was a certain Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. Kartū, who, having first made himself master of Dabīl by 340/951, became practical ruler of Ādharbāidjān, which he apparently held intact until 344/955 when his power began to decline, and in 360/970 his son succeeded only to the province of Arrān. There was about this time a ruler of Gandja named Faḍlūn who was possibly a brother of Muḥammad b. Shaddād. The son of Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. Kartū was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Dja'far Lashkarī, who reigned for eight years and was succeeded by his brother Marzubān, who after a reign of seven years was killed by another brother named Faḍl b. Muḥammad while out hunting. Faḍl, by his good government, made himself loved of the people, and among his memorable acts was the building of a vast bridge across the river Araxes. He died in 422/1031 after a reign of 47 years and was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā, who, after a reign of three years, was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā Lashkarī, who reigned down to his death in 440/1048. This Abu 'l-Ḥasan was one of the patrons of the poet Kaṭrān [q.v.] in Gandja. He was succeeded by his son Nūshirwān, who, dying three months later, was succeeded by Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. al-Faḍl, of whom more is known than of the other members of this dynasty, for he is mentioned more than once by Kābūs in his *Kābūs-nāma*, and Ibn al-Aṭhīr tells us that he swore allegiance to Tughril when the latter visited Gandja in 446/1054 after his conquest of Tabriz. Abu 'l-Aswār died in 459/1067 and was succeeded by his son al-Faḍl II Minūcihr. Kābūs (*op. cit.*) writing in 468/1075 refers to Faḍlūn b. Abu 'l-Aswār in the past tense, and it would appear that with the death of this Faḍlūn and the annexation of Arrān by Malik Shāh the independence of the Banū Shaddād came to an end, and from this point it is very difficult to follow the history of the family. This Faḍlūn was presumably the patron of this name so often addressed by Kaṭrān, and is also the subject of several anecdotes in the *Kābūs-nāma*. He apparently ruled over Gandja, Ānī and Tovīn.

According to Khanikoff (*Bull. Acad. Petr.*, 1849, vi. 195), al-Faḍl II Minūcihr had two sons, Faḍlūn, who was Amīr of Gandja when that city was captured by Malik Shāh in 481/1088, and Abu 'l-Aswār II Shāwir, who was Amīr of Ānī when that city was captured by King David the Restorer in 518/1124. This Abu 'l-Aswār II Shāwir had a

son Maḥmūd, who had a son Kai-Sultān, of whom we know from an inscription found in Ānī bearing the date 595 (1198), where he calls himself Kai-Sultān b. Maḥmūd b. Shāwir b. Minūcihr al-Shaddādi.

RULERS OF THE HOUSE OF THE BANU SHADDĀD.

1. Muḥammad b. Shaddād, A. H. 340. In Gandja Faḍlūn I;
2. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Dja'far Lashkarī, A. H. 360—368;
3. Marzubān, A. H. 368—375;
4. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad, A. H. 375—422;
5. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā, A. H. 422—425;
6. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā Lashkarī, A. H. 425—440;
7. Nūshirwān b. 'Alī b. Mūsā, A. H. 440;
8. Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad, A. H. 440—459;
9. al-Faḍl Minūcihr b. Shāwir, Faḍlūn II of Gandja;
10. Abu 'l-Muzaffar, Faḍlūn III of Gandja;
11. Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. Minūcihr of Ānī, d. A. H. 468;
12. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Mūsā of Alān, d. A. H. 470;
13. Maḥmūd b. Shāwir b. Minūcihr b. Shāwir b. al-Faḍl of Ānī;
14. Kai-Sultān b. Maḥmūd b. Shāwir of Ānī, still alive in A. H. 595.

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(E. DENISON ROSS)

AL-SHĀDHILĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ABD AL-DJABBĀR AL-SHARĪF AL-ZARWILĪ, a celebrated mystic, founder of the Muslim religious brotherhood or *ṭarīqa* [q.v.] known as the *Shādhilīya* [q.v.], which has itself given rise to some fifteen other brotherhoods like the *Wafā'iya*, the *'Arūsīya*, the *Djāsūliya*, the *Hafnawīya* etc. etc.

He was born, according to some, at Ghemāra near Ceuta about 593 (1196/1197); others say he was born at Shādhilā, a place near the Djabal Zafrān in Tunisia from which he would take his *nisha* of al-Shādhilī. In any case the ethnic al-Zarwīlī would suggest a Moroccan origin. His disciples attributed a nobler origin to him and trace his descent back to the Prophet through the line of al-Ḥasan.

From his youth al-Shādhilī had devoted himself to study with such ardour that he contracted a serious disease of the eyes; perhaps he became blind. Henceforth he devoted himself completely

to the doctrines of the mystic Ṣūfīs (cf. the art. TAṢAWWUF). In Fās he had attended the lectures of the adepts of the great eastern mystic Ḍjunaid, particularly those of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥir-zihim, himself a pupil of Abū Midyān Shu'aib of Tlemcen. But it was only under the influence of the Moroccan Ṣūfī 'Abd al-Salām b. Maṣhish that the subject of our article went to Ifrīkiya to the reign of Tunis to spread his doctrines. Persecuted for his teaching and especially for his influence on the people, he took refuge in Alexandria in Egypt where his popularity extended and increased. According to some of his biographers, he could not leave his house without being followed by crowds. He made many pilgrimages to Mekka, on the last of which he died at Homaithirā while crossing a desert in Upper Egypt (656 = 1258). His tomb, which was an object of great veneration and pilgrimage, is surmounted by a dome, the gift of a Mamlūk Sulṭān of Egypt (Cf. al-Batanūnī, *Rihla* p. 29). Silvestre de Sacy gives another tradition (*Chrestomathie*, ii. 233), according to which he is buried in the region of Mokhā.

Al-Shādhilī led the life of a *Shaiikh* [q. v.] *Sā'ih* or religious man seeking through a wandering life of meditation constant union with the divinity, eternal ecstasy. He taught his disciples the entire devotion of life to the service of God. He recommended them to pray at all hours, in all places and in all circumstances and the practice of *taṣawwuf*; his profession of faith was the *tawhīd*. His immediate pupils had no *khalwa* (a kind of hermitage), nor monastery, nor noisy practices nor juggleries. Among his many disciples the most famous were in Egypt Tādj al-Dīn b. 'Aṭā' Allāh and Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mursī; in the North-west of Africa the most of the Muslim religious brotherhoods claim to follow his teaching.

Al-Shādhilī left a number of works of which the majority are *ḥizb* [q. v.], a kind of formula of prayer for recitation, either regularly or in case of need. They are entitled:

1. *al-Muḥaddima al-ghasiya li 'l-djam'a al-azhariya*; 2. *Kitāb al-Ukhwa*; 3. *Ḥizb al-barr*; 4. *Ḥizb al-baḥr*; 5. *Ḥizb al-kabir*; 6. *Ḥizb al-ṭams 'alā 'uyūn al-aidā*; 7. *Ḥizb al-naṣr*; 8. *Ḥizb al-lutf*; 9. *Ḥizb al-faṭḥ*, also called *Ḥizb al-anwār*; 10. *Salāt al-faṭḥ wa 'l-maghrib*; 11. various prayers or litanies; 12. lastly a *Waṣiya*, a kind of religious charge to his disciples.

Bibliography: M. Ben Cheneb, *Etude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāza du Cheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsy*, N^o. 339, and the Arabic sources cited, Paris 1907; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 449; Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, p. 444; Doutté, *l'Islam algérien*, Algiers 1900, p. 78; Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, i. 424 and passim; Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouans*, Algiers 1884, p. 220. (A. COUR)

SHĀDHILIYA, or **SHĀDHALIYA**, pronounced in Africa *Shāduliya*, Ṣūfī sect called after Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shādhilī, whose title is variously given as Tādj al-Dīn and Taḳī al-Dīn (593–656 A.H.). For the life of this personage see the art. AL-SHĀDHILĪ.

His system. Al-Shādhilī does not appear to have composed any large work, but many sayings, spells and an ode are ascribed to him, and since some of the first are recorded in the work of his

disciple's disciple, Tādj al-Dīn al-Iskandarī, composed in 694, they may be to some extent genuine (see the art. AL-SHĀDHILĪ). The best known of his productions is the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* "Incantation of the Sea", which was reproduced by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i. 41), whence the translation is copied by L. Rinn (*Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 229). Extraordinary powers are ascribed to it by Ḥājjī Khalifa (iii. 58), and its author thought it might have prevented the fall of Baghdād; several commentaries on it are enumerated. Several other incantations and prayers are given in the *Laṭā'if* (ii. 47–66) and the *Mafākhīr* (p. 135 sqq.). The latter of these works also contains fairly lengthy discourses, in some of which the stages through which the *murīd* should pass are described in detail, though the language is, as usual in such cases, not intelligible to the ordinary reader. It would appear from these that al-Shādhilī's aim was in the main the inculcation of the higher morality, such as is found in the works which he approved, viz. the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and the *Kūt al-Kulūb*; and indeed the five principles (*uṣūl*) of his system are given as (1) fear of Allāh in secret and open; (2) adherence to the Sunna in words and deeds; (3) contempt of mankind in prosperity and adversity; (4) resignation to the will of Allāh in things great and small; (5) having recourse to Allāh in joy and sorrow.

It would seem unlikely that it was his intention to found an order in the sense which afterwards became attached to the word *ṭarīqa*. He desired his adherents to pursue the trades and professions in which they were engaged, combining, if possible, their normal activities with acts of devotion. Anecdotes are recorded of men who offered to abandon their employments and follow the saint, who urged them to continue working at the same. Mendicancy was discouraged and even government subsidies for their meeting-houses were, it is asserted, refused. Indeed the erection of *ṣāwīya*'s and similar buildings does not seem to have been contemplated by al-Shādhilī or his successor Abu 'l-'Abbās, who is praised by his biographer for never placing stone on stone. Even the holding of high office with ample emoluments and a luxurious mode of living was not discouraged; and this doctrine, as will be seen, survived till recent times among adherents of the system.

Doubtless the ultimate aim of al-Shādhilī was, as with other Ṣūfīs, *al-fanā*, and the method pursued was the usual one of the religious exercises called *awrād* and *adhkār*. Formulae, as usual, were selected and their repetition a stated number of times enjoined. Lists of these with the ritual appertaining to them are given in the *Mafākhīr* (p. 125, 126). The *shaiikh*, indeed, is said to have adapted his recommendations to the needs of each *murīd* and to have given each permission to follow some other *shaiikh*, if he found his methods more effective. The use of such formulae, however, is not easily separated from the supposed acquisition of miraculous powers, which are described in the *Mafākhīr* (*loc. cit.*): "The least of their (the *Shādhilis*) messengers are blindness, crippling and desolation", but there was some doubt whether they were justified in sending them on their enemies.

Apart from their mysterious knowledge the leaders of the system claimed to be strictly orthodox, and, indeed, when a revelation which one

of the adherents received conflicted with a *sunna* he was told to reject the former in favour of the latter. In spite of this some of al-Shādhilī's assertions incurred the censure of Ibn Taimīya, whose supporters in this matter in their turn incurred the censure of the historian al-Yāfi'ī (iv. 142).

The three specialties which the members of the sect claimed were: (1) that they are all chosen from the "well-guarded Tablet", i. e. have been predestined from all eternity to belong to it; (2) that ecstasy with them is followed by sobriety, i. e. does not permanently incapacitate them from active life; (3) that the *Kuṭb* will throughout the ages be one of them.

Spread of the system. The absence at the first of religious buildings renders it difficult to trace the progress of the community. It seems clear that the first group of adherents was formed in Tunis; al-Shādhilī's successor, however, Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mursī (d. 686) lived 36 years in Alexandria, "without once seeing the face of the governor or sending to him" (*Laṭā'if*, i. 128), and, as has been seen, did not lay stone on stone; still 'Alī Pasha Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ Dīdīda*, vii. 69) records the existence there of a mosque bearing his name (restored 1189 = 1775/1776), doubtless built by his disciples; also of one called after his disciple Yaḳūt al-'Arshī (d. 707) and a third called after their joint disciple Tādj al-Dīn b. 'Aṭā al-Iskandari (d. 709; author of the *Laṭā'if*). The first of these is called a *djāmi'* and is richly endowed. There are *mawlid* celebrated in honour of the first two of these persons. The Pasha states that the mosques are chiefly frequented by Maghrebines; he mentions a mosque belonging to the order in Cairo, which, however, is in ruins. It is probable that the adherents of al-Shādhilī were at all times to be found chiefly to the West of Egypt; but H. H. Jessup (*Fifty-three Years in Syria*, ii. 537) asserts that they were in his time numerous in Syria and advocated the reading of the Old and New Testaments and fraternisation with Christians. In 1892 a lady adherent, "from Koraun in the Bukaa, North of Mt. Hermon", set out on a preaching tour in Syria; she advocated reform and an upright life and insisted that all, Muslims, Christians and Jews, are brothers. She preached in the mosques in Damascus, Hasbeia, Sidon, Tyre and other cities, rebuking the sins of the people. It would seem certain that religious toleration of this sort by no means coincided with the views of the founder of the order.

It was reported by C. Niebuhr (*Reisebeschr. nach Arabien*, i. 439; French transl., i. 350) that in Mokhā in S. Arabia *Shaiḫh* al-Shādhilī was regarded as the patron saint of the place and, indeed, the originator of coffee-drinking; and S. de Sacy afterwards (*Chrest. Arabe*, ii. 274) produced from the *Djīhān-numā* a passage relating how al-Shādhilī came to Arabia in 656, and the series of miracles which led to the production of coffee becoming the staple industry of Mokhā. It is more probable that the patron of Mokhā is a later member of the sect, 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Kurashī (whose verses are cited in the *Mafāḥhir*, p. 7), a disciple (and probably cousin) of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Dā'im b. al-Mailaḥ (d. 797), head of the order in his time (Ritter, *Erdkunde, Arabien*, ii. 572). It is not clear from Niebuhr's account how far the people of Mokhā in his time observed the Shādhilī ritual or be-

longed to the community. Since Niebuhr's time the place has seriously diminished in importance, being now "a dead-alive mouldering town whose trade as a port for coffee and hides has been killed" (G. Wyman Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, 1915, p. 24).

The main seat of the Shādhilī community appears then to have been Africa west of Egypt, and chiefly Algeria and Tunisia. Materials for the religious history of this region are at present scanty; from a MS. called *Ṭabaḳāt Wad Daif-ulla*, written 1805 A. D., MacMichael produces the following excerpt relating to a *shaiḫh* who died A. H. 1155 (*A History of the Arabs of the Sudan*, ii. 250):

"It was characteristic of him (*Khogali* b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm) that he held to the Book and the Law [*sunna*] and followed [the precepts and example of] the Shādhaliya Sayyids as to word and deed. And he used to wear gorgeous raiments, such as a green robe of Baṣra, and upon his head a red fez [*ṭarbuṣh*], and round it as a turban rich muslim stuffs. For footwear he wore shoes [*ṣarmūga*]; and he fumigated himself with India-wood [*el 'ūd el hindi*], and perfumed himself, and put Abyssinian civet on his beard and on his clothes. All this he did in imitation of Sheikh Abu' el Ḥasan el Shādhali And it was remarked to him that the Qādirīa only wear cotton shirts and scanty clothes, and he replied 'My clothes proclaim to the world "We are in no need of you," but their clothes say "We are in need of you".'

The same notice contains the names of some important members of the order; the *shaiḫh*'s conduct, as will be seen, agrees exactly with the anecdotes recorded in the *Laṭā'if*, and the same is the case with what is told in the next paragraph:

"It was also characteristic of him that he never rose up to salute any of the great ones of the earth, neither the *AWLĀD 'AGIB*, the rulers of his country, nor the kings of GA'AL, nor any of the nobility, excepting only two men, the successor [*Khalifa*] of Sheikh Idrīs and the successor of Sheikh Ṣuḡhayerūn".

In the nineteenth century the order received considerable extension through the efforts of one "Si Maisum" Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, born about 1820 among the *Gharib*, a tribe located halfway between Bogar and Miliana, whose biography is given in detail by A. Joly in the *Revue Africaine*, 1906, 1907. After studying under certain provincial teachers he went to Mazouma, the centre of Muslim studies in Algeria. Having acquired what was to be learned there, he went back to the *Gharib* among whom he founded two mosques, in one of which he taught the *Kur'ān* and *Fikh*, in the other Grammar and Logic. Having associated with members of different orders, he hovered between the Madaniya and the Shādhiliya; in 1860 he visited the shrine of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tha'ālībī near Algiers, and this saint having been a Shādhilī, Si Maisum became attracted to their doctrine; a member of the order advised him to join it and visit the *Shaiḫh* of the order, Adda, at Djabal al-Luḥ in Walad Lakreud. There he stayed for a time, after which he returned to the *Gharib*. By special providence he had been spared the preliminary trials imposed on other aspirants, and instead of starting his career in the order as a *muḥaddam*, he was elevated shortly

after joining to the dignity of *Shaikh*. About 1865 he founded a *zāwiya* at Bogari and divided his time between the *Ḡharib* and Bogari, to the latter of which he ultimately withdrew. In 1866 owing to the death of Adda he became *Shaikh* of the *Shādhiliya* in Central Algeria, though at first he had to contest it with Adda's son. He was offered the headship of a government madrasa at Algiers, but declined. This invitation, however, brought him the acquaintance of European officials, whose respect he enjoyed till his death in 1883. By this time his sphere of influence had extended over the greater part of the Tell Oranais and the whole of Western Algeria. Places where he had *khulafā'* were Mustaghanem, Mascara, Relizane, Nedroma, Oran, Tlemcen. After his death some of these *khulafā'* made themselves independent and the unity of control which he had established came to an end.

Statistics for the end of the last century are given by Depont and Coppolani (p. 454), whence it appears that the number of adherents in Algiers and Constantine did not reach 15,000, with 11 *zāwiya*'s. The communities which split off from the *Shādhiliya* are there given as 13 in number, and among these the *Shaikhīya*, *Taibiya* and *Der-kāwiya* are said to be the most numerous.

Although when the community started there appears to have been little in the way of organisation contemplated and the connection between adherents was loose, it is evident that in course of time the normal organisation of a *ṭarīqa* was introduced.

Literature of the Order. It is noticed that neither *Shādhilī* himself nor his successor Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mursī published any treatises, whereas his disciple Yāqūt al-'Arshī seems to have composed *Manāḳib*, and their joint disciple Tādj al-Dīn al-Iskandarī was the author of several works, of which two, *Laṭā'if al-Minan*, dealing with the first two heads of the sect, and *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa-Misbāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, are printed on the margin of the *Laṭā'if al-Minan* of al-Sha'rānī (Cairo 1321). The former of these is the main source of our knowledge of al-*Shādhilī*'s career. A biography of al-*Shādhilī* which cannot have been much later was the *Durrat al-Asrār* of Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Ḥimyarī b. al-Ṣabbāgh, which is excerpted in the *Mafāḥkir*. Another biography called *al-Kawākib al-Zahira*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Kādir b. Mu'azil (d. 894), was excerpted by Haneberg (*Z.D.M.G.*, vii. 14 sqq.). The general account of the system called *al-Mafāḥkir al-'Alīya fi 'l-Ma'āthir al-Shādhiliya* (printed Cairo 1314) by Ibn Iyāḍ is later than al-Suyūṭī. For doctrine this work refers to two *Risāla* called respectively *al-Uṣūl* and *al-Ummahāt* by Sīdī Zarrūk (Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Fāsī, d. 896). Haneberg, *loc. cit.*, mentions the *Shādhilī* poet 'Alī b. Wafā' (d. 807) and his father Muḥammad Wafā', author of certain mystical works, and a "diwan, of which the odes breathe for the greater part the spirit of joyous devotion to Allah, without disturbing admixture". A poem called *Hāl al-Sulūk* by the Nāṣir al-Dīn who has already been mentioned is noticed by Ḥādījī Khalīfa. A *Shādhilī* writer, Dāwūd b. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm of Alexandria (d. 733), is mentioned by al-Suyūṭī in *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 246.

The chief European literature has been noticed above.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

SHADJAR AL-DURR is famous as the only woman to sit on the throne of Egypt in the Muslim period. She was the favourite slave of Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb [q. v.] who had her sent to his cousin al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd in 620 (1223) during his imprisonment. After she had born a son named Khalīl, she became Sultāna with the title *Umm Khalīl* (mother of Khalīl). Khalīl died when about 6 years old. When Aiyūb died in Maṣūra in 647 (1249) during the war with Louis IX of France, she concealed his death and had his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrān Shāh brought back from Mesopotamia. Sultān Aiyūb's death was not announced till his son's arrival. In place of being grateful to her for her help Tūrān Shāh treated her shamefully. Since he had come of age he had not lived for any considerable period at a time in Egypt and he could not come to terms with the Mamlūks, as he was incapable of serious work in those difficult times and led an extravagant life with his own Mamlūks whom he had brought from Mesopotamia. He particularly brought down the wrath of Shadjar al-Durr on himself by demanding from her an account of Aiyūb's wealth, which she said she had spent for the war against the Franks. The general discontent led to a conspiracy against Tūrān Shāh as a result of which he was killed at the beginning of 648 (1250). The followers of Shadjar al-Durr had such confidence in her wisdom and ability that they put the government in her hands. She accepted their choice and on coins and edicts called herself al-Mu'ṭaṣimiya (vassal of the Caliph al-Mu'ṭaṣim in Baghdad), al-Ṣālihiya (the slave of Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb), Umm Khalīl (from her deceased son), 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn (preservation of the world and of religion, i. e. with the sovereign title), Malikat al-Muslimin (queen of the Muslims). The Emir Aibak with whom she was already closely associated was appointed her Atābeg (commander-in-chief). While she was recognised in Egypt, the Syrian Emirs declined to do so and handed over Damascus to Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II. The Caliph took the side of the Syrians and ordered the Egyptian emirs to chose a Sultān. The latter could not evade this command and in the same year chose the Atābeg 'Izz al-Dīn Aibak who thereupon married Shadjar al-Durr. Her period of sole rule had lasted 80 days. As the Aiyūbid princes in Syria were not yet pacified, a scion of their family, Mūsā, a great-grandson of Kāmil was elected Sultān along with him. He was a boy of six and had of course no influence at all, but his name appeared on coins and edicts. Four years later he was banished and went to Constantinople where he received a friendly welcome from the Emperor.

While Aibak was almost entirely occupied with campaigns against the Sultān of Aleppo or rebel Mamlūks and lived in the town of al-Ṣālihiya near the Syrian frontier, his queen reigned uncontrolled at home. She had only to deal with the shameless greedy Mamlūks of her first husband, even when it was against Aibak's interest. In her thirst for power, she prevented the latter from visiting his first wife and his son and when later she heard that he was thinking of ridding himself of her and seeking the hand of a Mesopotamian princess of the Zangid house, she decided to anticipate him and offered her hand to the Sultān of Aleppo. It was to some extent a race between

the two to see which would get rid of the other first. By a great display of affection she managed to dispel Aibak's suspicions and to entice him into her palace in the citadel of Cairo. There he was murdered in his bath (655 = 1257) by two Mamlūks devoted to her. When he was attacked and called to her for help, she is said to have struck him with a wooden shoe. Others say that she repented and vainly tried to prevent the murder. But she did not succeed in finding a Mamlūk officer who would share the responsibility with her; all turned in disgust from the murderess. She was seized by the other party and beaten to death with wooden shoes by the slave women of Aibak's first wife. Her body was thrown into the castle moat and lay unburied for days. Later it was placed in the little mausoleum which still stands in Cairo. She was the most vigorous woman that the Muslim period in Egypt had seen but she did nothing good during her reign.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidā' in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. Orientaux*, vol. i., passim; al-Makrizi, *Khitāṭ*, ii. 237—248; Sulūk, transl. by Quatremère, i. 72 sqq.; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 483—487; iv. 4—8. On her tomb see *M.I.F.A.O.*, xix. 111 sqq., 728 (with some important notes on the Sultāna by European writers in *Anm.* 3), 730.

(SOBERNHEIM)

SHAFĀ'A (A.), intercession, mediation. He who makes the intercession is called *Shāfi'* and *Shafī'*. The word is also used in other than theological language, e. g. in laying a petition before a king (*Lisān*, s. v.), in interceding for a debtor (*Bukhārī*, *Istikrād*, bāb 18). Very little is known of intercession in judicial procedure. In the *Ḥadīth* it is said: "He who by his intercession puts out of operation one of the *ḥudūd* Allāh is putting himself in opposition to Allāh" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 70, 82; cf. *Bukhārī*, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 54; *Hudūd*, bāb 12).

The word is usually found in the theological sense, particularly in eschatological descriptions; it already occurs in the *Qur'ān* in this use. Muḥammad became acquainted through Jewish and more particularly Christian influences with the idea of eschatological intercession. In Job xxxiii., 23 sqq. (the text is corrupt) the angels are mentioned who intercede for man to release him from death. In Job v. 1, there is reference to the saints (by whom here also angels are probably meant) to whom man turns in his need. Abraham is a mortal saint whom we find interceding in the Old Testament (in the story of Sodom and Gomorra).

In the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature we again find the same classes of beings with the same function. The angels (*Test. Adam*, ix. 3), the saints (2. *Maccab.*, xv. 14; *Assumptio Moisi*, xii. 6). In the early Christian literature the same idea repeatedly occurs, but here we have two further classes of beings; the apostles and the martyrs (cf. Cyril of Jerusalem in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. xxxiii., 1115; patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs; cf. vol. xlvi., 850; lxi: 581).

In the *Qur'ān* intercession occurs mainly in a negative context. The day of judgment is described as a day on which no *shafā'a* will be accepted (*Sūra*, ii. 45, 255). This is directed against Muḥammad's enemies as is evident from *Sūra* x. 19:

"they serve not Allāh but what brings them neither ill nor good and they say these are our intercessors with Allāh"; cf. also *Sūra* lxxiv. 49: "the intervention of those who make *shafā'a* will not avail them".

But the possibility of intercession is not absolutely excluded. *Sūra* xxxix. 45 says: Say: the intercession belongs to Allāh, etc. Passages are fairly numerous in which this statement is defined to mean that *shafā'a* is only possible with Allāh's permission: "Who should intervene with Him, even with His permission" (*Sūra* ii. 256, cf. x. 3). Those who receive Allāh's permission for *shafā'a* are explained as follows: The *shafā'a* is only for those who have an '*ahd* with the Merciful (*Sūra* xix. 90) and xliii. 86: "They whom they invoke besides Allāh shall not be able to intercede except those who bear witness to the truth". XXI, 28 is remarkable where the power of intercession is evidently credited to the angels: "they say the Merciful has begotten offspring. Nay they are but His honoured servants who and they offer not to intercede save on behalf of whom it pleaseth Him". It appears that the angels are meant by the honoured servants. *Sūra* xl. 7 (cf. xlii. 3) is more definite: "Those who bear the throne and surround it sing the praises of their Lord and believe in Him and implore forgiveness for those who believe (saying) "Our Lord; who embrace all things in mercy and knowledge; bestow forgiveness on them that repent and follow Thy path and keep them from the pains of Hell".

Such utterances paved the way for an unrestricted adoption by Islām of the principle of *shafā'a*. In the classical *Ḥadīth* which reflects the development of ideas to about 150 A. H. we already have ample material. *Shafā'a* is usually mentioned here in eschatological descriptions. But it should be noted that the Prophet even in his lifetime is said to have made intercession. 'Ā'isha relates that he often slipped quietly from her side at night to go to the cemetery of Bakī' al-Ḡharkad to beseech forgiveness of Allāh for the dead (Muslim, *Ḍiḥā'iz*, trad. 102; cf. Tirmidhī, *Ḍiḥā'iz*, bāb 59). Similarly his *istighfār* is mentioned in the *ṣalāt al-djānā'iz* (e. g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv. p. 170) and its efficacy explained (*ibid.*, p. 388). The prayer for the forgiveness of sins then became or remained an integral part of this *ṣalāt* (e. g. Abū Ishāk al-Shirāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed. J. W. T. Juynboll, p. 48) to which a high degree of importance was attributed. Cf. Muslim, *Ḍiḥā'iz*, trad. 58: "If a community of Muslims, a hundred strong, perform the *ṣalāt* over a Muslim and all pray for his sins to be forgiven him, this prayer will surely be granted"; and Ibn Ḥanbal, iv. 79, 100, where the number a hundred is reduced to three rows (*ṣufuf*).

Muḥammad's intercession at the day of judgment is described in a tradition which frequently occurs (e. g. *Bukhārī*, *Tawhīd*, bāb 19; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 322, 326—329; Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, *Sūra* xvii., trad. 19; Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 4) the main features of which are as follows: On the day of judgment Allāh will assemble the believers; in their need they turn to Adam for his intercession. He reminds them, however, that through him sin entered the world and refers them to Nūḥ. But he also mentions his sins and refers them to Ibrāhīm. In this way they appeal in vain to the great apostles of God until 'Isā finally advises them to

appeal to Muḥammad for assistance. The latter will gird himself and with Allāh's permission throw himself before Him. Then he will be told "arise and say, intercession is granted thee". Allāh will thereupon name him a definite number to be released and when he has led these into Paradise, he will again throw himself before his Lord and the same stages will again be repeated several times until finally Muḥammad says: "O Lord now there are only left in hell those who, according to the Qur'ān, are to remain there eternally".

This tradition is in its different forms the locus classicus for the limitation of the power of intercession to Muḥammad to the exclusion of the other apostles. In some traditions it is numbered among the charismata allotted to him (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 56).

Muḥammad's *shafā'a* then is recognised by the *idjmā'*; it is based on Sūra xvii. 81: "Perhaps the Lord shall call thee to an honourable place"; and on xciii. 5: "and thy Lord shall give a reward with which thou shalt be pleased" (al-Rāzī's commentary i. 351; cf. earlier, Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 320). Muḥammad is said to have been offered the privilege of *shafā'a* by a message from his Lord as a choice; the alternative was the assurance that half of his community would enter paradise. Muḥammad, however, preferred the right of intercession, doubtless because he thought he would get a considerable result from it (Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Kiyāma wa 'l-Rak'ah* wa 'l-wara', bāb 13; Ibn Ḥanbal, iv. 404).

The traditions describe very vividly how the "people of hell" (*djahannaniyūn*) are released from their fearful state. Some have had to suffer comparatively little from the flames; others on the other hand are already in part turned to cinders. They are sprinkled with water from the well of life and they are restored to a healthy condition (e.g. Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 320).

In another class of traditions it is said that every prophet has a "supplication" (*da'wā*) and that Muḥammad keeps his secret in order to intercede with Allāh for his community on the day of judgment (cf. e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 313; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 334 sq.).

Quite in keeping with the Christian view already mentioned, Islām, however, was not content with Muḥammad as the advocate. Along with him we find the angels, the apostles, the prophets, the martyrs and the saints. (Bukhārī, *Tawhīd*, bāb 24; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 94 sq., 325 sq., v. 43; Abū Dā'ūd, *Dihād*, bāb 26; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii. 6 on Sūra ii. 255; xvi. 85 on Sūra xix. 90; xxix. 91 on Sūra lxiv. 49; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Kuṭ al-Kulūb*, i. 139).

Finally after all these classes have said their word, there is still Allāh's *shafā'a* (Bukhārī, *Tawhīd*, bāb 24; cf. Sūra, xxxix. 44). Muḥammad's pre-eminence remains inasmuch as he is the first to intercede for his community (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 330, 332; Abū Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-Sunna*, bāb 13).

Finally the question for whom intercession is effective is discussed. While it is generally said 70,000 will enter paradise through the intercession of one man of Muḥammad's community (e.g. Dārimī, *Rikāḥ*, bāb 87; cf. Ḥanbal, iii. 63, 469 sq.), the answer is already given as early as classical tradition that *shafā'a* holds good for those who ascribe no associate to Allāh (Bukhārī, *Tawhīd*, bāb 19;

Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Kiyāma*, bāb 13). To this group also belong those who have committed great sins (*Ahl al-Kabā'ir*). "The prophet of God said: My intercession is for the great sinners of my community" (Abū Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-Sunna*, bāb 20; Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Kiyāma*, bāb 11). This view, however, is not shared by the Mu'tazila (cf. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf* on ii. 45; no *shafā'a* for the *uṣūl*). Al-Rāzī deals very fully with the Mu'tazilī view in his commentary on the Qur'ān (i. 351 sqq., vi. 404) according to which there is no such thing as *shafā'a*, as no one is released from hell who is once thrown into it. For the denial of *shafā'a* they appeal to some of the verses of the Qur'ān already quoted above.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted in the text cf. Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. and transl. by Gautier (Geneva, Basle and Lyons 1878), text p. 66; transl. p. 56; M. Wolff, *Mohammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 100 sqq.; R. Leszynski, *Mohammedanische Traditionen über das letzte Gericht*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1909, p. 50 sqq.; cf. also Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, ii. 308 sqq.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Ahwā' wa 'l-Nihāl*, Cairo 1317—1321, iv. 63 sqq.; *Dictionary of the technical Terms*, ed. Nassau Lees and Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, p. 762.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-SHAFĀḤ (A.), also AL-SUBḤ and AL-FADJR, dawn and twilight, which are of special importance in the Muslim world and in Muslim astronomy because they settle two of the principal times for prayer. Al-Bīrūnī gives an excellent description of the phenomena in the Mas'ūdī *Kānūn* (Maḡ. 8, bāb 13). In the morning a long thin column of light appears first, which is more or less inclined to the horizon according to the latitude of the place. This is called the false dawn *al-Subḥ al-Kādhīb* or *al-Fadjr al-Kādhīb* or from its shape *Dhanab al-Sirḥān* "wolf's tail" also "dog's, or gazelle's tail". This is followed by the true dawn *al-Subḥ al-Ṣādīq*, first as a faint white light which gradually extends in the form of a crescent along the horizon; it marks the time for the beginning of the fifth or morning prayer. Next comes the red dawn. The same phenomena occur in the evening but in the reverse order. That the *Dhanab al-Sirḥān* is not so frequently noticed in the evening as in the morning is, according to Muslim scholars, due to the fact that in the evening people are going to rest while in the morning they are beginning work; Redhouse has definitely shown that first false dawn corresponds to the zodiacal light; he also shows that it is mentioned as early as Qur'ān, ii. 183, i.e. about 630 A. D. and in al-Djāwharī's dictionary and elsewhere. It was therefore noticed earlier in the east than in the west. Numerous Persian verses deal with the dawn and twilight (cf. Redhouse, *op. cit.*). He also gives the Persian and Turkish names.

Shāfi'is, Mālikis and Ḥanbalis all agree that the end of the third and beginning of the time of the fourth prayer occurs at the moment when the red shimmer *al-Shafaḥ al-Aḥmar* disappears, while Abū Ḥanifa relies on the white one. His pupils Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaibānī follow other schools.

Various Arab astronomers have pointed out how much the depression D of the sun in which

the above phenomena appear depend on the atmospheric conditions (fog, etc.), the presence of moonlight, or the sharpness of the eyesight. Different scholars give therefore varying values for D which lie between 16° and 20° . According to Šibt al-Māridīnī (1423—1494/1495) the general opinion in his time was that for al-Shafaḥ $D = 17^\circ$, for al-Šubḥ $D = 19^\circ$. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Marrākūshī (d. c. 1262) had taken 16° and 20° and said that dawn lasts longer than twilight. The time between sunrise and sunset i. e. between the two times at which the depression of the sun is e. g. 18° depends on the inclination of the sun's path to the horizon. The Muslims took a particular interest in calculating the day on which dawn and twilight coincided. For places in the latitude of 48° for example, this happens when the sun is at the beginning of Cancer. The „arguments" (*ḥissa*) of Šafaḥ and Faḍr are the chords of the ecliptic between the Western or Eastern horizon and Šafaḥ or Faḍr.

Astronomical calculations for the beginning of the dawn from Ibn Yūnus (d. 1009) and Abū ʿAlī al-Marrākūshī are given by C. Schoy in the *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*.

To explain the varying phenomena in the dawn it is assumed by Kutb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī and similarly by others that the earth is surrounded by a ball of vapour which contains earthy and watery parts. These are thicker in the lower strata than in the upper. Around the veil of vapour is a ball of pure air. The sun's rays throw a shadow into these balls from the earth. The parts lying outside the shadow reflect the light and seem to shine; the observations result from this more or less accurately.

On the planes of the astrolabe and on certain forms of quadrant and clepsydras lines are drawn which are used to fix the time of morning and evening prayer; on the other hand such lines are not found on the universal plane nor on the Zarkālī plane.

That we so frequently find among composers of astronomical works the *Muwaḥḥit* of mosques, time-keepers and summoners to prayer such as Djamāl al-Dīn al-Māridīnī, Šibt al-Māridīnī b. al-Šāṭir (1375/1376) etc. is explained by the fact that it was the duty of these officials to calculate the hours of prayer exactly and make the necessary observations.

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(E. WIEDEMANN)

AL-ŠĀFIʿĪ, AL-IMĀM ABU ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. IDRIS, the founder of the Šāfiʿī school of law. A great mass of legend has grown up around his life and it is difficult to sift out the really historical matter. The chronology in particular offers great difficulties. The early sources are very scanty. Al-Masʿūdī (d. 345) is the first historian to mention him. The only authentic documents are the Waḳf grant of his two houses in Mecca of Šafar 203 (Aug. 818; *Umm*, vi. 179 = Kern in *M.S.O.S. As.*, 1904, p. 55), his will of Šaʿbān 203 (Feb. 819; *Umm*, iv. 48 = Kern in *M.S.O.S., As.*, 1904, p. 59) and the Waḳf grant of his house in Fuṣṭāṭ (*Umm*, iii. 281) which although the names and the dates are omitted is undoubtedly by al-Šāfiʿī himself. His later biographies are, it is true, based on old *Manāḥib*'s such as that of Dāʿūd al-Zāhirī (d. 270), al-Sādīq (d. 307), Ibn Abī Ḥatīm (d. 327) and others but here already there is much that is legendary. For example al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdaḍī (d. 403) already gives on the authority of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257) the legend of his birth which connects it with the planet Jupiter rising over Egypt (cf. Ibn Khallikān).

Al-Šāfiʿī belonged to the tribe of ʿQuraish; he was a Ḥāshimī and thus remotely connected with the Prophet. His mother belonged to the tribe of Azd, but some say that she was an ʿAlid. Born in 150 (767) in Ghazza (al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 58) he lost his father early and was brought up in very humble circumstances by his mother in Mecca. He spent much time among the Beduins and acquired a thorough knowledge of the old Arab poets (e. g. Zuhair, Imru ʿl-Kais, Djarir etc., cf. *Umm*, i. 174; v. 118, 142 etc.). The philologist al-Aṣmaʿī learned from the youthful Šāfiʿī the songs of the Banū Hudḥail (cf. also *Umm*, ii. 167; iv. 133) and the *Diwān* of al-Šanfara. In Mecca he studied ḥadīth and fiqh with Muslim al-Zindī (d. 180) and Sufyān b. ʿUyaina (d. 198); he knew the *Muwaḥḥit* by heart. When about 20 he went to Medina to Mālik b. Anas and remained there till the latter's death in 179 (796). He then took an appointment in Yemen. Here he was involved in ʿAlid intrigues, — he secretly paid homage to the Zaidī Imām Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh (v. Arendonck, *Opkomst van het zaidetische Imamaat*, p. 60 and 290) — and with other ʿAlids was brought a prisoner to the Caliph Ḥarūn al-Rašīd to Raḳqa (187 = 803). He was pardoned and then became intimate with the celebrated Ḥanafī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Šaibānī (d. 189 = 805), whose books he had copied for himself. But as he did not dare challenge al-Šaibānī, a man influential at court, he went in 188 (804) via Ḥarrān and Syria to Egypt where he was at first well received as a pupil of Mālik. It was not till 195 (810/11) that he went to Baghdād and set up successfully as a teacher there. Here he attached himself to ʿAbd Allāh, son of the newly appointed governor of Egypt, ʿAbbās b. Miṣā and came to Miṣr on Shawwāl 28, 198 (June 21, 814; al-Kindī, ed. Guest p. 154). As a result of disturbances he very soon went to Mecca, from which he returned in 200 (815/816) to settle definitely in Egypt. He died on the last day of Raḍjab 204 (Jan. 20, 820) in Fuṣṭāṭ and was buried at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam in the vault of Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. Šalāḥ al-Dīn had a great and roomy madrasa built here (Ibn Djuḥair, *Riḥla*, p. 48). The dome

on the tomb was built by the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil in 608 (1211/1212). It was always a favourite place of pilgrimage.

Al-Shāfi'ī may be described as an eclectic who acted as an intermediary between the independent legal investigation and the traditionalism of his time. Not only did he work through the legal material available but in his *Risāla* he also investigated the principles and methods of jurisprudence. He is regarded as the founder of the Uṣūl al-Fiḥh. Unlike the Ḥanafis he sought to lay down regular rules for *Ḳiyās* (*K. al-Risāla*, Cairo 1321, p. 66 and 70) while he would have nothing to do with *Istiḥsān* [q. v.]. The principle of *Istiḥsān* seems to have been first introduced by the later Shāfi'īs (cf. Goldziher, *Zāhiriten*, p. 20 sqq.; do., in *E. I.*, vol. ii. 109 and Bergsträsser, *Anfänge und Charakter des juristischen Denkens im Islam*, in *Isl.*, 1924, xiv. p. 76, 80 sq.). In al-Shāfi'ī two creative periods can be distinguished, an earlier (Irāqī) and a later (Egyptian). Al-Ḥakīm (d. 405) for example says this of the *Risāla* (al-ʿAsḳalānī, p. 77), which, however, only survive in the later recension (printed at Cairo 1321 etc.). These two periods are also often marked in the *K. al-Umm* as well as in the variant teachings of the later Shāfi'īs.

His writings in which he makes a masterly use of dialogue, with opponents usually unnamed, we have had transmitted to us by his pupil al-Rabī' b. Sulaimān (d. 270 = 884). A list of them is to be found in the *Fihrist*, p. 210, another of al-Baihaḳī (d. 458) in al-ʿAsḳalānī, p. 78, a third in Yāqūt, p. 396—398. The most of the titles mentioned there are parts of the *K. al-Umm*, a collection of writings of Shāfi'ī (printed at Cairo in 7 volumes: 1321—1325, in part from a manuscript of the celebrated Shāfi'ī Sirādj al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī). The title of this collection can hardly be old. As far as I know, it is mentioned for the first time by al-Baihaḳī (in al-ʿAsḳalānī, p. 78) and al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā* (Cairo 1327), ii. 131. In the work itself it is mentioned only in such passages as appear to be glosses (e. g. *Umm*, i. 158). Several recensions of this work must have existed. As late as the fifth century another recension different from that of al-Rabī' was known to al-Baihaḳī for he gives some of the separate chapters of the *Umm* in a different order. This may perhaps have been al-Buwaiṭī's recension, which al-Rabī' seems to have used along with that of Ibn Abī 'l-Djārūd (cf. *Umm*, i. 96, 157; ii. 52; vii. 389 etc.). In the present printed text of the *Umm*, a number of larger and smaller glosses seem to have been incorporated; for example al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 477), al-Māwardī, etc., are quoted (cf. *Umm*, i. 114 sq., 158).

According to al-Ghazālī (*loc. cit.*) this collection was arranged by al-Buwaiṭī and published by al-Rabī' with his own additions. Final inquiry into the origin of the *Kitāb al-Umm* cannot be based upon the printed edition, as the editor has followed the MS. of al-Bulḳīnī without recording the variants of the other MSS.

The present components of the *Umm* are writings quoted by al-Baihaḳī as separate works: *Ḍimā' al-ʿIlm* (*Umm*, vii. 250 sqq.), *K. Ibtāl al-Istiḥsān* (vii. 267 sqq.), *K. Bayān al-Farq* (vii. 262 sqq.), *K. Sifat al-Amr wa 'l-Nahy* (vii. 265 ?), *K. Ikhtilāf Mālik wa 'l-Shāfi'ī* (vii. 177 sqq.), *K. Ikhtilāf al-Irāqīyain* (vii. 87 sqq.) i. e. Abū Ḥanīfa

and Ibn Abī Laila († 148), *K. Ikhtilāf ma'a Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan* (vii. 277 sqq. = *K. al-Radd ʿalā Muḥ. b. al-Ḥasan*) and *K. Ikhtilāf ʿAlī wa ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd* († 32); vii. 151 sqq.). The *K. Ikhtilāf al-Ḥadīth* is printed on the margin of *Umm*, vol. 7, the *Musnad* on the margin of vol. 6. This contains traditions which have been collected from the different writings, including those that have not survived but are mentioned in the *Fihrist* and in Yāqūt, e. g. *K. Ahkām al-Ḳurʿān*, *K. Faḍā'il Kurāish*, etc. The *K. al-Mab-sūt fi 'l-Fiḥh* (*Fihrist*, p. 210) must have been another large law-book, which was still available to al-Baihaḳī, and is also called *al-Mukhtaṣar al-kabīr wa 'l-Manḥūṛāt*. There has also survived a profession of faith by Shāfi'ī entitled: *K. Waṣīyat al-Shāfi'ī* (mentioned in Yāqūt, ed. by Kern in *M. S. O. S.*, As., 1910) while the *K. al-Fiḥh al-akbar* (Cairo 1324 etc.) is a short treatise on dogmatics of the Ash'arī period. A few poems bear witness to his command of language (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, viii. 66; Ibn Khallikān, i. 448; al-ʿAsḳalānī, p. 73 sq.).

The main centres of his activities as a teacher were Baghdād and Cairo. The most notable of his pupils were al-Muzanī († 264), al-Buwaiṭī († 231), al-Rabī' b. Sulaimān al-Murādī († 270), al-Za'farānī († 260), Abū Thawr († 240), al-Ḥumaidī († 219), Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal († 241), al-Karābīsī († 248) etc. In the course of the third and fourth (ix. and x.) century the Shāfi'īs won more and more adherents from these two towns as centres, although from the first they had a difficult position in Baghdād, the centre of the *Ahl al-Ra'y*. In the fourth (xth) century Mecca and Medina were their chief centres next to Egypt. By the end of the third (beg. of the tenth) century they had already successfully disputed Syria with the Awzā'īs so that from Abū Zur'a onwards (302 = 915), they always had the office of *Kāḍī* in Damascus. In the time of Muḥaddasī the Shāfi'īs exclusively held the judgeships in Syria, Kirmān, Bukhārā and the greater part of Khurāsān; they were also in considerable strength in Northern Mesopotamia (Aḳūr) and Dailam (Egypt by this time was Sh'f.). In the fifth and sixth (xi. and xii.) century there was frequently street fighting with the Ḥanbalis in Baghdād, with the Ḥanafis in Iṣfahān while on the other hand they won the Ghūrīd princes to their side (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii. 306). In Egypt under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (564 = 1169) they again became the predominant *Madhhab*. But in 664 (1265/1266) al-Malik al-Zāhir Baibars appointed one Ḥanafī and Mālikī one judge alongside of the Shāfi'ī (cf. al-Subḳī, v. 134). In the last centuries before the rise of the Ottomans the Shāfi'īs had attained absolute preeminence in the central lands of Islām. Even in Ibn Djubair's time (*Rihla*, p. 102) the Shāfi'ī Imām conducted the prayers in Mecca. It was only under the Ottoman Sultāns at the beginning of the x (xvth) century that they were replaced by Ḥanafis, who were sent from Constantinople to fill the judgeships, while in Central Asia with the rise of the Ṣafawids (1501) they were lost to the Sh'f'a. Nevertheless in Egypt, Syria and the Hidjāz, the people followed the Shāfi'ī *Madhhab* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii. 378/379). The Shāfi'ī teaching is still eagerly studied to-day in the Azhar mosque. It is still predominant in South Arabia, Bahrain, the Malay Archipelago, the former German East Africa,

Daghustān and some parts of Central Asia.

Among famous and important Shāfi'is were: The traditionist al-Nasā'ī († 303 = 915), al-Ash'ari († 324 = 935), al-Māwardī († 450 = 1058), al-Shīrāzī († 476 = 1083), Imām al-Haramain († 478 = 1085), al-Ghazālī († 505 = 1111), al-Rāfi'ī († 623 = 1226), al-Nawawī († 676 = 1277) etc. On them cf. the separate articles and Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i. p. 105.

Islāmic law according to the Shāfi'ī school is given by L. W. C. van den Berg, *De beginselen van het mohammed. recht*, 3 ed. (Batavia 1883; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii. 59—221), French transl. by R. de France de Tersant entitled; *Principes du droit musulman*... Algiers 1886: Ed. Sachau, *Muham. Recht* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1897; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii. 367—414); Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910 and 1925, Italian transl. with suppl. notes by G. Baviera entitled: *Manuale di diritto musulmano*..., Milan 1916.

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(HEFFENING)

SHAFSHĀWAN (popularly Chechaouen, ech-Chaoun, in Spanish Xauen; the original of the name is no doubt the Berber plural *Ishefshāwen*), a little town in Northwest Morocco, 35 miles south of Tetuan. It lies at the foot of the mountain of Sidi Bū-Hādja (a spur of the massif of Bū-Hāshem) on a tributary of the Wādī Lāu; it now lies within the lands of the tribe of el-Khmās, but it used to belong to the Banū Zadjal, a tribe belonging to the Ghumāra group.

In 1918 the population was about 7,000, who lived in a thousand houses in the six quarters: el-'Onsar, Rif el-Andalus, el-Kharrāzīn, es-Sök, es-Swēka, Rif es-Sebbāni. There is an important Jewish colony in it of Spanish origin. The ghetto (*Mellāḥ*), originally on the edge of the Wādī 'l-Dmāni, was later brought into the interior of the town. It contains 22 houses with about 200 inhabitants and 2 synagogues, one very luxurious. Almost all the houses have sloping tiled roofs, for the winter brings heavy falls of snow. The town is surrounded by walls and has eleven gates; there are twelve mosques, nine zāwiyas (including 3 Derkāwa and 3 'Isāwa) and eight notable sanctuaries, the chief of which is that of Sidi 'Alī b. Rāshid, founder of the town. In the citadel (*kaṣba*) are the government buildings and the madrasa.

The Muslim population consists mainly of Shorfā and Andalusian refugees, possessing the culture and amenities of town life but fanatical and uncompromising in character.

The surroundings, fertile and well watered, produce wheat, barley, fruits, olives and grapes in abundance; the town also has 21 watermills and 13 oil presses. The forests of the surrounding mountains supply wood for carpentry and furniture making (a speciality of the place is artistically painted woodwork); tan-bark is abundant and supplies the wants of 5 tanneries. Woollen cloth for djellābas (cf. DJELLĀB) is made on many looms.

The Jews are mainly occupied in trading in imported cloths and have constant dealings with their co-religionists in Tetuan with whom they are connected by common Spanish origin. They are also jewellers and saddlers, a despised trade which the Muslims leave to them.

Lying at the intersection of the roads from Tetuan, el-Kṣar, Wazzān and Fes, in the middle of the land of the Djebāla, Shafshāwan is a great centre of supplies for the latter to which they come to get the produce imported from Tetuan (cotton goods, sugar, tea and candles); but the well-nigh permanent state of anarchy in which the surrounding tribe el-Khmās lives, makes business difficult.

Shafshāwan was founded about 876 (1471—1472) by a descendant of the great saint 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [q. v.], the 'Alawī Sharif al-Hasan b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn Djum'a, who wished to make it a place of refuge and centre of resistance for the Djebāla against the Portuguese. The latter, taking advantage of the weakness of the dynasty of the Banū Waṭṭās [q. v.] had seized Ceuta (1415), al-Kaṣr al-seghir (1458 q. v.), Tangier (1471) and Arzila (1471); from these ports they raided the country for over 50 miles inland, terrorised the mountaineers and brought the Andjera and various tribes of the Habṭ, including the Banū 'Arūs under their sway. It seems that, oppressed and harassed by the Shorfā, these tribes were quite ready to submit to Christian rule; a holy war was therefore an excellent pretext for the Shorfā to endeavour to regain their profitable prestige and authority.

Al-Hasan founded Shafshāwan on the bank of the river of the same name, in an excellent situation within easy reach of Tetuan and Ceuta in the northwest and el-Kṣar and el-Habṭ in the southwest. He died before completing his enterprise; having gone during the holy war to the people of al-Kharrūb not far from Arzila, the latter were bribed by the Portuguese and set fire to the mosque in which he was performing his evening prayers; he perished in the flames.

His work was continued by his cousin the Sharif 'Alī (b. Mūsā) b. Rāshid who succeeded him as leader of the holy war (*ka'id al-djihād*). 'Alī lived among the Banī Ḥassān, a tribe to the north of Shafshāwan; when the latter rebelled against the tyranny of the Shorfā, he went over to Andalusia, where fighting sometimes in Christian pay and sometimes for the king of Granada, he became an expert in military matters. Returning to Morocco, he collected a body of horsemen belonging like himself to the Shorfā and began to fight the Portuguese. The Waṭṭāsīd Sultān of Fes, Abū Sa'id, then sent him a few horsemen and cross-bowmen, with whose help he was able to hold his own against the Portuguese. He used his force also to subjugate the mountaineers and restore the supremacy of the Shorfā. But rendered vain by his successes he went so far as to refuse to send

his tribute to the Sultān who came to attack him with a large army. Judging resistance impossible, 'Alī b. Rāshid submitted; the Sultān pardoned him out of respect for his Sharifi origin and confirmed him in the government of Shafshāwan which became one of the marches of the empire of the Banū Wattās.

'Alī b. Rāshid built on the other bank of the Wādī Shafshāwan a citadel which he filled with members of his family and clan; people from the country round also came to settle there. 'Alī b. Rāshid is credited with the building of the rampart from the Bāb eṣ-Ṣūr to the Bāb el-Mukāf; it is from his time that the es-Swēka and Rif eṣ-Ṣebbānī quarters date. After the capture of Granada (1492) and the general expulsion of the Muslims from Andalusia and Castile (1501—1502) numerous Spanish Muslims came and settled here so that by the death of 'Alī in 917 (1511—1512) a regular town had been created; Leo Africanus who was travelling through Morocco at this time, describes it as "a little city full of merchants and artisans".

The prestige of 'Alī b. Rāshid was still further increased by the brilliant attacks on Ceuta, Tangier and Arzila in which he fought along with al-Mandari, whom he had aided to install himself on the ruins of Tetuan with a colony of Spanish refugees.

'Alī (d. 1511) was succeeded by his sons, Ibrāhīm (d. 1530), then Muḥammad who was destined to be the last prince of the dynasty of the Banū Rāshid. In 948 (1511) the Wattāsīd Sultān Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad married the sister of the Amir, al-Ḥurra; the marriage was celebrated in Tetuan. Muḥammad b. Rāshid had quarrels with the following Wattāsīd, Abū Ḥassūn, whose fief of Bādīs in the Rif adjoining his own territory. When with the help of the Turks of Ṣālah Ra'īs, Abū Ḥassūn had taken Fes in 961 (1554) and, when he had quarrelled with the Turkish chief, Muḥammad b. 'Alī arranged with the latter to proclaim Abū Bakkār b. Aḥmad Sultān; when Fes was evacuated by the Turks, Abū Ḥassūn had the Amir of Shafshāwan arrested but on the death of the Sultān, the latter was released and resumed his governorship.

The Sa'dians then replaced the Wattāsīds in northern Morocco. In 969 (1561) the Sa'dī Sultān 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb billāh, fearing that the warlike activities of the Amīrs of Shafshāwan might prevent him from concluding with the Spanish an alliance against the Turks which he was planning, sent against the town his troops commanded by the vizier Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir, grandson of Sultān Muḥammad al-Shaikh: being strenuously besieged Muḥammad b. Rāshid fled through the mountains with his family during the night and reached the port of Targha among the Ghumāra; from there he sailed for the east and took refuge in al-Medina where he died; some of his descendants were exiled to Marrākush. The fief of Shafshāwan was then given to the grandson of Mu'min b. al-'Ildj; the latter's grandfather Yaḥyā (or Muḥammad) al-'Ildj was a Genoese merchant who had become a convert to Islām and had married the beautiful daughter of the semi-independent chief of the Teijeut region in Sūs. On the death of his father-in-law, the Genoese merchant was chosen chief of the people and gained the favour of the Sa'dian Shorfā by allowing them to cross his territory to reach the Hāḥa; his eldest son Mu'min had entered the service of the Sa'dians and was one of their most faithful supporters.

In 986 (1578) the Portuguese were crushed at the battle of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin; they had to abandon their hopes of occupying the interior of the country and the struggle against the Christians became localised round the occupied ports and on the sea. Shafshāwan then lost its strategic importance which passed to Tetuan its rival, which had been raised from its ruins by 'Alī al-Mandari and had been peopled by Andalusians who soon made it a regular nest of corsairs. On the other hand the religious prestige of the town, based for a large part on the successes of the holy war, also began to decline especially after the installation at Wazzān of the Sharifi family of Mawlay 'Abd-Allāh al-Sharif (d. 1089 = 1678) whose influence continued to increase.

After the government of the grandson of Mu'min al-'Ildj, the town seems to have returned under the authority of the Shorfā. In 1028 (1618—1619), we actually find the Sharif al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Raisūn (buried in Shafshāwan) having Muḥammad b. al-Shaikh called Zaghūda proclaimed as Sultān by the people of Habṭ.

In the beginning of the 'Alawī dynasty and during the struggle between Sultān al-Rashīd and his brother Muḥammad, the northwest of Morocco was under the domination of an independent chief al-Khaḍir Ghailān, whose capital was el-Qṣar el-Kbir and whose power extended over the lands lying between Tangier and Ceuta, Tetuan and Shafshāwan.

In 1667, M. al-Rashīd, lord of Fes, subdued the Banū Zarwāl and went to Tetuan after putting Ghailān to flight; he appointed the Muḥaddim al-Taiser, governor of the town, and the latter's sons succeeded him there.

On the death of Mawlay Ismā'il the northwest of Morocco passed under the rule of a leader in the holy war, the Pasha Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Rifi (d. 1156 = 1743) who built at Shafshāwan, inside the citadel built by 'Alī b. Rāshid, the government-house and the madrasa.

In 1171 (1757—1758), a murābiṭ of the tribe of al-Khmās, Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Khumṣī, called Abū's-ṣukhūr, rebelled against the Sultān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh who captured him and sent his head to Fes. He then appointed the Pasha al-'Ayyāshī governor of the Ghumāra, al-Khmās and Shafshāwan. He was succeeded by governors appointed by the Sa'dian Sultāns down to the rebellion of the ṭalib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām called Zaitān, who raised all the tribes of this region in 1208 (1793—1794). Defeated and pardoned he was restored to the governorship of Shafshāwan and al-Khmās. After him the town was governed by local chiefs, then by the pashas of Tetuan who sent a khalifa there.

In 1306 (1899) the Sultān M. al-Ḥasan visited the town on his way to Tetuan.

Since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate the town has been under the influence of the famous 'Alawī Sharif 'Aḥmad al-Raisūnī of Tāzrūt. On Oct. 4, 1920, it was taken by a Spanish army from Tetuan; on Nov. 15, 1924, the Spaniards evacuated it. It was then occupied by the Rifs under the rebel Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm and since the capture and death of the al-Raisūnī, it became their political and strategic centre from which they dominate the Djebāla and can raid the districts of Tetuan, el-Qṣar and Wazzān; their tyranny has driven away many of the inhabitants of the town, which has been several times bombarded by French and Spanish aeroplanes.

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(G. S. COLIN)

SHĀH (P.), "King". a. Etymological. The old Persian *Khshāyathiya* is probably formed with a suffix from an unquotable substantive from the Old Iran. verbal root *khshay* (meaning to "rule" etc.); cf. Sanskr. *ḥayati* = "he rules", *ḥayadvīra* = "ruler of men (or heroes)", an epithet of the gods in the *R̥veda*. From the same root comes Old Persian *Khshath(r)a* ("kingdom") = M. P. *Shahr*; cf. *shahryār* ("king, ruler") from an unquotable root *khshath(r)aāra*. The word *khshāyathiya* is therefore originally an adjective: it is found as such once in the Bisutūn inscription while in all other passages it means "king" (Bartholomae, *Air. Wörterb.*, col. 553/554). The modern Persian *pādīshāh* is regarded as a compound of *Shāh*; this may be so as regards the modern usage. For a noteworthy attempt to give another explanation of *pādīshāh* see Bartholomae, *Zum sāsānidischen Recht*, i. 5, note 5. (S. B. Ak. Heid., *Hist. Phil. Kl.*, 1918, Abh. 5). In Pahlavi the word already means *shāh*. Whether in the second syllable of the inscriptional form of the name *Shāpur*: שפיפור the yod is a remnant of the second syllable of the old Persian word (*Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, i. 269) or a sign of an old oblique case, is not easy to decide. The modern form *shāhīnshāh* shows with its i Turkish influence in the declension (*Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, i. b. 24); this combination might perhaps show a remnant of the original second syllable in the form in which it is found on Indo-Scythic coins (with the ending *-iano* in the first word; *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, i. 269, but cf. p. 284; there is a good reproduction of one of these coins in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. ii. 12). The Indo-Scythic word is due to borrowing (but cf. also Konow in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxviii. 93 sqq.).

b. Lexicographical. In Vullers' *Lexicon*, pp. 392/393 the statements of the later lexicographers are collected. The derivation given in the *Burhān-i Kāfi* (*aṣl u-khudāwand*) is, at least as concerns the *aṣl*, not supported by the etymology. The meaning given under (5) (*via aperta et lata e qua aliae derivantur*) is perhaps more closely connected with that given under (4) (*magnum quodvis et excellens in suo genere*, in words like *shāhbāz* or *shāhparr*), although the author's view that simple *shāh* is also found with the meaning of *shāhrāh* may be deduced from the text of the *Burhān-i Kāfi* (p. 552); so far as I know this use of the word does not occur. The other meanings (a chessman, animal in Hindūstān etc.) need not be discussed; an (independent) meaning *dāmād*, *shāwhar-i dukhtar* found not only in more recent lexicons like the *Burhān* and *Shuʿūrī*, but as early as Shams-i Fakhri (see Salemann, p. 114), is perhaps not so certain as it appears in the lexicographical tradition. In the two passages from poets which *Shuʿūrī* gives for it, the word *shāh* is associated with *ʿarūs*: this would be simply: "lord of the bride" = "bridegroom", which can of course, be expressed by *dāmād* so that only

one meaning derived from the main sense would be present. The verse which is quoted by Vullers, s. v. *shāhāda* out of *Shuʿūrī* as evidence of a meaning *pūsar-i dāmād* (a peculiar combination in any case) is not absolutely convincing.

c. Historical. The usual title of the Achaemenids is *Khshāyathiya*; on their inscriptions they call themselves *khshāyathiya vavrka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām* ("great king, king of kings"): Pahlavi and Modern Persian *shāhān shāh* (also M. P. *shāhanshāh*) corresponds to *Khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām*. *Shāhānshāh* regularly occurs in the titles of the Sāsānian kings, e.g. *mazdēn baghe artakhshtar shāhān shāh(i) Ērān* ("the worshipper of Mazda, the god Ardashir, king of kings of Irān"); it is written with the ideogram מלכאן *malkān malkā*.

Ardashir's father Pāpak is given the title *shāh* (מלכא) on a coin of his son (E. Thomas, *Nuismatic and other antiquarian illustrations of the rule of the Sassanians in Persia*, p. 16), and in inscriptions and this is also the designation of the rank of some pre-Sāsānian dynasts of Persia (*Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 487).

The Sāsānian crown princes in their father's time were often given the title *shāh* of a certain province, cf. Hamza, *Taʾrikh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 50/51; (cf. Nöldeke, *Ṭabari*, p. 115; Agathias, iv. 24 and 26 where we have *σαα*). Bahram III and IV before their accession were thus called *Sagānshāh* or *Karmānshāh*; Hormizd III had also the former title as Crown Prince (Nöldeke, *Ṭabari*, p. 115). The word *sagānshāh* wrongly appears as *shāhānshāh* in some Arab writers: not only in Ṭabari (Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*) but also in Ibn Kutaiḇa (*K. al-maʿārif*, p. 322), Eutychius (ed. Cheikhō, i. 113) and Thāʿalibi (*Hist. des rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 507).

In Muslim lands, where Persian is spoken *shāh* remains the usual word for king, a title also given in literature to rulers who have an Arabic title, e.g. the Amīr Maḥmūd of *Ghazna* in Firdawsī. The regular panegyrists are of course very liberal with the term *shāhānshāh*; when for example Minūcihri VIII, calls the Amīr Masʿūd of *Ghazna* *Khusrāw-i shāhānshāh-i dunyā*, this is only one example out of many. The term is further found frequently in kings' names in such a way that we can hardly speak of it as a title, e.g. we have among the Yemenī Aiyūbids a Turānshāh and in a Mongol dynasty an ʿArab-Shāh (see Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 98 and 239). The word was already not unusual in personal names in Pahlavi; besides the name *Shāpur* (*shāh* + Pahlavi *puhr*, son) cf. the names of the Sāsānid princes in Hamza, *Taʾrikh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 61. Many rulers of the Seldjūk dynasty used the term in such a way that it may be regarded as a title. From an examination of the names (e.g. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 153) we see that the combination may have as its first component the name of a people (Turān Shāh, Irān Shāh, i.e. on the Sāsānian plan), or a personal name (Arslān Shāh, Bahrām Shāh), or we may even have a combination with other words meaning ruler (Malik Shāh, Ruknuddīn Sulṭān Shāh). Analogous formations are found among the Atābegs. On a case of rulers who did not have the title *shāh* having adopted it at a definite time, cf. H. F. Amedroz, *The Assumption of the title Shāhānshāh by Buwaihīd*

Rulers, Num. Chron., 1905, iv., Ser. v., p. 393 *sqq.* There were Shāhs of Armenia from 493—604 A.H., and of Khwārizm about the same time (\pm 470—628 A.H.; see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 170, 176); there have been Shāhs of Persia since the accession of the first Safawid (907/1502). In India we find the term among the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bērār, Bidjāpur and Golkonda; Shāh occurs as the first or second component of the name of several Mughal Emperors (Shāh Djahān, A'zam Shāh).

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHĀH 'ĀLAM was the title borne, before his accession, by Kutb al-Dīn Muḥammad Mu'azzam, third son of the Mughal emperor Aurangzib ('Ālamgīr I), but on ascending the throne of Dīhlī the prince took the title of Bahādūr Shāh [q.v.].

The only Mughal emperor who bore the title while on the throne was 'Alī Gawhar, son of 'Aziz al-Dīn 'Ālamgīr II, who succeeded his father in 1759 and in 1761 was recognised as emperor by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, who had then crushed the power of the Marāṭhas at the third battle of Pānīpat. Shāh 'Ālam was, throughout his forty-seven years' reign, a puppet in the hands of others, and on two occasions factions selected rivals from among his kinsmen and proclaimed them as emperors, viz. Shāh Djahān III in 1759 and 1760 and Bidār Bakht in 1788. Together with Shudjā' al-Dawla, the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh, Shāh 'Ālam gave a half-hearted support to Mir Kāsim, the Nawwāb-Nāzim of Bengal, who was defeated by the British at the battle of Baksar (Buxar) in 1764 but after the battle submitted and signed a treaty under which the Nawwāb-Wazīr became a vassal and he himself a pensioner of the victors. In 1765 he signed a treaty conferring on the East India Company the *diwānī*, or control of the revenues of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa (Uṛīsa), but the duties and responsibilities of the appointment were not accepted by the Company until seven years later. Shāh 'Ālam afterwards, in order to facilitate his return to Dīhlī, threw himself on the protection of the Marāṭhas and transferred to them the districts of Ilahābād and Kara, which had been assigned to him for his support. By this alliance he forfeited the Company's friendship and the tribute or allowance of Rs. 2,600,000 which had been assigned to him. In 1788 Mahādājī Sindhya, who was ordinarily held responsible for the emperor's personal safety, was in a critical position owing to attacks by Rohilla chiefs, and the ruffian Ghulām Kādir captured Dīhlī and plundered the palace. He flogged the princesses and throwing the emperor on the ground sat on his chest and blinded him with his dagger. Sindhya recaptured Dīhlī and Ghulām Kādir was taken prisoner and suffered death by torture. In 1803 the East India Company formally made itself responsible for the emperor's personal safety and in 1806 Shāh 'Ālam died.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHĀH DJAHĀN was the title conferred by the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr on his third son, Khurram, as a reward for his successes in the Dakan in 1616. Khurram was

born in 1592; in 1622 he caused his eldest brother, Khusrāw, whom his father had placed in his care, to be murdered, and afterwards rose in rebellion. Having been defeated in 1623 he became a fugitive, but occupied Bengal and Bihār. In 1625 a peace was patched up between him and his father. When Djahāngīr died, in October, 1627, Khurram was at Dīwannār in the Dakan, but his father-in-law, Āṣaf Khān, caused his younger brother, Shahryār, to be blinded at Lāhor and proclaimed as a stop-gap Dāwar Bakhsh (Bulāḳī), the son of Khusrāw, whom he afterwards permitted to escape to Persia when the other males of the imperial family were put to death by Shāh Djahān's orders. In 1628 Shāh Djahān ascended the throne in Āgra, and soon had to deal with the rebellions of the Bundelas and Khān Djahān Lodī [q.v.], which he crushed. In 1631 his dearly loved wife, Mumtāz Maḥall, died in childbirth at Burhānpūr, and he afterwards erected over her remains, at Āgra, the beautiful Ṭādj Maḥall [q.v.]. In 1632 he captured Dawlatābād and swept away the last vestiges of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and shortly afterwards compelled the two remaining kingdoms of the Dakan, Golkonda and Bidjāpur, to acknowledge his suzerainty. In 1632 also Hūgli was besieged and taken from the Portuguese, and the Christians were cruelly persecuted for two years. In 1636 Aurangzib, the emperor's third son, was appointed viceroy of the Dakan, and in 1638 'Alī Mardān Khān, who held Kāndahār for the Shāh of Persia, treacherously surrendered it to Shāh Djahān's officers, but the Persians recovered the town in 1649. In 1638 Badakhshān and Balkh were occupied but Aurangzib who, having been recalled from the Dakan, was sent to retain them, failed to hold them and was obliged to retreat. In 1652 the same prince and in the following year his eldest brother, Dārā Shikūh, failed to recover Kāndahār from the Persians. In 1653 Aurangzib was again sent to the Dakan, where his aggressive policy was checked by his father, who ordered him to make peace with 'Abd Allāh Kutb Shāh of Golkonda whom he had attacked, but in a campaign against 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II of Bidjāpur, who had succeeded Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, he captured Bidar and Kaliyāni. In 1657 reports of the failure of Shāh Djahān's health caused Aurangzib to rebel and a contest for the throne began between him and his three brothers. Aurangzib defeated Dārā Shikūh at Samūgarh and Sulṭān Shudjā' at Khajwa, treacherously imprisoned and executed Murād Bakhsh and having imprisoned Shāh Djahān ascended the throne in Āgra on July 21, 1658. Shāh Djahān never regained his liberty and on January 2, 1666, died in the Āgra fort at the age of 74.

Shāh Djahān, the wealthiest of the "Great Mughals", displayed his taste and magnificence in his restoration and adornment of Āgra, in the construction of his city of New Dīhlī or Shāh-djahānābād, where he spent the greater part of a luxurious old age, and in the famous peacock throne, which was seven years in the making. He had little military ability and was cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous. A redeeming feature of his character was his deep love for his wife, Mumtāz Maḥall, of which her splendid tomb is a lasting memorial, but she died early in his reign and after her death he sank into unbridled

licentiousness. His rule was oppressive and tyrannical and he ill deserves the favourable treatment which he has received at the hands of some modern historians.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHĀH MĪR, an adventurer who founded the first dynasty of Muḥammadan kings of Kashmīr, settled in that country in A.D. 1315—1316 and, having ingratiated himself with the *rājā*, Simhadeva, who was perhaps impressed by the stranger's pretensions to descend from Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava, entered his service. Kashmīr suffered two invasions during Simhadeva's reign, that of Dulā, a Turk from Kāndahār, and that of the Bhautta of Thibet, Rīncāna, both of whom entered the country by the Zōđjī-lā. Rīncāna usurped the throne, made Shāh Mīr his minister and, according to Muḥammadan accounts, was converted to Islām by him. He succeeded on his death by a relation, Adnideva, under whom Shāh Mīr retained his office and extended his power. On the death of Adnideva Shāh Mīr contested the sovereignty with his widow, Kotā, and having defeated and captured her compelled her to marry him. Shortly after the marriage she retired to, or was imprisoned in, the fortress of Dīyapūra and was there put to death by her husband's orders in 1339. In 1341—1342 Shāh Mīr ascended the throne of Kashmīr under the title of Shams al-Dīn and caused the *khuṭba* to be said in his name. The rule of the Hindu *rājā*'s had been oppressive and extortionate and the people were the gainers by the usurpation of the adventurer who limited the demands of his treasury to one sixth of the gross produce of the land. He established order with a firm hand, and though he probably encouraged his people to accept his religion, his rule was tolerant and beneficent, and the forcible conversion of the inhabitants to Islām was not effected until the reign of his grandson, Sikandar Butshikan. Shāh Mīr is said to have accepted the claim of the Čakk and Mākārī tribes to precedence over the other tribes of the country and to have employed them in the principal posts both in the army and the civil administration. It was by the Čakk tribe that the dynasty which he founded was overthrown about two centuries later. He died in 1349 and was peaceably succeeded by his eldest son, Dīamshīd.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN. [See ŠAMSĀM AL-DAWLĀ].

SHĀH SHUDJĀ', DĪJĀLĀL AL-DĪN B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUẒAFFAR, a MuẒaffarid. After Muḥārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad, lord of Fārs, Kirmān and Kurdistān, had been deposed and blinded in Ramaḍān

759 (Aug. 1358), he was succeeded by his son Shāh Shudjā' but within a couple of months Muḥammad, whose sight had not been entirely destroyed, seized the citadel of Kal'a-i Sefīd [q.v.] where he had been placed, and fortified himself in it. Peace was soon afterwards made between him and Shāh Shudjā', the terms being that Muḥammad should go to Shīrāz and have his name mentioned in the *khuṭba*; further no business of state was to be decided without his approval. After some time his followers decided to seize Shāh Shudjā' and put him to death; but they were betrayed whereupon Shāh Shudjā' had the conspirators put to death and his father imprisoned. The latter died at the end of Rabi' I 765 (Jan. 1364). Shāh Shudjā' had next to fight with his brother Shāh Maḥmūd. In 764 (1362/1363) his officials had raised a claim to tribute upon the town of Abarkūh, although it was governed along with Isfahān by Shāh Maḥmūd. This excited Shāh Maḥmūd's distrust and he invaded Yazd and seized this province. On his return to Isfahān he was besieged by his brother; but soon a friendly arrangement was come to, as a result of which he recognised the suzerainty of Shāh Shudjā'. In 765 (1363/1364) however, he made an alliance with the Djalā'irid Uwais, lord of Baghdād and Tabriz, and invaded Fārs. Shāh Shudjā' took the field against him; the final encounter was not decisive; Shāh Maḥmūd then succeeded in taking Shīrāz after eleven months' siege, but lost it again in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 767 (Aug. 1366). After the death of Shāh Maḥmūd on Shawwāl 9, 776 (March 13, 1375), Shāh Shudjā' who had recognised the 'Abbāsīd Caliph of the day in 770 (1368/1369), also became lord of Isfahān. He also wanted to extend his rule over Ādharbāidjān because the notables there had become discontented with Husain, successor of Uwais, who had died in 776 (1364/1365). With this object Shāh Shudjā' set out with a large army, took Kazwīn, defeated Husain and advanced successfully up to the neighbourhood of Tabriz. The former surrendered and Husain had to retire to the south. But when Shāh Shudjā' returned home a couple of months later, Tabriz was again occupied by Husain and as the former had also to fight his nephew Shāh Yahyā, he had to make peace with Husain. To seal the treaty Shāh Shudjā's son Zain al-'Abīdīn married Husain's sister. Nevertheless hostilities soon afterwards broke out again. When 'Adil Aghā, one of Husain's emirs, usually called Sārīk 'Adil, equipped an army in 781 (1379/1380) to invade MuẒaffarid territory, Shāh Shudjā' went to Sulṭāniya to anticipate him, but was surprised and only escaped with difficulty. When he himself took the offensive, however, he succeeded in putting to flight Sārīk 'Adil's troops, who were busy plundering the camp. He then laid siege to al-Sulṭāniya, whereupon Sārīk 'Adil had to surrender. In the meanwhile *Shāikh* 'Alī, a brother of Husain, after the murder of the governor of Baghdād, who ruled the city in Husain's name, was proclaimed lord of Baghdād, which again provoked hostilities. To strengthen his position he made an alliance with the governor of Shustar, Pīr 'Alī Bādak, who had been supported by Shāh Shudjā'; *Shāikh* 'Alī and Pīr 'Alī had however to take to flight when Husain and Sārīk 'Adil approached in 782 (1380/1381); but when the latter had departed, they came back and now it was Husain's turn to fly. Soon afterwards — the usual date is Djumādā II,

783 (Aug.-Sept. 1381) — the latter was killed by his brother Aḥmad b. Uwais who then ascended the throne. He had first of all to defend his position against Shaikh 'Alī and Pīr 'Alī; these two were defeated and killed but the third brother Bāyazīd then came forward as a pretender. When he sought help from Sāriḳ 'Alī, Aḥmad appealed to Shāh Shudjā' who at once occupied al-Sultāniya then belonging to Bāyazīd and appointed the latter his governor. Shāh Shudjā's officers, however, were soon expelled and al-Sultāniya passed into Aḥmad's hands. When Timūr soon afterwards approached, Shāh Shudjā' sent him all sorts of valuable presents to gain the friendship of the threatening conqueror. As a pledge of fidelity, Timūr demanded a daughter of Shāh Shudjā' for one of his sons. Shāh Shudjā' died, according to the usual statement on Sha'bān 22, 786 (Oct. 9, 1384), aged 53 years two months. The poet Ḥāfiẓ lived at his court.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SHAHĀDA, (A.), testimony, whether in the ordinary sense of the word, the statement of an eye-witness (from *shāhāda* „to see”), or in the religious and legal sense.

1. In the religious use of the word *shahāda* is the Muslim profession of faith: „there is no god but God; Muḥammad is the Prophet of God” (cf. TASHAHHUD); and by extension it is the testimony one gives in fighting for Islām, and more particularly in dying for it in the holy war. The Muslim who falls on the battlefield is called *Shahīd* [q. v.] „witness, martyr”; e.g. Eyub, Sultān Murād I, killed after the battle of Kossovo. *Meshhed*, the tomb of a martyr, *meshhed* 'Alī, *meshhed* Ḥusain. This idea of the Muslim martyr is not explicit in the Qur'ān.

2. In the civil and legal sense, the witness is called *Shāhid*: e.g. the witnesses of a marriage who accompany the relatives before the Imām; the witnesses in a case of adultery; Sūra, iv. 19: „If your wives commit the act of infamy, call four witnesses”.

On the theory of evidence in law consult the article SHAHĪD.

Bibliography: See the handbooks of law; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1778, i. p. 176; ii., p. 319—324, 348—350; Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, iii., Paris 1923, chap. on Tradition.

(CARRA DE VAUX)

SHAHĀRA, a town in South Arabia, mentioned by Yāqūt among the fortified places in the district of Ṣan'ā', on the Djabal Shahāra. A second place distinguished from the preceding as Shahārat al-Faish lies quite near it, a little to the east on the same hill, which lies due north of the town of Ḥabūr. Al-Hamdānī already knows this town as the source of the stone used in rings called *sa'wānī*, a red onyx with white veins, also called *'arwānī*. The town frequently played an important part in the history of South Arabia. The Amir Dhu 'l-Sharafain Muḥammad b. Dja'far, the last descendant of al-Ḳāsim al-'Aiyānī died here in 478 (1085/1086) and was buried here. His tomb

is widely celebrated and the place was called Shahārat al-Amīr after him. The Saiyid al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, who raised the Yamanī rebellion against the Turks about 1630 was born and lived here. When he had succeeded in expelling the Turks he retained Shahāra as his capital. He was the ancestor of the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'. When the Turks began to regain their hold on the Yaman in 1871—1872 Shahāra was taken by Muṣṭafā 'Āsim Pasha in a bold campaign and the house of the ringleader in the anti-Turkish movement, Saiyid Muḥsin al-Shahārī destroyed; the latter had for years been at war also with the Imām of Ṣan'ā' Muḥsin Mu'izz. Saiyid Muḥsin had to retire to Wāda'a and in 1884 the notables of Ḥabūr, Ṣa'da and Shahāra were forced to submit to the then governor of Yaman, 'Izzet Pasha. In the wars following Shahāra was again lost to the Turks and became the centre of all the elements hostile to Turkish rule.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHĀHĪ, a small coin of the Shāhs of Persia. It was the smallest of the silver coins in the xviith and xviiith centuries and weighed 18 grains (1.17 grammes); it was worth $\frac{1}{4}$ of an 'abbāsī or $\frac{1}{2}$ mahmūdī or ten copper kāzbeḡis; in Faṭh 'Alī's reformed coinage 20 shāhīs were equal to the new silver unit, the *ḡarān*. Under Naṣir al-Dīn the shāhī was a copper coin = 5 centimes; the 2 shāhī piece and $\frac{1}{2}$ shāhī were also issued in copper.

(J. ALLAN)

SHAHĪD (A.), witness, martyr (pl. *shuhadā'*) is often used in the Qur'ān (as is *shāhid* [q. v.], plur. *shuhūd*, from which it is not definitely distinguished) in the primary meaning of witness. The following examples are typical of the various contexts in which it occurs: Sūra, ii. 127: „Or were ye eye-witnesses when Jacob was at the point of death and he said to his sons”.... Sūra, xxiv. 6: „Those who slander their wives and have no witness except themselves”... Sūra, ii. 137: „And thus we have made you a people in the middle that ye may be witnesses in regard to mankind and that the Prophet may be a witness in regard to you”; Sūra, i. 20: „(On the day of judgment) every soul shall come, with an urger and a witness”. (On the expression: to give evidence from belief, etc., see the articles SHAHĀDA and TASHAHHUD). *Shahīd* frequently occurs as referring to God, e.g. Sūra, iii. 93: „God is the witness of your deeds”; Sūra, v. 117: „Thou art the witness of all things”. *Shahīd* is therefore also one of „the most beautiful names” (*al-asmā' al-ḡusnā*, cf. the article ALLĀH).

The meaning martyr is not found for *shahīd* in the Qur'ān. It is only later commentators that

have tried to find it in Sūra, iv. 71. The Qur'an always uses circumlocutions to express this conception, e. g. Sūra, iii. 151: "If ye be slain or die on the path of God, then pardon from God and mercy is better than what ye have amassed". Sūra, iii. 161: "Consider not those slain on God's path to be dead, nay, alive with God; they are cared for". Sūra, xlvii. 5—7: "And those who fight for the cause of God, their works He will not suffer to miscarry. He will guide them and bring their heart to peace and lead them into Paradise which He has told them of".

The development of meaning of *shahid* to martyr (there is not the parallel development in *shahid*; this never means anything but witness, namely in a court of justice, cf. the article *SHAHID*), took place under Christian influence, cf. the Syriac *sāhdā* for the N. T. Greek *μάρτυς*.

Wensinck's monograph on martyrdom in the east shows that the development in Christianity and in Islām runs parallel down to minor details and that the doctrine of martyrdom in both religions in the last resort goes back to old oriental (Jewish) and Hellenistic ideas. The old meaning *shahid* = witness, later became so forgotten in Islām that false etymologies are regularly given for it (e. g. from *sh-h-d* to look, etc.).

The martyr who seals his belief with his death, fighting against the infidels is *shahid* throughout the *Ḥadīth* literature and the great privileges which await him in heaven are readily depicted in numerous *ḥadīths*. By his sacrifice the martyr escapes the examination in the grave by the "interrogating angels" Munkar and Nakir, nor does he need to pass through the "purging fires of Islām", *barākāh*. Martyrs receive the highest of the various ranks in Paradise, nearest the throne of God; the Prophet sees in a vision the most beautiful abode in Paradise, the *Dār al-shuhadā'*. The wounds of the *shahid* received in the *Ḍjihad* become red like blood on the day of judgment, and shine and smell of musk. None of the dwellers in Paradise could ever come back to earth, except the *shahid*: for on account of the very special privileges which are granted him in Paradise he still wishes to suffer martyrdom another ten times. Martyrs are freed by their death from the guilt of all sins so that they do not require the intercession of the Prophet, and indeed in later traditions we even find them interceding for other men. They are already pure, and therefore alone among men are not washed before their burial, a view which has found a place in the *Fiḥ* (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. *Martyrs*).

In the *Fiḥ* books the *shahid* is dealt with in the section on *ṣalāt* in connection with the prayer for the dead, and the differences of opinion in the schools (the reasons for them are sometimes very interesting) centre mainly round the question whether the *shahid* is washed, whether the prayer for the dead is uttered over him, whether he is to be buried in his bloodstained garments, or not, etc. In them we find the distinction made whether the *shahāda* has been for this world for the next or for both, for as an ethical action it must be judged according to its *nīya*; on the other hand we find the different kinds of *shuhadā'* in the wider sense, detailed below. The case of *shahid* in the legal sense does not occur if the man concerned survived the battle in spite

of his wounds and was able to arrange his affairs before his death. We sometimes find sections, *fi ṣaql al-shahāda* in the book of *Ḍjihad*, where martyrdom is praised quite in the style of the *ḥadīth*.

The praise of *shahāda* led to a real longing to meet a martyr's death and according to some traditions, even Muhammad and 'Omar longed for it. This *ṭalab al-shahāda*, however, was by no means encouraged by orthodox theology but rather deprecated, perhaps — according to a suggestion of Wensinck — because this kind of self-sacrifice looked very like suicide, always condemned in Islām. Therefore peaceful moral duties are represented as equal to or even better than voluntary death, such as fasting, regularity in prayer, reading the Qur'an, gratitude to one's parents, honesty as a tax-collector, learning: these are all deeds on the path of God, *fi ṣabil Allāh* (this expression with the gradual cessation of the wars of conquest undergoes the same change from a warlike to a peaceful ethical meaning as *shahid*, cf. the article *SABIL*) and may enable men to share in the rewards otherwise promised for the *shuhadā'*. But the conception of *shahid* itself underwent an important extension which may be partly already seen in *ḥadīth's*, so that in the end almost anyone who had died any violent death and aroused pity was considered by the general public to be a martyr and soon was actually regarded as a saint. An important factor in bringing about this development was the very old tendency of the people to worship holy men generally, cf. the article *WALI*. In this sense, for example, anyone who dies of disease, like the plague and the "diseases of the stomach", is considered a *shahid*; anyone who dies a violent death, e. g. from starvation, thirst, drowning, being buried alive, burning, poison, a lightning stroke, being killed by robbers or wild beasts, or a mother who dies in child-bed; also one who dies during the performance of a meritorious action, e. g. on the pilgrimage or in a foreign land, where no friend or relative is with him, or on a journey which is *summa* or while visiting a saint's tomb or while in the act of prayer, or as a result of continuous ablutions, or in the Friday night, or in the search for the knowledge of the faith: *fi ṭalab 'ilm al-Din*, or in defending the right against injustice: of the *amr bi 't-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar* against the *ẓālim*: whoever loves and remains chaste and does not betray his secret and dies, dies a *shahid* and anyone who meets his death fighting against his own impulses in the *Ḍjihad akbar*, is *shahid*.

The tomb of such a *shahid* is considered *mashhad*, enjoys the reverence of the pious and becomes an object of pilgrimage. In many of these *mashāhid* it can be proved that we have pre-Islāmic local cults which have been continued in this form under Islām. This side of the survival of the ancient in the nearer East has been illuminated by van Berchem's study of the inscriptions, but only after further material is available will a final verdict be possible. The phrase found as early as tombs of the third century A.H.: *hādḥā mā jashhadu bihi wa 'alaihi*, with which the term *mashhad* might perhaps be connected (according to a suggestion by M. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxvi. 65²; cf. however, Ritter in *Isl.*, xii. 148—150), is interesting. When we further find Sultāns called *shahid* in inscriptions, the word here has lost its

real significance and is no more than a pious term for deceased. In many cases the name *mashhad* was transferred to rites of local cults, which have nothing to do with a *shahīd* and in Turkish *shahīdlik* and *meshhed* (also pronounced *meshat*) is a name for cemetery in general (see Mordtmann, in *Isl.*, xii. 223). The inscriptions also show that frequently the Muslim builders of *mashāhid* built them in their own lifetime, apparently in order to share in the blessings of their good deed while still here on earth (cf. *MASHHAD*).

In Cairo there used to be celebrated a festival in commemoration of martyrs, in which Muslims took part up to the VIII/xivth century (Makrizi, *Khīṭaṭ*, i. 68 sq.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, p. 399 sq.).

In contrast to orthodoxy the various sects often kept rigidly to the original sense of *shahīd*; for example the *Khawāridj* fanatically sought death fighting against the government, which they considered unrighteous, while the orthodox theologians taught that rebellion against the government was not a *djihād* with a prospect of martyrdom.

Martyrdom plays a special role of peculiar importance for the *Shī'a*. For them *Ḥusain* is the *shahīd* par excellence, the king of martyrs, *shāh-i shuhadā* (much as the favourite martyr of the *Sūfis* is al-Hallāj). In keeping with the character of the *Shī'a*, *Ḥusain* is sometimes endowed with features which almost recall the passion of Christ or sufferings of St. Francis (deliberate self-sacrifice, transmission and inheritance of the divine light in the family of the Prophet, immortality etc., cf. the articles *SHī'a*, *MUḤARRAM*, *ḤUSAIN*). There is a rich literature of martyrologies describing very fully the sufferings of *Ḥusain* and other members of the family of the Prophet, a speciality of the *Shī'a*; for example there is a famous work entitled *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā* by *Ḥusain* b. 'Alī al-Wā'il al-Kāshifī, which has been translated into Turkish (by *Fuzūlī* with the title: *Ḥadiqat al-Su'adā*) and into Eastern Turkish and several times also abbreviated.

The worship of *shahīds* has attained noteworthy developments in parts of India where there is a gigantic *Shahīd gandī* said to be the tomb of no fewer than 150,000 *shuhadā*.

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Ivar Lassy, *The Muharram mysteries among the Azerbaijan Turks of Caucasia*, Diss. Helsingfors, 1916, p. 132 sqq.; Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 358; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum des Husain zu Kerbela*, 1909, p. 37, 43. (W. Björkman).

SHAHĪD (A., pl. *shuhūd*), witness. The statement (*shahāda*) of a witness, is a declaration on a legal claim in favour of a second person against a third, which is based on an accurate knowledge of the state of affairs and is made before the judge in prescribed form (*ashhadu bi-kadhā wa-kadhā*). The following main principles have grown up, based on the *Kur'ān* and Tradition and perhaps also influenced by the legal opinions in the Talmud and are in the main common to all *madhāhib*; there are of course numerous differences in points of detail which cannot be dealt with here.

The taking and giving of evidence (*shahāda*) is a *farḍ* 'ala 'l-kifāya; but if only one person was present on the scene, there is an absolute obligation on him to give evidence (*farḍ al-'ain*). In the case of a *ḥaḳḳ* *Allāh* it is, however, left to the discretion of the witness whether he cares to bring the culprit before the *qāḍī* or spare his Muslim co-religionist and remain silent; the last course is usually recommended as the more meritorious. The witness must: 1. have accurate knowledge ('ilm) of what he is talking of and have perceived it with his own eyes and ears (cf. *Sūra*, v. 11); 2. be *mukallaf* [q. v.]; 3. be a free man; 4. be a Muslim (if he is giving evidence in a case brought against a Muslim); 5. be in full possession of his mental faculties; 6. be 'adl [q. v.] (cf. *Sūra*, v. 105, and lxxv. 2; *dhawā' adlīm*); he must also not have been previously punished with *ḥadd* for slander (cf. *Sūra*, xxiv. 4); 7. lead a decent and moral life (*murū'uwa*); thus for example a witness is rejected, if he enters the bath without a shift or is devoted to gambling (chess, *nard*) or eats in public; 8. be above suspicion; he must not for example get any advantage for himself from his evidence or avert any injury to himself; he must not be on bad terms with the accused, if he is giving evidence against him. Nor can those who have a claim for maintenance give evidence against one another, like parents and children, husband and wife, master and slave.

The following regulations concern the number and sex of the witnesses: 1. In *zinā* four male witnesses are required (cf. *Sūra*, xxiv. 2 sq. and iv. 19). 2. In all other cases, which do not concern *māl*, like theft, murder, marriage and divorce, release of slaves etc., two male witnesses are required (cf. *Sūra*, ii. 282 sq. and v. 105 sqq.); in cases which, as a rule, women alone are competent to deal with (child-birth, unchastity in women, etc.), four women are sufficient according to the *Shāfi'* teaching (two for the *Malikis* and only one for the *Ḥanafis* and *Zaidis*). 3. In cases which concern *māl*, like claims arising out of contracts and bonds or accidental homicide, two men or one man and two women are required as witnesses (cf. *Sūra*, ii. 282 sq.). In these cases one male witness is usually sufficient along with the oath of the accuser.

Except in criminal cases, it is allowed to replace one original witness (*shāhid al-aṣl*) by two male deputy witnesses (*shuhūd al-far'*), the

so-called *shahāda* 'alā *shahāda*; but only when the original witness is dead or cannot appear before the court on account of severe illness or is three days' journey or more from the place of trial.

The witnesses may withdraw their evidence before the judge; but if sentence has already been passed, they are liable for the injury done. If a statement is withdrawn, which affirmed *zinā*, the witnesses are punished with *ḥadd* for slander (*ḥaddhf*). False witness (*shahādat al-zūr*) is already censured in the Qur'ān (Sūra, xxv. 72; ii. 283) and Tradition. Witnesses are frequently purchased in the east (cf. E. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*⁵, 1860, p. 100, 114; Ch. White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, 1845, i. 103).

The most difficult point in the above rules is undoubtedly the question of 'adāla; the witnesses must either be personally known as 'adl to the *qāḍī* or their 'adāla must first of all be established. From the end of the second (eighth) century an assistant to the *qāḍī*, the *ṣāhib al-masā'il* or *muzakkī*, was appointed to conduct these often tiresome investigations. As Muslim procedure does not recognise documentary evidence as proof but only the oral evidence of eye-witnesses, such people were preferred for the verification of legal matters whose 'adāla had already been proved. Thus permanent "witnesses" came into existence: at times their numbers rose to thousands but usually there were only a few. They were officials of the *qāḍī*, and were appointed and dismissed by him. Thus arose the body of notaries, who were called *shuhūd* in Cairo and Baghdād, in the east and the Maghrib 'udūl. Besides verifying legal matters they also decided smaller disputes independently. They were as a rule young lawyers who later received judicial appointments. Muslim writers frequently complain of the corruption among these people. Their development began in the iith (viiith) century (the first reference is in Cairo in 174 A.H.: al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, ed. Guest, p. 386) and they were abolished in the ivth (xth) century. These "witnesses" are properly to be regarded as a revival of the Roman-Byzantine notaries. — For the present conditions see Lane, *op. cit.*, i. 117; Vassel, *Über marokkanische Prozesspraxis in M. S. O. S. As.*, 1902, v., p. 175 sq.

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(W. HEFFENING)

SHĀHINSHĀH. [See SHĀH].

SHAHR (P.), a town. It is etymologically the same word as old Persian *khshathra* — (cf. skr. *ṣatṛa* —); the old Persian word, however, means only: "dominion, reign", and also: "empire"; this old significance the Pahlawī *shahr* (written ideographically: 𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭭) originally retained, but it means also: "a district, a large town". The Armenian loan-word *ashkharh* denotes: "a province, a land", also: "the world" (անոթ, օրհորհան, cf. also the compound *ashkharhakal* = աստղաբան). It seems to have been borrowed from the older (Arsacidian) middle-Iranian. The modern Persian *shahr*, which signifies "a (large) town", originally comprised the old meaning ("empire, realm") besides. It can be seen in phrases like *Irān shahr*, *Shahr-i Kābul*, etc., which belong to the poetical style; cf. also the derivative *shahryār* (from *khshathra-dāra* —), "a ruler, a king".

It is perhaps no mere fortuity, that in old Persian there seems to be a trace of a similar semiological transition in the case of the word *wardana* —, which in that idiom signifies "a town". In the Babylonian texts of the inscriptions of the Achaemenids, this word is rendered by *ātu*; the old Persian term for "land, district" (*dahyāuš*) is translated into Babylonian by *mātu*; now in Bīsutūn 2,6 (= § 25 Weissbach), Babylonian *ātu* corresponds to Persian *dahyāuš* and a Babylonian duplicate of a portion of the Bīsutūn inscription (cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. xiii.) has 2,12 (= § 31 Weissbach) *mātu* for Persian *wardanam*, whereas Bīsutūn 3,13 (= § 49 Weissbach), Persian *dahyāuš* is rendered in the Elamite text by the ideogram for "town". That the old Persian here may have influenced the Babylonian, is not impossible, as one could suppose, that also the later Babylonian use of the verbal form *iddin(u)* (lit. "he gave") for: "he created", which is found, e.g. in the Elwend-inscription of Darius, might have originated by the influence of Persian *adā* = he created (the Äryan roots *dā* and *dhā* no more being phonetically different in Irānian); cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 451; Weissbach, *Keilinschr. der Achäm.*, p. 100, note a. It seems probable, then, that already in old Persian the meanings "a district" and "a large town" were inclined to fade one into the other. This is not very surprising, taking into consideration the fact, that in later times also several large cities in Persia had their dependent localities, which were reckoned to belong to the town, so that the ideas of "town" and "district" in some cases might cover each other.

The modern Persian, according to the lexicographers, has also the collateral form *shār*.

The word *shahr* occurs in several names of towns, e.g. *Shahrābād*, and, more often, in *iḍāsa*-construction, as *Shahr-i Bīlkīs*, *Shahr-i Rustam*, etc. (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Index); in personal names it retains its old meaning: "empire", as in the (already Pahlawī) names *Shahrwarāz*, or *Shahrbānū*.

The word passed into Osmanli under the form of *shahir*; town-names, in which it enters, are numerous, e.g. *Akshahir*, *Yeñi-shahir*, etc.; see for this word and its derivations Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, s. v.

Shahrangiz or *Shahrāshub*, in Turkish and Persian literature, denotes a kind of poetical composition, which satyriizes or praises the inhabitants

of a certain town (*madh u-dhammī kih shu'arā ahl-i shahr rā kunand*: cf. Vullers, *Lexicon*, s. v. *shahrāshūb*; Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 237/238; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, II, 232 etc.). (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHAHRASTĀN or **Shahrīstān** (P.), a derivation from *shahr* with the suffix — *stān*. Collateral forms are *shahrastāna*, *shūristān* (and, metri causa, *shūrisān*). In Pahlawi the word also occurs, written ideographically 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲; the meaning is, both in Pahlawi and in modern Persian: a town, especially a fortified one, or a capital (cf. Vullers, s. v. *shūristān* and *shahrīstān*; I.e. Strange: *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 203, note 1). The principal part of several Persian towns is therefore named by this term, as was the case with that quarter of Barwān (according to al-Muḳaddasī, the capital of Dailam), where the governor resided; also with the eastern part of the city of Djurdjān, the inner part of the city of Ḳazwīn; the (new) city of Kāth [q. v.], according to al-Muḳaddasī, also bore the name of *Shahrīstān*, and during the Middle Ages, the old (eastern) city of Isfahān was known as *Shahrastāna*; otherwise, this latter locality was named *Djāy*, or simply, *Madina*, which term seems to be nothing but the Arabic translation of *Shahrastāna*.

There are some cities and villages, which are designated by this name, either exclusively, or optionally, viz.:

1) *Shahrastān-i Yazdigird*, a fortified town, built by the Sāsānian king Yazdigird II (438—457 A. D.) against the inroads of the Turks; the king resided here from the fourth to the eleventh year of his reign. The town must have been situated in the province of Djurdjān.

2) A town in *Khurāsān*, at a distance of three days from Nasā (Nisā), on the border of the desert. This locality seems not to have been of great importance; it had textile industry, and was the birth-place of the well-known al-*Shahrastānī* [q. v.].

3) A village in *Sidjīstān*, situated near the ruins of the medieval capital of the province, *Zarandj*.

4) *Shahrastāna*, a village near *Hamadhān*.

5) The city of *Shāpūr* [q. v.] in *Fārs* also bore the name of *Shahrastān*, as was the case with

6) *Rūyān*, a city in the district of the same name belonging to *Tabarīstān*.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (see Index); P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 31, 586; J. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 56, 73; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire.... de la Perse*, p. 358 etc.; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 121. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-SHAHRĀSTĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-KARīm, the principal historian of religions in the oriental middle ages, was born in *Shahrastān*, a town of *Khurāsān*, in 469 (1076); the date of his birth is also given as 467 and 479. He studied jurisprudence and theology at *Djurdjāniya* and *Nisābūr*; his teacher in scholastic theology was Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Anṣārī. According to Ibn *Khallikān* he belonged to the *Ash'arī* school but *Sam'ānī* says that he adopted the dreams of the *Ismā'īlīs* and that in his conversation and discussions he only spoke of the philosophers and took no interest in religious law. He made the pilgrimage however and returning after having spent 3 years in *Baghdād*, he settled in his native town where he died in 548 (1153).

He wrote several books, of which the most famous is the treatise on religions and sects: *Kitāb al-Mīlāl wa 'l-Nihāl*; among the others we may mention, on speculative theology: *Nihāyat al-Iḳdām fi 'Ilm al-Kalām*, another on metaphysics, the title of which: *Muṣāna'at al-Falāsifa*, the duel of the philosophers, recalls that of the *Tahāfut* of *Ghazālī*, and one on "the history of the learned": *Ta'rikh al-Huḳamā'*, which has the same title as the well-known work of Ibn al-Ḳiftī (d. 1248), written about a century later.

The treatise on religions and sects, one of the most remarkable documents of the philosophical literature of the Arabs, was written in 521 (1127). The author in it passes in review all the philosophic and religious systems that he was able to study and classes them according to their degree of remoteness from Muslim orthodoxy. He therefore begins with the Muslim sects, *Mu'tazila*, the *Shi'a* and the *Bāṭinis*. He next deals with the "people of the book", those who have a revealed book recognised by *Islām*, i. e. the Christians and Jews; next those who have revealed books either doubtful or false, e. g. the Magi and the Dualists, after whom come the Sabaeans who worship the stars. Leaving the sects founded on a revelation, he goes back to pagan antiquity and gives articles on the principal philosophers and sages of Greece, after which he gives an exposition of Arab Scholasticism as a derivative from Hellenism; the last part of the book is devoted to the religions of India.

The book is preceded by prolegomena, of which one chapter, the fourth, is an account of all the differences which broke out in *Islām* in the last moments of Muḥammad's life and which, influencing religion on the one hand politics on the other, gave rise successively to the sects of *Shi'a* and *Mu'tazila*. This is a very fine section. In another chapter of these prolegomena *Shahrastānī* deals with arithmetic and makes some pretensions to be a mathematician; but these are not justified in the result. *Shahrastānī*'s mind is essentially and almost exclusively a philosophic one. He is interested only in ideas, he gives few biographical details, almost no titles of books, little chronology and no dates. As an analyst of the systems, he is very subtle and in general very objective. He has not the primarily apologetic character which the lost work of al-Ash'arī on the sects for example must have had.

The most important parts of the work of al-*Shahrastānī* are those which deal with the *Mu'tazila*, the *Shi'a*, the Dualists and the Sabaeans. For the *Mu'tazila*, hair-splitting theologians and subtle thinkers, whose works have not come down to us, he is the one of the most important sources with al-*Iḏjī*; the article on *Ash'arī* and the *Ash'arī* school which fixed Muslim orthodoxy, is interesting for the same reason. The articles on the *Shi'a*, *Khāridjīs*, *Murdjīs*, divided into numerous sects political in character, which differed in the theory of the imāmate, are very interesting; but the author is rather brief on the *Ismā'īlīs* and *Bāṭinis*. He is equally short on the Jews. As to the Christians he knows three principal sects: the Melkites, the Nestorians and the Jacobites; he contrasts St. Paul with St. Peter (*Simon al-Ṣafa*), saying that Paul came to disturb the arrangements made by Peter and to mingle philosophic ideas in the teaching of Christ. He knows a little about the Christian scriptures but does not criticise them so acutely as Ibn Ḥazm.

The references to the Dualists, Manichaeism, Manes, Mazdak, Bardesanes, Marcion, are of course very valuable; the opposition between light and darkness plays a considerable part in them as in the philosophy of *Ishrāk*. It is the same with the long section on the Sabaeans; Shahrastānī puts in it a dialogue in which an orthodox Muslim argues with a Sabæan, opposing the idea of prophecy to that of the spirits of the stars, disputing the existence of the latter and criticising the conception of them.

At the present day, Shahrastānī appears quite ignorant of Greek philosophy; but he has quite a good article on Plato, whose theory of ideas he understands and another interesting one on Pythagoras, in which he gives an exposition of the theory of number and of geometrical ideas conceived as principles of beings. The article on Aristotle is derived from Avicenna and the commentary of Themistius. The very long article on Arab scholasticism is in the main a résumé of the *Nad̲jāt* of Avicenna. Lastly the section on India contains some curious passages. We know that Arab authors as a whole knew very little about India. Nevertheless we find in Shahrastānī some accurate notes on Buddhist psychology and doctrine, on the Bodhisattvas and the successive Buddhas and on certain practices of Hinduism — the worship of the goddess Kālī, whose idol (Mahākālī) is described, ablutions in the sacred rivers, religious suicides etc. Shahrastānī seems to regard Pythagoras as the founder of intellectual thought in India.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī, *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, ed. Cureton, 2 vol., London 1846; another ed., Bulaḳ 1261; transl. Th. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, 2 vol., Halle 1850/1851; Ibn Khallikān, ed. de Slane; al-Samʿānī quoted in Yāqūt, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, transl. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1861, p. 359.
(CARRA DE VAUX)

SHĀHRĪR, the name of the sixth Persian month, which has 30 days like every Persian month. The older form of the name found also in al-Bīrūnī is *Shahrivar*. As the name is also that of the fourth day of every Persian month, the month and day are distinguished by the addition of *māh* or *rūz*. The 4th Shahrir, on which the name of day and month are the same is called *Shahrīgān*.

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Athār*, ed. Sachau, p. 42 sq., 70, 221; al-Kāzwinī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makh-lūʾāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 79, 81 (German transl. by Ethé p. 163, 167); on the linguistic history of the name cf. Horn, *Neuperische Schriftsprache (Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, i. 2)*, p. 181.
(M. PLESSNER)

SHĀHRŪD, 1. Name of two rivers belonging to the system of the Kizil Ūzen (Safidrud: this other name, however, which in the Middle-Ages designed the whole Kizil Ūzen, at present belongs to its lower course, from Mandjil to the Caspian, cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*², i., col. 1736; Monteith, p. 16). The most important of the two Shāhrūds is that, which at Mandjil (± 36° lat., 49° long.) joins the main river. This Shāhrūd takes its rise in the mountain-system of the Alburz, and its direction is from the South-East to the North-West. According to Mustawfi al-Kāzwinī, who gives a concise, but tolerably clear description of this river (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, text, p. 217/218;

transl. p. 210), the Shāhrūd rises from the confluence of two streams in the Rūdbār-district of Kāzwin, one originating from the Ṭaliḳān hills, the other from the „Nasr and Takḥmas mountains”, as Le Strange construes the text, which is uncertain, as it presents some variants. Hād̲j̲d̲j̲i Khalifa, who, in his *Djihānnumā* (p. 304), as often, copies the *Nuzhat*, reads here: *Kūh-i Shīr* (cf. the variants in Le Strange's edition, p. 217, N^o. 4).

The Shāhrūd, according to Mustawfi, passes Alamūt, while flowing through the Rūdbār-district, and unites in the district of Bara, „which is of the two Tārums”, with the Safidrud. From its origin to its junction with the last-named river it measures 35 leagues (*farsang*); its water, but for a small degree, is not used for field-irrigation. With these last words, the statement of the same author, that most of the lands of the district of Rustamdār are watered by the Shāhrūd (text, p. 160, transl. p. 157) should be compared or contrasted.

The Shāhrūd, not being navigable, has no significance for traffic. Although the Kizil Ūzen is well-known in antiquity under the name of Amardus, there seems to be no mention of the Shāhrūd before the Middle Ages. It is noticed by the Armenian geographer, translated and annotated by J. Marquart, in his *Erānshahr*, p. 126; this authority mentions its rising in the mountains of Ṭalakān. On the infrequent mentions of the Shāhrūd in Arab geographers, Andreas' article on the Amardus in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*², i., col. 1734 etc. may be consulted. In the nineteenth century, the river became known by the travels of Monteith and Rawlinson. The first, the account of whose journey dates from 1832, explored the valley of the Shāhrūd, starting from Mandjil (or, as he calls it, Menjile), in search of the ruins of Alamūt. He first notices the height of Menjile (800 feet above the sea), and gives the names of some localities, situated on the Shāhrūd: they are (retaining the orthography of the original): at 2 miles (from Mandjil): Loushan; at 28: Berenzini; 36 miles from Berenzini: Jirandey, „just where the stream from the mountains of Ala Mout in Mazanderan . . . joins the stream of Kherzau, coming from the mountains behind Kasbine”. In this region there were found ruins, which were considered to be the ruins of the renowned stronghold of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ. Returning by the same route, Monteith visited, at 12 miles distance from Mandjil, the alum-mines near the village of Surdar.

In the account of Rawlinson's journey from Tabriz to Gilān (1838) the Shāhrūd is also mentioned, but the last named traveller does not give a detailed account of it.

The other Shāhrūd, as appears from Kiepert's *Nouvelle carte générale des provinces asiatiques de l'Empire ottoman*, 1884, joins the Kizil Ūzen between Senna and Miyānsarāy; the locality, mentioned by Monteith (pp. 13 and 20) under the name of „Berendeh”, must be the „Berinda” or Kiepert's map, to the North of Senna. This „Berendeh” might be compared with the „Bara” in the passage of Mustawfi, were it not, that the description of that author cannot but relate to the river of Mandjil. One might, however, suppose, that Mustawfi has, in this place, mistaken the one Shāhrūd for the other. The second, or lesser Shāhrūd, called formerly the river of Shāl, which

receives some small tributaries (of, as it seems, unknown names) from the East, rises in the Shāl hills, and passes some localities, e. g. Shāl (see below), flowing almost parallel to the Kizil Uzen to the east; then, east of Berinda (which lies on what seems to be a western tributary to the lesser Shāhrūd), it takes a curve to the South-West, to merge into the Kizil Uzen, joining it, therefore, from the north-east. To assume, as Ritter does, in his *Erdkunde*, three Shāhrüds, is not necessary.

II. A district described by Mustawfī as belonging to the Tālīsh-districts (طوالیش). Among its villages, he mentions Shāl, Kalūr, Hims, Darūd and Kilwān. We see, then, that it is the region of the lesser Shāhrūd. The climate, according to our authority, is temperate, and the soil produces good corn, but not much fruit. The people are Shāfītes, but, as the author observes, only by name, for they do not care much about religion. The revenues, in Mustawfī's time (middle of the viiith = xivth century), amounted to 10,000 dīnārs.

III. Name of a city in the West of Khurāsān, not far from the frontiers of the province of Astarābād. It lies to the South of Bistām; according to Fraser, its geographical position is lat. 36° 25' 20", long. 55° 2' 23"; its height above the sea is 3500 feet. The town is a trade-centre; from it to the city of Astarābād there are two ways. The geographers of the Middle Ages make no mention of it.

Bibliography: I: Mustawfī-i Kazwīnī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange (G. M. S., xxiii. i. 60 sq., 160, 217 sq.; ii. 66, 157, 209 sq.; Monteith, *Journal of a Tour through Azerd-bijan and the Shores of the Caspian*, in *Journal of the Royal Geogr. Society of London*, 1833, iii., p. 13, 15, 20; Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz . . . to Gilān in October and November 1838*, l. c., 1840, x. p. 61, 64; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 574, 581, 587, 590, 592, 616 sqq., 628, 637, 668; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 170 sq. II: Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, i. 82; ii. 85; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire . . . de la Perse*, p. 344; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 169, 171. III: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 11, 337, 470 sq., 473, 475; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 366. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHÄHRUKH MİRZÄ, the fourth son of Timūr and the first of the Timūrid sovereigns, born at Samarqand on the 14th Rabi' II, 779 (20th August, 1377) and thus named, according to the legend, because his father heard of his birth in the middle of a game of chess, when the knight "rukḥ" was on the point of checking the king "shāh". He received also the titles of *Bahādūr*, "valiant", *Khāḡān-i Sa'id*, "fortunate sovereign". Married at the age of eleven, governor of the Empire during the Kīptāk campaign [q. v.] at the age of thirteen, he was sent back to Samarqand during the great Persian expedition, but was called to the army in 795 (1392). At the age of seventeen he distinguished himself at the siege of Qal'c-i Sefid [q. v.], cut off the head of the enemy leader, Shāh Maṣūf, and acted as mediator at the siege of Takrit, became governor of Samarqand and of the country around in 796 (1393/1394); and three years later, he took part in the expeditions to Persia, Syria and Asia Minor, and held important commands at the siege of Aleppo and at the battle of Ancyra. Chalcondylas, who calls

him Σαχρὺχος, speaks of him with admiration. His presence being necessary at Herāt, he did not go to the *kuriltay*, which decided upon the Chinese expedition, and he contracted then a new marriage.

On the death of Timūr, Shāhrukh was recognized as sovereign of the provinces which he was governing (Ramaḡān 807 = March-April 1405). The other princes, very much divided, finally adopted the proposal of Pir Muḡammad to rally around Shāhrukh, who would probably be content with a formal recognition and certain marks of respect. Shāhrukh showed himself touched by the deference of his brothers.

One of the latter, Khalīl Sultān, dispossessed by the emīr Barandak, had taken his revenge by seizing Samarqand. Shāhrukh departed at once with his army for Transoxiana; he was conciliatory and his envoy, Shaikh Nur al-Dīn, concluded a peace leaving Khalīl sovereign of the country. Soon after, war broke out between Khalīl and Mīrzā Pir Muḡammad. The latter was assassinated by his vizier, Pir 'Alī Tāz. Rebellions deprived Khalīl of any authority. On the other hand, the Djala'irids and Kara Yūsuf seized Baghdād and Adharbaidjān; Pir 'Omar was dispossessed and killed by his kinsman Iskandar. Shāhrukh then intervened, defeated Iskandar and annexed to his states 'Irāk 'Adjami and contrary to the promise he had given, Khalīl's lands were given to Ulugh Beg; Khalīl received as compensation the governorship of 'Irāk, and Shāhrukh restored to him his love, Djawhar Shād, who had been insulted and maltreated by the rebels. In the same year (809 = 1406—1407), Māzandarān was finally conquered.

In the following year Mīrānshāh, the brother of Shāhrukh, was killed in a battle against Kara Yūsuf. The sons of Kara Yūsuf's enemy, Abū Bakr and Muḡammad 'Omar, survived him only a short time, and Kara Yūsuf, following up his conquests, founded a vast empire embracing Tabriz, Adharbaidjān and the 'Irāk. Shāhrukh, desirous of avenging his brother, attacked him in the year 823 (1420). Kara Yūsuf died suddenly at the moment of giving battle, his troops were disbanded and his corpse treated with indignity.

Several expeditions took place in the year 810 (1407—1408); one against Balkh in which Pir 'Alī Tāz was conquered and put to death; one against Pir Pādīshāh, who had rebelled at Astarābād. War broke out between Pir Muḡammad and Rustam, who was victorious, and made his entry into Isfahān where he behaved with moderation. Abū Bakr and Iskandar were at war in Kermān; Sīstān was conquered by Shāhrukh. Pir Muḡammad had a reconciliation with Iskandar, but 'Alā' al-Dawla revolted; his father, sultān Aḡmad, pursued him and Kara Yūsuf made him prisoner. At the end of 811 (1409) Samarqand was under the power of Shāhrukh.

In the year 812 (1409—1410) there was an expedition against a rebel emīr, Khudāidād, whose head was sent by a Mongol Khān to Shāhrukh. The revolt of Shāh Bahā' al-Dīn in Badakhshān was put down and Transoxiana, after being conquered, was reorganized. Marw was rebuilt, the ancient course of the Murghāb was restored and the dikes repaired. During the two succeeding years Shāhrukh had to return to Transoxiana in order to put down in that country the revolts of the

Emir Shaiikh Nür al-Din, who was killed in Mongolia. New troubles broke out in Kermān, where Iskandar supplanted Mirzā Rustam. Under the rule of Khalil, the Tatars brought back from Asia Minor by Timūr, had fled from Transoxiana into Khwarizm, which they laid waste and they wished then to return to their native land. A first expedition sent against them in 815 (1412/1413) was a failure. Much affected by this lack of success, Shāhrukh sent another against them and, once master of Khwarizm, handed it over to an able administrator, the Emir Shāh Mulk.

In 817 (1414/1415) the revolt of Mirzā Amīrak Aḥmad took place; Ülugh Beg departed to besiege Akhsi. The Emirs of Iskandar revolted and placed themselves under the authority of Shāhrukh, who offered Iskandar an honourable peace. This offer was rejected. After a long siege Ishfāhān was taken by assault and laid waste. Shāhrukh intervened, undertook the defence of the inhabitants and gave them Rustam as governor. He also ordered Iskandar to be treated with clemency. No attention was paid to his orders and the prince was blinded. The latter assisted by the Emir Sa'd-i Waḳkās, the ally of the Turkomans, had helped the revolt of Baikara Mirzā at Shirāz (818 = 1415/1416). Besieging this town, Shāhrukh pardoned Baikara and sent him into the district of Qandahār; after another revolt, he was exiled to India with Mirzā Amīrak Aḥmad; another suspect, Mirzā Ilangar, was sent into remote exile. Two other rebels, Sulṭān Uwais of Kermān and the Emir Bahlūl Barlās of Qandahār made their submission.

In 820 (1417—1418) Baisanqor, the son of Shāhrukh, was placed at the head of the government and he abolished the hated exactions of the vizier Saiyid Fakhr al-Din, whom he made disgorge some of his ill-gotten gains. The death of this Emir, which took place soon after, was considered a blessing from heaven.

On 23 Rabi' II, 830 (Feb. 21, 1427), Shāhrukh was the victim of a plot in the great mosque of Herāt, where the Darwish Aḥmad Lor, who had come under the pretext of presenting a petition, tried to stab him. He was immediately lynched by the crowd. The consequence of this plot was that many arrests and executions of suspected people took place. Iskandar, aided by his brother Djihānshāh, had rebelled again against Shāhrukh in 832 (1429). After being in revolt for six years, Djihānshāh submitted and became governor-general of Adharbāidjān. Iskandar, who had fled, was assassinated a short time after at the instigation of his son. In Ramaḍān 838 (March 1435) the plague laid waste Herāt and its suburbs. Hundreds of thousands are said to have died at this time.

Shāhrukh died at Fishāward, in the province of Ray on the 25th Dhu 'l-Hijja 850 (March 12, 1447). Of the five sons that he had — Ülugh Beg, Abu 'l-Fath, Ibrāhīm Baisanqor, Suyūrghatmish and Muhammad Djūki — only the eldest survived to succeed him.

Historians are of one accord in eulogising Shāhrukh as a munificent sovereign, peaceful and void of ambition, loving peace without fearing war, in which he was always successful, and endeavouring to repair the damage done by Timūr. He rebuilt Marw, fortified and embellished Herāt. A zealous Muslim, he was believed even to have the gift of working miracles. Himself a poet and artist, he was the patron of writers, of artists and of scholars,

whom he attracted to Herāt, where he founded a magnificent library. Djāmi and the mystic poets Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh Kirmāni and Kāsim al-Anwār [q.v.] lived at this time. Turkish poetry began to rival Persian. Shāhrukh, who was particularly interested in historical studies, inspired or encouraged the works of Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, Sharaf al-Dīn, 'Alī Yazdī, Fāsihi, 'Abd al-Razzāk, Samarqandī, as well as Ḥafiz Ābrū, whom he commissioned to write a great work on geography. His sons, Ülugh Beg, the learned astronomer, and Baisanqor, the noted artist, who gave a great stimulus to painting and to calligraphy, followed his example.

With other states Shāhrukh maintained peaceful relationships. He exchanged embassies with China, the suzerain of the family of Timūr, who paid her tribute. India recognized his authority, at least nominally. In 824 (1421) Khidr Khān, the sovereign of Delhi, sent him an embassy and we have the story several times published or translated of the embassy of 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarqandī to China and India. Deferential to China, Shāhrukh was, on the other hand, arrogant with the Turks. His correspondence with Muhammad I is the proof of this. With Egypt his relationships were sometimes difficult. In 824 (1421) Tibet sent him an embassy.

On the death of Shāhrukh the decline began. The Timūrid princes, who all aspired to power and found followers, exhausted themselves in struggles which hastened on the rise of the Ṣafawis and the formation of the Üzbek Empire.

Bibliography: The *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain wa-Maḍjma' al-Bahrain* of 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarqandī is the most important work to consult; unfortunately it has never been published completely. Galland made a French translation still unpublished (*Bibl. Nat.*, fonds français, Nos. 6084—6087) and Quatremère has taken from it his *Mémoires historiques sur la vie de sultan Schah-rokh* (*J. A.*, 1836, ii. 193—233 and 338—364), which revised and continued until the year 924 (1421) resulted in the *Notice de l'ouvrage persan qui a pour titre Matla-assadein*...., Paris 1843 (*N.E.*, xvi/1). Numerous passages of lost parts of Ḥafiz-i Ābrū have been preserved by the *Maṭla'* which contains besides the substance of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī and other historians of Timūr. Mirkhwānd, vi. 180—223 and Khwāndamīr III, 178—214 are important. The *Tadhkira* of Dawlatshāh gives but very scattered literary information; see on the same subject Mir 'Alī Shir, *Maḍjālis*, book vii. (*J. A.*, 1861, xvii. 285/286). The story of the plot is found in Barbier de Meynard's *Extraits de la Chronique persane d'Herat* (*J. A.*, 1862, xx. 268—272).

Munadjjim Bashi, *Saḥā'if al-akhbār*, Constantinople 1285, iii. 57 is important for the relations with the 'Osmānlis. Consult also: — Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, London 1821, iii. 485 sq.; Sédillot, *Sur un sceau de Schah Rokh, fils de Tamerlan, et sur quelques monnaies des Timourides de la Transoxiane* (*J. A.*, 1840, x. 295—319) and reprinted in *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire comparée des sciences mathématiques chez les Grecs et les Orientaux*, i. 243—269; Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 379—387, and Bloch, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols*, p. 248—265 (on the relations of Shāhrukh with China).

(L. BOUVAT)

SHĀH-SEWAN, the name of several groups of Turkish tribes in Persia. The term means in Turkish "those who love the Shāh". Persian historians write: *shāhī-sewan*, thus indicating the Turkish accusative (*shāhī*) and the Turkish closed *e*.

History. According to Malcolm, Shāh 'Abbās I (995—1037 = 1587—1628), in order to reduce the turbulent Turkish tribes known as *kīzl-bash* (= "red-heads"), who played the part of praetorians, invited the men of all the tribes to enrol themselves in a new body which was called Shāh-sewan. Entirely devoted to the Šafawī family, this tribe enjoyed the particular favour of the sovereign. At one time they must have numbered 100,000 families, but this number diminished in time.

Malcolm quotes the *Zubdat al-tawārikh* and his version has been adopted by later historians. The European travellers, who were contemporaries of the Šafawīs (R. du Mans, D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa, Chardin, Olearius), however, do not mention the tribe of Shāh-sewan and the known facts somewhat complicate Malcolm's story.

I. The 'Ālam *ārāyi* 'Abbāsī frequently uses expressions like "*shāhī-sewan*" *kardan*, *šalāyi-shāhī-sewani* in the sense of "to make appeal to the faithful." Thus the father of Shāh 'Abbās, Shāh Sulṭān Muḥammad, had already used this procedure in the rebellions of 989 and 992. "Shāh Muḥammad", says Iskandar Munshī, "having launched the (appeal) *shāhī-sewān*, ordered that all those of the Turkoman tribe who were servants and partisans of this hearth (*ghulam wa-yakdijhati in dūdman*) should rally round His Majesty". These ad hoc appeals played upon the religious sentiments of the adepts of the Šafawī family (*dūdman*, *odjakh*). The sovereigns of this dynasty not only traced their origins to the *Shi'i imāms*, but even claimed to be the incarnations of the latter (cf. *KHATĀT*). In the time of Shāh 'Abbās there was in Turkey a sect which regarded the Persian sovereign as its *murshid*. In our own day, the Ahl-i Ḥaqq (cf. the article 'ALI-ILĀHI) give a place in their theophanies to the Šafawī kings. The formula called of Shāh-sewan thus recalled to political recalcitrants their obligations to their superiors.

In 996, in the first year of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the *Kīzl-bash* rebelled against the authority of the majordomo Murshid Kulī Khān. The Shāh had recourse to the process of "*shāhī-sewan*" and the faithful arrived en masse. A few days later the rebels were captured and put to death. This decisive blow dealt to the truculence of the *Kīzl-bash* must have made an impression on his contemporaries, for in the firm reign of Shāh 'Abbās, it was rarely necessary to resort to unusual measures. Iskandar Munshī says nothing about the permanent results of the appeal of 996. He only adds that the Shāh-sewan who came at the king's call "mounted guard till morning".

II. On the other hand, Shāh 'Abbās continued vigorously and successfully the policy of regrouping the great tribes. His grandfather, Shāh Tahmāsp [q.v.], about 936 (1529) had already reformed one of the most important *Kīzl-bash* tribes: the Tākkālu (Malcolm, i. 506), remnants of which are still to be found in Kermān. The new military corps (*kullar*, *tufangchī*) made unnecessary the *Kīzl-bash Kurī* (Chardin V, 292). Another way of weakening the old praetorians was to dilute them with new elements personally devoted to the sovereign.

These newcomers seem to have been particularly proud of the name of Shāh-sewan as is shown by the history of the Shāh-sewan of Ardabil. To sum up then, it may be doubted if a single regularly constituted tribe was ever founded by Shāh 'Abbās under the name Shāh-sewan.

The Shāh-sewan of Ardabil. Although the inhabitants of this *hukumat* all use the "Āzari" Turkish dialect and are all *Shi'is*, the Shāh-sewan, even when settled, form a group apart, distinguished by its tribal organisation. According to their traditions the Shāh-sewan came from Asia Minor under their chief Yunsur (?)-pāshā who had obtained permission to do this from Shāh 'Abbās I. Yunsur is said to have brought 3,300 families (hearths), a section of whom migrated later to Khurāsān.

Among these Shāh-sewan three groups are distinguished: (1) the tribe of Yunsur-pāshā, which later broke up into clans bearing the names of the descendants of the chief: Šaru-khān [q.v.], Qodja-bēg, Band 'Alī bēg, Pūlād bēg, Damir bēg, Kuzāt bēg, etc., with other later ramifications; (2) the tribe brought at the same time by Qurd bēg, of which following clans still exist: Tālīsh mikailu, Khalīfelu, Mughānlu, Udulla, Murādlu, Zargar, etc.; (3) the tribes which arrived in the time of Yunsur-pāshā, but independently of him: Inanlu ('Ālam *ārā*: *imānlu*, evidently from the Mongol *iman* "goat") with the clans: Pir-Eiwatlu, Kalāsh, Kūr (Kör?), 'Abbāslu, Ge'iklu, Yurtēi, Dursun Khodjalu, and Begdillu with the clans: Adjirlu, Khodja-Khodjalu, Veddi Oimak, 'Arablu, Čakhrlu, Kabādlu. As to the Begdillu, the 'Ālam *ārā* (p. 762) mentions the different fiefs (*tiyūlat*) held in Ādharbāidjān by the *Kīzl-bash* chief Gündoghmuḥ Sulṭān Bēgdili, "who with his tribe and their tents dwelled at Tā'uk near Kirkūk. Having become Shāh-sewan in the first Baghdad campaign (1032 = 1622), he presented himself to the Shāh and received the rank of Sulṭān". Alongside of these two tribes, mention is made of isolated groups, the Rizā bēglu, Sārwanlar ("camel-drivers") and Giamushchī ("buffalo-breeders").

Šaru-khān succeeded Yunsur-pāshā. Among the descendants of the latter is mentioned Badr Khān, who accompanied Nādir Shāh on his campaigns. His sons, as the result of a quarrel, divided all the Shāh-sewan into two parties. The Ardabil section took the side of the Īl-bēgi descended from Nazar 'Alī Khān and the Mishkhin section those descended from Küçük Khān.

The arrival of the Russians in Transcaucasia reacted on the fortunes of the Shāh-sewan. Between 1728 and 1732 several clans leading a nomadic life on the Kura (Kurr) recognised Russian supremacy. The peace of Gandja (1813) established the Russians north of Mughān. The frontier fixed on the Turkman-čai (1828) and always rigorously maintained separated the Shāh-sewan from a great part of their winter-quarters. The Russians for a considerable time did not prevent the tribes from continuing to enjoy their pasturages, but there were continual incidents. In 1867, the Rizā-bēglu and Qodja-bēglu were refused access to Russian Mughān. On their side the Persian authorities burned the village of the Qodja-bēglu, Barzand [q.v.], and in 1876 the tribe was deported to Urmia, from which it has little by little regained its old home.

From 1869 a mixed commission was created on Russian territory at Bīlasuwār (on the river

Bolghārū) with the task of settling amicably the mutual claims of Russian and Persian subjects. In 1884, the Russian frontier was definitely closed to the Shāh-sewan and at the same time the Russian nomads (Perembel, Darwishlu) were forbidden to descend into Persia. This measure dealt a blow to the prosperity of the Shāh-sewan, but did not put a stop to their incursions. On the other hand, it encouraged the Shāh-sewan to settle down and they had to cultivate their lands more intensively.

The governors of Ardabil had made very little impression on the Shāh-sewan. Only the expedition of 1910 undertaken against the turbulent tribes by the leaders of Persian revolution attained a notable success. Towards April of 1923, Riḍā Khān Sardār Sipāh succeeded in disarming the Shāh-sewan.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were the following groups in Mughān; (1) Tarākama (Turkomans) 1,500 families of settlers; (2) Shaḡaḡi 8,000 families of nomad Kurds (?); (3) 10,000 families of Shāh-sewan nomads.

The Shaḡaḡi later withdrew into the interior of Persia. Before the Russian frontier was closed, fourteen clans of Persian Shāh-sewan, numbering 3,500 families, arrived in Russia, while 27 clans with 2,600 families remained in Persia.

Before 1914 the position was as follows: In the canton of Mishkhin on the northern slopes of the Sāwalān [q. v.], N. E. E. of Ardabil, from which it is separated by the river Dodjūkh (a tributary of the Kara-ṣu), there were over 5,000 hearths of the Shāh-sewan divided into 37 clans governed by their hereditary chiefs. The latter in turn were subordinate to an Il-bēgi. The Shāh-sewan of Mishkhin are nomads. They spend the summer on the high plateaux of Sāwalān and winter in Persian Mughān. The limit of their migration is about 120 miles. On this stretch they have villages inhabited by peasants, who have come from the interior of Ādharbāidjān, who till the soil, receiving a third of the produce.

The number of Shāh-sewan in the canton of Ardabil was over 6,000 hearths divided into 12 clans, whose chiefs did not have an Il-bēgi in common. Among these clans only two are nomad; they go to Mughān of the eastern road (Barzand-Bilasuwār). Four clans are becoming settled (*takhtakapu* "the gates of wood"), especially in the S.E. and S. W. of Ardabil (the strongest clans are the Pulādlu and Yurtči). In all there are over 11,000 hearths at Shāh-sewan residing in the *ḥukūmat* of Ardabil and they must number at least 75,000 souls.

The Shāh-sewan are Shī'is. The conversion of Yunsur-pāshā, who was at first a Sunnī, is said to have taken place when Shāh 'Abbās passed through Mughān. Since then the house of Yunsur-pāshā has been regarded as an *odjakh* ("hearth") by which the tribes swear when taking an oath. The Ḳodja-bēglu are suspected of Sunnī leanings. One clan of Shāh-sewan consists entirely of *saiyids* (Seiyidlar). Like the majority of nomads, the Shāh-sewan are rather indifferent in matters of religion.

The language of the Shāh-sewan does not differ from the "Āzari" dialect spoken by the rest of the population of Ardabil, but it is said that the Zargar also use a Čaghatai dialect.

In the tribes a distinction is made between the clan of *bēg*'s and that of *bēg-xāda*, the latter being descended from lateral lines. The hired peasants

who till the earth on behalf of the tribes, are called *hamrā(h)* ("companions").

The Shāh-sewan of Sawa. This group consists of two tribes: A. Baghdādi, 800 families living between Sāwa [q. v.] and Ḳum and governed by an Il-khānī and four Il-bēgi. The tribe is said to have come from Shirāz in the time of Shāh 'Abbās I. It consists of 14 clans: Kālvānd (the most important), Kūselar, Ḳara ḳoyunlu, Mukhtabandlu, Yārdjānlu, Aḥmadlu, 'Alī ḳurtlu, Saiflu, Ḳutlu, Ḳāsimlu, Suldūz, Husein khānlu, Dūḡar, Nilkāz, Maḥdilu; B. Inānlu, 1000 families wintering between Teheran (Tihṛān) and Ḳum south of the river Karādj; summer quarters (5½ months from April) at Parwāna in the province Ḳhamsa (Zandjān).

The tribe used to live in Mughān, whence they were transported by Nādir Shāh (?) to Ḳhamsa to form a bulwark against the incursions of the Bilbās Kurds (cf. SAWDĪ BULAK).

Other groups. In the province of Ḳhamsa [q. v.] the Doweirān, who dispute the power with the local Afshār, call themselves Shāh-sewan; they came from Mughān at the same time as the Inānlu. On the other hand, a tribe of this last mentioned name (Hādjdjī Mirzā Hasan Fasā'i, *Fārs-nāmāyi Nāsirī*, Tihṛān 1313, ii. 309: *Il-i Inānlu*), numbering 5,000 families, forms a part of the confederation of the five tribes (*Ḳhamsa*) in the eastern part of Fārs. Of at least one of the 25 subdivisions of these Inānlu, viz. of the Gök-pār, it is reported by Hasan Fasā'i that, after having proclaimed themselves Shāh-sewan, i. e. "friends of the king (*shāh-dūst*)", they had separated from the tribe Gök-pār in the time of Shāh 'Abbās. Zain al-'Ābidin Shīrwānī mentions the existence of Shāh-sewan even in Kābul and Kashmīr where they had gone in consequence of the dispersion policy practised by Nādir-shāh with regard to the Shāh-sewan (cf. J. Morier).

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SHAÏ' (A.), a thing, anything, in Arab algebra the name for the unknown quantity in an equation. The expression is first used in the *Algebra* of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi (about 820) and probably goes back to the Indian *vāvat-lāvat*. In the mediaeval Latin translations, it is translated by *res*, latterly *causa*, Ital. *cosa*, from which developed the name *cosa* given to algebra. P. de Lagarde's attempt to trace the *x* of algebra to *Shai'*, which has found some credence among Orientalists, is untenable.

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SHAIBA (BANU), the name of the keepers of the Ka'ba (*Sadana*, *ḥadjaba*) whose authority does not extend over the whole of the sanctuary (*masdjid al-harām*), nor even as far as the well of Zamzam and its annexes. They are the *Banū Shaiba* or *Shaibiyin* and have as their head a *za'im* or *shaiikh*.

Modern works only give brief references to them. Snouck Hurgronje gives the days on which they open the door of the Ka'ba. He notes that they only admit the faithful on payment of a fee and quotes the witty Mecca saying: "The B. Shaiba are wreathed in smiles; this must be a day for opening the Ka'ba". — They find a further source of revenue in the sale of scraps of the covering of the holy house, which is replaced every year by their care. The embroidered parts reserved in theory for the sovereign are given more or less gratuitously to the great personages who represent him at Mecca and on the *ḥadj*. The remainder in accordance with custom (*Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, iii, 72) is the perquisite of the *Shaibiyin*, who sell it in the little booths at the Bāb al-Salām (Batanūni, p. 139), the ancient Bāb B. Shaiba, the principal gate of the mosque. They also sell there the little brooms made of palm leaves, which are all alleged to have been used for cleaning the floor of the Ka'ba, a solemn ceremony in which the greatest personages glory in participating (Ibn Djubair, p. 138; Batanūni, p. 109). They also have the charge and care of the offerings made by the faithful, which adorn the interior of the holy house. This treasure comprise the most diverse objects, articles of gold and of silver, precious stones, lamps richly adorned, foreign idols, the offerings of converts in distant lands. This treasure has regularly been plundered by the Amirs of Mecca, by the governors, by its guardians and even by the *Shaibiyin* themselves (Gaufrey-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage*, p. 57) although according to tradition, the grand-master *Shaiba* is said to have defended it against the attempts of the Caliph 'Omar (*Usd al-ghāba*, iii, 8). They have charge of the interior curtains of the Ka'ba. They had at one time the care of 'he *Maḥām Ibrāhīm* which was considered a dependence of the holy house; but do I not know what is the present rule.

The possession of these diverse functions by the *Shaibiyin* is now so generally recognised that it attracts no attention. They evoked a more lively interest from earlier authors and especially from the pilgrims. The principal narratives are those of Ibn Djubair in 1183 and of Nāṣir-i Khosraw in 1276. The visit to the Ka'ba accompanied by

a *ṣalāt* of two *rak'a* made if possible, at the very spot where the Prophet performed them on the day of the taking of Mecca, is a pious act, which is not a part of the rites of the pilgrimage, but one from which the pilgrims themselves hope to acquire further merit although the people of Mecca seem to attach but slight importance to it. The dates of the public opening seem to have varied a little (*Le Pèlerinage*, p. 60 sqq.) but the ceremony has remained unchanged. The *za'im* alone has the key of the Holy House, the history of which I shall deal with below. When the gangway (*daraḍj*), which gives access to the door which is above the ground level, has been put into position by the *Shaibiyin*, their chief advances and, while he is inserting the key, one of his acolytes hides it from the gaze of the faithful. In the 12th century (Ibn Djubair, p. 93; *Pèlerinage*, p. 59), he held a black cloth (the 'Abbāsid colour) in his extended hands. In the thirteenth century (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, p. 209), there was a curtain on the door which a *Shaibi* lifted to allow the *za'im* to pass and which he let fall again behind him. The Prophet had veiled (*satarahu*) the door on opening it (Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, ii, 61). In imitation of the Prophet the *za'im* enters alone or with 2 or 3 acolytes, prays the two ritual *rak'a*, then opens the door to the public whose admission he regulates. The Persian pilgrim as well as the Spanish made a visit to the Ka'ba and they have both noted the miracle, which allows this very small building to hold at one time such a large number of the faithful. Nāṣir-i Khosraw counted 720 in it at the same time as himself. Ibn Djubair was particularly interested in the Ka'ba and its *ḥadjaba*. He was present at the reception of Saif al-Islām Tughtekin, the brother of Saladin (p. 146 and 147), on whose left hand the *za'im* of the *Shaibiyin* solemnly entered the mosque; the *za'im* Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān was his chief informant (p. 81). He tells us that during his sojourn the Amir of Mecca, Mukthir, arrested the *za'im* Muḥammad and, accusing him of such baseness of conduct as was "unworthy of the guardian of the holy house", confiscated his goods and set up in his place one of his cousins, whom popular report accused of the same vices. Then some time after, he saw the *za'im* Muḥammad, after paying 500 dinārs to the Amir, re-established in his office, strutting proudly before the gate of the Ka'ba (p. 163, 164, 166, 179). This act of violence does not prove that there was any exact custom which regulated the relations of the Amir with the B. Shaiba. Under al-Mutawakkil (847—861), they sent delegates to the Caliph at Baghdād to assert, in opposition to the proposals of the governor of Mecca, their right to decide what works it was necessary to undertake at the Ka'ba; the master of works sent by the Caliph was to apply only to them. When he came to make his first enquiry the master Ishāk was, however, accompanied by the *ḥadjaba shaibiyin*, and also by the governor, by pious individuals and by the *Ṣāhib al-barid* (cf. the art. BARID, "the postmaster", in reality the redoubtable intelligence officer of the sovereign (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, i, 210/211).

The privilege of the B. Shaiba is very old; the historians of the ninth century Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, Ya'qūbi and the compilers of collections

of ḥadīths confirm this; but they pile up proofs of its legitimacy in a way that makes one think it was recent and disputed. We know what obscurity prevails in "spite of the texts" on the history of the "Arab kingdom" at the time when so many things were being organised of themselves.

According to tradition, Koṣaiy, the ancestor of the Koraish, had reserved the guardianship of the Ka'ba (*ḥidjāba*) for 'Abd al-Dār and his descendants. At the time of the conquest of Mecca, it was in the hands of 'Othmān b. Talḥa b. Abī Talḥa 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Ozza b. 'Othmān b. 'Abd al-Dār (Ṭabarī, iii. 2378; *Usd al-ghāba*, iii. 7 and 372 etc.). Ibn Sa'd (Ṭabaḳāt, v. 331) has a variant story which casts doubts upon the near relationship of 'Othmān and Shaiba, while the genealogy given by the *za'im* to Ibn Dījūbair (p. 81) intercalates an ancestor Shaiba unknown to the other authors. 'Othmān by a happy foresight was converted at al-Hodaibiya with other notable personages of Mecca, although several members of his family had perished at Uḥud in the ranks of the Koraish (Ṭabarī, i. 1604; Aghāni, xv. 11; Ibn Sa'd, v. 331 etc.). On the day of the taking of Mecca, he accompanied the Prophet to the Ka'ba and the latter demanded the key from him; in general the authorities say that he gave it up, but according to one tradition (al-'Aini, *umda*, iv. 609; *Chroniken*, i. 187), 'Othmān, a new convert, had to get it from his mother, an infidel, who had charge of it and who refused to give it up. 'Othmān had to threaten to kill himself before her eyes. According to another authority (*Chroniken*, i. 185), she heard in the court-yard of the house the threatening voices of Abū Bakr and of 'Omar before she decided to give it up (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, ii. 44). But another tradition which does not assume the conversion of 'Othmān in the year 8, shows him on the terrace of the Ka'ba holding the key in his hand and shouting to the Prophet: "If I were sure that he is the messenger of God I would not refuse it to him". 'Alī climbed up, held it hand out, took the key and himself opened the door; here 'Alid bias is evident (Rāzi, *Mafatih*, ii. 460; Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv. 264). — The general tradition is that the Prophet, in possession of the key, opened the door and entered with 'Othmān, Bilāl and Usāma, prayed two *rak'as* in a spot which is to-day held sacred and went out holding the key in his hand. At this point the traditions differ once more in detail, but end in the restoration of the key to 'Othmān; according to one account, the Prophet either on his own motion or because of the appeals of al-'Abbās or of 'Alī, leant on the posts of the door of the Ka'ba and made a speech which ended: "Everything is under my feet except the *sidāna* and the *ṣikāya* of the pilgrims, which are going to be restored to those to whom they belong". He gave the *ṣikāya* to al-'Abbās and returned the key to 'Othmān; according to the other tradition, the Prophet came out of the Ka'ba uttering verse 61 of Sūra iv., which according to an opinion which Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, v. 86) accepts as only of secondary value, was revealed at this moment and applies to the *Sidāna* and the *Ṣikāya* (Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 625; Rāzi, *Mafatih*, ii. 460; *Chroniken*, i. 186).

But 'Othmān, master of the *sidāna* and of the key, did not exercise his rights: he followed the Prophet to Medina and died there in the year 42

(662—663) or he was killed at Adjnādīn in 13 (634). No one mentions him further and authors take the precaution of making the Prophet say that he returned the *sidāna* to 'Othmān and to Shaiba, and to the Banū Talḥa (Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, i. 138; Nawawī, p. 407; *Usd*, iii. 372; *Chroniken*, i. 184).

This attempt to make the cousin german of 'Othmān, Shaiba b. 'Othmān b. Abī Talḥa, be present at the taking of Mecca is unfortunate. Shaiba was not yet a Muslim, although some late authors have tentatively tried to convert him at the taking of Mecca. They are not able to escape the legend, which has grown up round the conversion of Shaiba at Honain a month later. Shaiba searches out the Prophet in the middle of the combat in order to take vengeance for the death of his father, who had been killed at Uḥud by Ḥamza, but from the Prophet a light emanates causing him to lose heart. Muḥammad puts his hand upon his heart and causes the demon to depart from him. Shaiba is converted (Yāqūt, ii. 64; Ibn Hishām, 845; Ibn Sa'd, v. 331; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1661, 3; *Usd*, iii. 7; *Chroniken*, ii. 46; etc.) and without the writers knowing why, Shaiba becomes the keeper of the Ka'ba; all his family hasten to come to his assistance; his brother Wabb b. 'Othmān, the sons of 'Othmān b. Talḥa, those of Musāfi b. Abī Talḥa who was killed at Uḥud: "It is then", concludes al-Azraqī (*Chroniken*, i. 67), "all the descendants of Abū Talḥa who in general exercise the *ḥidjāba* (*Chroniken*, i. 67)". But according to all the traditionists, it is Shaiba who is their chief. It is he who had the power to demolish the houses dominating the Ka'ba (*Chroniken*, iii. 15). It is he who came into conflict with Mu'āwiya about the sale of a house and who at the time of the second pilgrimage of the Caliph, not wishing to be disturbed, sends his grandson Shaiba b. Dījābir to open the door of the sanctuary (*Chroniken*, i. 89). It is he who arbitrates between the two ḥājjī chiefs, the partisans of 'Alī and those of Mu'āwiya (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 3448 and iii. 2352; *Murūdj*, ix. 56/57); one of his sons 'Abd Allāh or Talḥa was a victim of the "abominable" al-Qasrī (*Chroniken*, ii. 37, 38, 175). It is he who appears in one of the versions of the ḥadīth where 'Ā'isha wishes to have the Ka'ba opened (*Chroniken*, i. 220, 222, 223). There are discussions with 'Ā'isha which settle that it is lawful for the Shaibiyyin to sell parts of the covering (*kiswa*) but only for the maintenance of the poor (*Chroniken*, i. 180, 182 and iii. 70—72; al-Kalkashandī, iv. 283); in spite of the efforts of the makers of ḥadīths, the question is discussed by jurists and in 621 (1224) al-Malik al-Kāmil, the nephew of Saladin, purchased from the Shaibiyyin for an annual fixed sum, the revenues that they drew from the opening of the Ka'ba and forced them to open it free of charge (*Chroniken*, i. 266). Shaiba died in 57 (676—677) or under Yazid b. Mu'āwiya (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii. 2378; Ibn Sa'd, v. 331; *Usd*, iii. 8).

The tradition which gave to the Shaibiyyin the *ḥidjāba* of the Holy House is an ancient one. It is still perpetuated in the name of the archway, which, beside Zamzam, marks the ancient boundary of the wall of the *masjid al-ḥarām*. When the former had been enlarged, the new gate, called at the present time Bāb al-Salām, which was in a line with the Ka'ba and the ancient arcade, was

called in its turn Bāb Banī Shaiba (*Pèlerinage*, p. 132 and 133). But for this institution as for many others the period when it was established and merged in an anti-Islamic institution, remains obscure.

Bibliography: See the works cited in the article. (GAUDEFREY-DEMOMBYNES)

AL-SHAIBĀNĪ, ABŪ 'AMR IŠHĀḲ B. MĪRĀR, who, according to Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azhārī, had the nickname al-Aḥwaṣ, was descended from Persian country gentry, but being a client (*mawlā*) of some person of the tribe of Shaibān was called al-Shaibānī. He was the foremost of the Kūfī grammarians. We are told that he was called al-Shaibānī because he was instructor to those sons of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who were under the care of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaibānī. The date of his birth can only be ascertained approximately, but if the age at which he is said to have died is correct, he must have been born shortly after the year 100 (719–720). The date of his death is also uncertain, the years 205, 206 and 213 being given; the latter date is probably correct, as he is said to have died on the same day as the poet Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya and the singer Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī who died in that year. Abū 'Amr was not only celebrated as a grammarian, but has also the reputation of a trustworthy transmitter of traditions (*ḥadīth*), and is quoted as an authority in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. He studied under the most celebrated masters of the Kūfī school and spent a long time among the nomad Arabs collecting poetry and linguistic data. In later life he removed to Baghdād. Earlier in life he compiled his large collection of the poetry of the Arabic tribes. This collection, which has not been preserved to us, contained the poems of some eighty tribes and was extensively used by later editors of ancient Arabic poetry. We find his name regularly mentioned, especially when poems are cited which were not known to other grammarians. He surpassed his colleagues, with the exception of Abū 'Ubaida, in taking an interest also in the historical allusions found in ancient poems, about which many others, like the Baṣrian al-Aṣmaʿī, seem to be particularly ignorant or uninterested. Although a pious man, he was at times addicted to drink. It is not surprising that he gives at times in good faith spurious poems as genuine, as for instance the 66th poem in the *Diwān* of al-Aʿshā (ed. Geyer), where the borrowings from the Qurʾān are too evident. Only one of his works has come down to us, the *Kitāb al-Djīm*, which was intended to be a dictionary of the Arabic language but was never completed. No doubt the *Kitāb al-ʿAin* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad had given him the impulse for this undertaking. It is arranged according to the ordinary Arabic alphabet, but only completed to the letter *ḍīm*. It is preserved in a unique copy in the library of the Escorial and being one of the earliest books in the Arabic language deserves special study (brief description in Cat. Derenbourg, No. 572).

His biographers tell us that he would not dictate his *Kitāb al-Djīm* to anyone and that in consequence copies were taken only after his death. The scribe of the Escorial MS. whom I have not identified so far, belongs to a much older period than is stated by Derenbourg; he used a copy made by the grammarian al-Sukkārī [q. v.], but as some leaves were missing in that copy he compared it with

one made by Abū Mūsā al-Ḥamīd. The book is not a lexicon as the biographers would have us believe, though in a rough way the words are arranged in four chapters comprising words commencing with the first four letters of the alphabet. There are frequent errors due to the author himself. The particular value of the book lies in the fact that it is a large collection of expressions peculiar to certain tribes; on the first 27 pages no less than thirty different tribes being mentioned, and there is not the least doubt that Abū 'Amr extracted the unusual words from the 80 old *Diwān*'s of Arab tribes which he had collected. This is evident when he quotes e.g. the poet Kuṭḥaiyir four times in succession. A diligent search in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* reveals also that the book had not been used by the lexicographers whose works form the basis of that work. The authorities and poets quoted are in many cases not cited elsewhere and I hope to prepare an edition of the complete work, which is the greatest monument of the Kūfic school of grammarians.

Biographers mention in addition the following works of Abū 'Amr all of which seem to be lost: *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, *Kitāb al-Khalīl*, *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, *Kitāb al-Lughāt* and especially the *Kitāb al-Nawādir*, a miscellany which has been freely extracted, generally without acknowledgment, by later authors. Among his most prominent pupils were the Kūfī grammarians Thaʿlab, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Abū 'Ubaid al-Kāsim b. Sallām and his own son 'Amr. The indices of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* and the *Naḳū'id* give us only a faint idea of how often he is quoted as an authority for the earlier literature. Ḳālī mentions him several times, e.g. i. 136, 211 and 238.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 68; al-Zubaidī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāt*, in *R.S.O.*, viii. 145; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, p. 120–125; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth in *G.M.S.*, ii. 233; Ibn Khallikān, No. 83, Cairo 1310, i. 65; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahḍīb*, Ḥaidarābād 1327, xii. 183; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 192; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p. 139–142; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 116. (F. KRENKOW)

AL-SHAIBĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. FARQAD, Mawlā of the Banū Shaibān, a Hanafī jurist, born at Waṣīt in 132 (749/750). Brought up in al-Kūfa, he studied at the early age of fourteen under Abū Ḥanīfa, under whose influence he devoted himself to *ra'y*. At twenty he is said to have lectured in the mosque of al-Kūfa. He extended his knowledge of *ḥadīth* under Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161), al-Awzāʿī (d. 157) and others and especially Mālik b. Anas (d. 179), whose lectures he attended for over three years in Medina. His training in Fīqh, however, he owed mainly to Abū Yūsuf, but he soon began to threaten the latter's prestige by his own lectures, so that Abū Yūsuf tried to get him a judgeship in Syria or Egypt, which, however, al-Shaibānī declined. In 176 (792/793) he was consulted by the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd in the affair of the Zaidī imām Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh. On this occasion he lost the Caliph's favour through his own fault and became suspected of being a supporter of the 'Alids (Ṭabari III, 619; Kardari II, 163 *sqq.*). He was, it is true, like some of his teachers a Murjīʿī (Ibn Kūtaiba, *Maʿārif*, p. 301; Shāhrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 108), but he seems

to have kept clear of Shī'a activities (*Fihrist*, p. 204). It was not till 180 (796) at the earliest — in this year Hārūn made al-Raḡḡa his capital (Tab., iv. 645) — that Hārūn made him kāḍī of al-Raḡḡa. After his dismissal (187 = 803) he stayed in Baghdād till the Caliph commanded him to accompany him on his journey to Khurāsān (189 = 805) and appointed him Kāḍī of Khurāsān (according to Abū Ḥazim (d. 292) in Kardari ii, 147). He died there in the same year at Ranbu-waih, near al-Raiy.

He belonged to the moderate school of ra'y and sought to base his teaching wherever possible on ḥadīths. He was also considered an able grammarian. Among his pupils are mentioned the imām al-Shāfi'ī [q. v.], who nevertheless wrote a polemic against him (*Kitāb al-Radd 'alā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan in K. al-Umm*, Cairo 1325, vii. 277 sqq.). It is to Shaibānī and Abū Yūsuf that the Ḥanafī *Madhhab* owes its first spread of popularity. His writings, which have had frequent commentaries made on them, are the oldest that enable us to judge the teachings of Abū Ḥanīfa, although they differ in many points from the ideas of Abū Ḥanīfa. The most important are: *Kitāb al-Aṣl fī 'l-Furū'* or *al-Mabsūṭ*; *K. al-Djāmi' al-kabir*; *K. al-Djāmi' al-saghīr* (pr. Būlak 1302 on the margin of Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharāj*); *K. al-Siyar al-kabir* (pr. with the commentary of al-Sarakhsī in 4 vol., Haidarābād 1335—1336), *K. al-Aṭḥār* (lith. in India).

We also owe to him an edition, with many critical additions, of the *Muwatta'* of his teacher Mālik b. Anas, which differs widely from the usual version (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 222, sq.; now printed in Kazan, 1909).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, vii/ii. 78 (synopsis in: Ibn Kūtaiba, *K. al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 251; al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2521; al-Nawawī, *Biograph. dictionary*, p. 104); *Fihrist*, p. 203 sq. — The later sources are more legendary in character: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh* in al-Sam'ānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, G.M.S., xx. fol. 342v and al-Nawawī, p. 103 sqq.; al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabir*, Introduction; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i. 453 sq.; al-Kardari, *Manāḥib al-Imām al-a'zamī*, Haidarābād 1321, ii. 146—167 (uses old sources); Ibn Kuṭlūbughā, ed. Flügel, N^o. 159 — Barbier de Meynard, *Notice sur Moh. b. Ḥasan* in *J. A.*, 4. Ser., xx. 1852, p. 406—419; Flügel, *Classen der hanafit. Rechtsgelahrten*, p. 283; Dimitroff, *Asch-Schaibānī und sein corpus iuris* in *M. S. O. S. As.*, xi. 1908, p. 75—98; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 171 sq. (HEFFENING).

SHAIBĀNĪ, ABŪ NAṢR FAṬḤ-ALLĀH KHĀN of Kāshān, a Persian poet of the sixth century. His father Muḥammad Kāzim was the son of the Muḥammad Sani Khān who had been governor of Kāshān, had fought successfully against the nomad Turkomans and was fond of the society of men of distinction. The poet lived at the court of Muḥammad Shāh and then retired from the world. He wrote a work in prose and verse entitled *Maqālāt* „discourses” containing dithyrambs in honour of his patron Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, the prime Minister Ḥādjdī Mirzā Āḡās, Feridūn Mirzā, governor of Khorāsān, etc. A large selection of his poems was published in Constantinople in 1308, for the Akhtar press, 312 p.

Bibliography: Ridā Kulī Khān, *Medjma'*

al-fusahā, Teheran 1295, ii. 224—245; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 344. (CL. HUART)

SHAIBĀNIDS, descendants of the Mongol prince Shaibān, a brother of Bātū Khān [q. v.]. The names of the twelve sons of Shaibān and their earlier descendants are given by Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, ed. Blochet, p. 114 sqq., with notes by the editor from the anonymous *Mu'izz al-Ansāb*; on its importance as a source see W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, ii, 56). Later writers give information on Shaibān and his descendants which is more legendary than historical; the bias of these tales is decided by the political conditions of the countries concerned. For example, Ütemish Ḥādji, writing in Khwārizm under Shaibānī rule, tells how Čingiz-Khān heaped distinctions on his grandson Shaibān at the same time as Bātū, but paid no attention to their brother, Tughai Timur; in contrast to this Maḥmūd b. Wali, writing in Bukhārā under the rule of the descendants of Tughai Timur, says that Bahādur, son and successor of Shaibān, always regarded the descendants of Tughai Timur as his suzerains. (*Zap.* xv. 231 and 256).

According to Abū 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 181), Bātū granted his brother Shaibān the land between his own territory and that of his eldest brother Orda-Içen; the land between the Irghiz and Ural mountains and along the east bank of the Yāyīk was allotted him as summer residence and the lands on the Sīr-Daryā and the lower course of the Ču and Sarī-Su as winter residence. These statements are in general corroborated by the account of Plano Carpini, a contemporary of the three brothers (Engl. transl. by W. W. Rockhill, *Hakl. Soc.*, Ser. ii., N^o. iv. p. 15).

According to Abū 'l-Ghāzī, the sovereignty in the house of Shaibān regularly passed from father to son for several generations; the names of the princes concerned were Bahādur, Djinī Bugha, Badakul, Ming-Timur and Fulād. After the death of the latter his kingdom was divided between his two sons, Ibrāhīm and 'Arabshāh, but the brothers remained together. Their summer-quarters were on the upper Yāyīk, their winter abode on the lower Sīr-Daryā.

On the other hand, according to both the *Mu'izz al-Ansāb* and the *Tārikh-i Abū 'l-Khair-Khānī*, the sovereignty immediately before the accession of Abū 'l-Khair (a grandson of Ibrāhīm) was in another line, the descendants of Fulād's brother Tungā; according to the *Mu'izz*, in 829 (Nov. 1425/1426) there was ruling there a prince named Yumaduk (in the *Tārikh-i Abū 'l-Khair-Khānī*: Djumaduk), a great-grandson of Tungā, although his father Süfi was still alive. For the names of the two brothers Ibrāhīm and 'Arabshāh, the ancestors of the later rulers of Mā warā al-Nahr and Khwārizm, the Özbek used the compound Isā-'Arab (according to Abū 'l-Ghāzī, p. 182). The people ruled by the descendants of the two brothers called themselves Özbek, presumably after the famous ruler of the Golden Horde under whom the rule of Islām on the Volga was definitely established.

The conquest of Mā warā al-Nahr by the Özbek took place under Muḥammad Shāh Bakht or Shāhī Beg (also Shaibak Beg) known as a poet under the name Shaibānī, which is also frequently given him by historians, a grandson of Abū 'l-Khair. The capital Samarkand was occupied by him

towards the end of the year 905 (1500) and definitely the next year. After Shaibānī had fallen in battle against Shāh Ismā'il, the founder of the modern Persian kingdom, at Merw (Ramaḍān 27, 916 = November 29, 1510), Bābur succeeded for a brief period in restoring the rule of the Timurids in Mā warā al-Nahr, but he was defeated in 918 (1512) and had to abandon Bukhārā and Samarqand and in 920 (1514) also his last possessions in Mā warā al-Nahr (cf. BĀBER). Mā warā al-Nahr now remained under the rule of the Shaibānids (as descendants of Shaibān and not of Shaibānī, after whose death the suzerainty passed not to his sons, but to other princes of the house of Abu 'l-Khair) or Abu 'l-Khairids (Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii., 1880, p. 686 sqq.). Cf. the names and dates of the members in Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, 1894 (21925), No. 98; additions and corrections in the Russian translation by W. Barthold; and a few additional facts in W. Wyattkin, *Spravocnaya Knizka Samarh. Oblast.*, vi. 242 sq. from the inscriptions on the tomb of the Shaibānids in Samarqand. On the most important ruler of this house, 'Abd Allāh, cf. the article 'ABD ALLĀH B. ISKANDAR; on the latter's father, cf. the article ISKANDAR. Central Asiatic sources always give as the last ruler of Mā warā al-Nahr the son and successor of 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Mu'min, e.g. Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p. 183; Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Munshī in J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns*, etc., p. 30; Maḥmūd b. Wali in W. Barthold, *Zap.*, xv. 260; Welyaminow-Zernow in his work on the coins of Bukhārā and Khiwa also calls 'Abd al-Mu'min the last Khān of the house of the Shaibānids (*Trudī Vost. Arkh. Obshch.*, iv., 1859, p. 402); also W. Barthold, under 'ABD ALLĀH B. ISKANDAR. On the other hand, in the *Tarikh-i Ālam Arā-i Abbāsī* of Iskandar Munshī, a successor to 'Abd al-Mu'min is given, namely Pīr Muḥammad, "a relative of 'Abd Allāh and a prince of the house of Djānī-Beg". This statement is quoted by Welyaminow-Zernow in his later work on the Tzars of Kasimow (*Trudī*, etc., x. 345 sqq.) and this Khān identified with Pīr Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, a grandson of Djānī-Beg, mentioned in the *Abdallāh-nāma*. Pīr Muḥammad was soon overthrown by Bākī Muḥammad, the founder of the new (Astrakḥān) dynasty, taken prisoner and killed (end of 1007 = June/July, 1599). Therefore in Howorth (ii. 739 sqq.) and Lane-Poole the history of the Shaibānids ends not with 'Abd al-Mu'min, but with Pīr Muḥammad II.

Western European and Russian scholars restrict the term Shaibānids to the rulers of Mā warā al-Nahr, and do not apply it to the rulers of Khwarizm, although the descendants of Shaibān ruled for a considerable time in Khwarizm. Khwarizm, like Mā warā al-Nahr, was conquered by Shaibānī (Rabī I 21, 911 = Aug. 22, 1505).

After the death of Shaibānī, it passed not to Bābur, but directly to the Persians. Soon afterwards (according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p. 197, as early as the year of the sheep 1511, — the Hijra date 911 given is certainly wrong) the Persians were driven out by another branch of the house of Shaibān, the descendants of 'Arabshāh. Khwarizm remained under the rule of this dynasty till the end of the seventeenth century; on one of the last rulers, Abu 'l-Ghāzī and his historical work, see the article ABU 'L-GHĀZĪ BAHĀDUR KHĀN. The son

and successor of Abu 'l-Ghāzī, Anūsha Khān (1663—1687) also had considerable power; after the conquest of Meshhed, he took the title "Shāh"; from this the great canal, which he dug and which still exists, takes the name "Shāhābād". He was followed by his two sons, Khudādād and Muḥammad Erenk; the year of the latter's death is usually given as 1099 (1687/1688); in the still unpublished history of Mu'nis, the historiographer of Khwarizm, 1106 (1694/1695) is given. After this for a considerable period there was no longer a dynasty until the foundation of the house or Kunghrat. The Özbek aristocracy installed as rulers only for periods princes of the line of Čingiz Khān.

On the history of the Shaibānids of Khwarizm, cf. especially Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 876—905; Weselowski, *Očerki istoriko-geografičeskikh swed'enij o Khivinskom Khanstve*, 1877, p. 101—157; S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, No. 101 and the genealogy in the Russian translation by W. Barthold, p. 304.

According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p. 177, the princes of Siberia driven out by the Russians about 1003 (1594/1595), were also descendants of Shaibān.

(W. BARTHOLD)

SHAIBĀNĪ KHĀN, ABU 'L-FATH MUḤAMMAD, also called Shāhī Beg Ūzbek, or better Shāh Beg Khān Ūzbek and also Shaibak, a corruption of Shāhbakht, a name given him by his grandfather Abu 'l-Khair (the kunya Abu 'l-Fath is only found on his coins), Khān of the Ūzbeks and conqueror of Transoxiana, over which he reigned from 906 (1500/1501) to 915 (1509/1510). Born in 855 (1451) the son of Shāh Budāk and Āk Kūzī Begum, in 873 (1468) he lost his father, who was surprised and decapitated by Yūnus, Khān of Mongolia, who had come to the help of the Qazaqs [q. v.]. Entrusted to the guardianship successively of the Atabek Uighūr Khān, the Emīr Qarāčīn Beg and Kāsim, Khān of Astrakḥān, in the troubled period that followed the death of Abu 'l-Khair, he waited till he had sufficient followers to avenge his father. He attacked and defeated Burke Sultān, whom a devoted follower endeavoured to save at the cost of his own life, but Burke was soon discovered and put to death. Defeated near Sabrān by Irānčī, son of Djānī Beg, Shaibānī took refuge in Bukhārā, then in Samarqand. The Khān of the Manguts (Noghāis) Mūsā, promised him the sovereignty of Kīpčāk [q. v.], but did not fulfil his promise, saying that the people were opposed to it. Resuming the struggle, Shaibānī defeated the Qazaq Barandak, was defeated by Maḥmūd Sultān, son of Djānī Beg, and received the hospitality of the Emīr of Khwarizm, 'Abd al-Khālīk Firuz Shāh.

In the struggle between Aḥmad Mirzā Khān of Transoxiana and Maḥmūd Khān of Mongolia, Shaibānī declared for the former, but by his defection at the battle of Shīrr (893 = 1488) secured the victory of Maḥmūd, entered the latter's service, and received from him the town of Turkistān, again defeated Barandak, but failed in his siege of Urgendj (Kīhiwa). The people of Sabrān, having rebelled, replaced their governor by Maḥmūd, brother of Shaibānī, but handed him over to the Qazaqs, who laid siege to the town. Maḥmūd escaped, rejoined his brother who was besieging Yāsī, the governor of which, Mazīd Tarkhān, was made prisoner; restored to liberty, Mazīd made an alliance with the Qazaqs against Shaibānī, who had

previously offered him his services. Peace was concluded with Barandaq, who besieged Otrār, which was defended by Muḥammad Timūr, son of Maḥmūd Sultān; the treaty was sealed by a marriage.

Entering Transoxiana in 900 (1494/1495), Shaibānī four years later was master of almost the whole of this region as well as of Khorāsān; in 906 (1500), the conquest was completed. Baisanqor Mirzā, the Timūrid sovereign of Samarqand, having demanded his assistance against Bābur in 904/905 (1498/1499), he came, but withdrew on seeing the enemy in force and went to raise a large army of mercenaries with which he took Samarqand, abandoned successively by Bābur and by Sultān 'Alī, brother of Baisanqor, in 906. Zuhra Begum, mother of Sultān 'Alī, is said to have offered to hand over the town to Shaibānī if he would promise to marry her. The town was taken by assault. Khwādja Yahyā, who defended it, was executed with his sons and Sultān 'Alī is said to have met the same fate. According to another story, Sultān 'Alī was killed by Shaibānī. He is also said to have been accidentally killed.

Aided by the inhabitants, Bābur regained Samarqand by a bold stroke. All the country rose and the Ūzbeks were massacred. Shaibānī, who only retained Bukhārā and the neighbourhood, resumed the offensive some months later, seized Kara Kūl and Dabūst, inflicted a disastrous defeat on Bābur at Sar-i Pul [q.v.] and starved Samarqand into surrender. By the terms of the capitulation, Khānzāda Begum, sister of Bābur, was to marry the victor.

In 908 (1502/1503), Shaibānī quarrelled with his protector, Maḥmūd Sultān, laid waste the region of Shāhrukhiyā and Tashkent and left it before Bābur arrived. After a raid against Ūratipā, he gave his assistance to Sultān Aḥmad Tambal, who had rebelled against Maḥmūd Sultān, and recognised Shaibānī as suzerain of Farḡhāna. Not strong enough to engage in battle, the enemy army stole away. Shaibānī surprised it and scattered it near Akhsī. Bābur escaped, but Maḥmūd Sultān and his brother Aḥmad were made prisoners. They were well treated, but had to agree to the cession of Tashkent and Shāhrukhiyā, to the incorporation of 30,000 of their subjects in the army of Shaibānī and to several marriages with the family of the conqueror. Returning to his estates, Maḥmūd Sultān died soon after, poisoned, he said, by Shaibānī.

In the same year took place several expeditions in the south of Transoxiana, in which Khusraw Shāh of the Kīpčāk, had taken several towns. Balkh, which was governed by the Timūrid Badī' al-Zamān, was besieged. Aḥmad Tambal had entrenched himself in Andīdjan; obliged to surrender, he was executed with his brothers, but pillaging was forbidden. Khusraw Shāh fled without fighting, leaving Shīrīn Čahra to succumb in Ḥiṣār after a heroic resistance, and abandoned Kūndūz, which had supplies to last for twenty years.

In 911 (1505) Shaibānī set out to conquer Khwārizm, with an army of 30,000 former subjects of Maḥmūd Sultān, undisciplined and dangerous, whom he tried to set at variance by suppressing their chiefs. Besieged for ten months, Ūrgendī, valiantly defended by Čīn (or Husain) Šūfī, was only taken by treachery. Khusraw Shāh, arriving too late to help him, was massacred with his seven hundred men. Kitīk Bī was made governor of

Khwārizm, and the relatives of Shaibānī were given important posts.

Next year Shaibānī repelled the incursions of the Kazaqs. The Kīpčāk at that time had two rulers: one *de jure*, Barandaq, who died in exile in Samarqand, the other *de facto*, Kāsim Beg. The latter was so dreaded that the rumour of his arrival caused a panic in the Ūzbek army. At the end of 912 (spring of 1507), Shaibānī took the offensive against the kingdom of Herāt. Ḥusain Bāikarā summoned the help of his sons, who hurried up, except Muzaḥfar Mirzā, but he died soon afterwards. Coming to the help of the Timūrids, Bābur, indignant at their apathy and their rivalries, soon left them. Crossing the Oxus, Shaibānī entered Andīkhūd, which was surrendered by Shāh Maṇšūr Bakhshī, defeated Bābā Khākī and routed Dhu 'l-Nūn Arghūn, who was put to death. The Timūrids fled to Herāt, but left it in a few hours, leaving their harems and treasures in the palace of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn. Shaibānī entered Herāt on Muḥarram 11, 913 (May 24, 1507), and levied a contribution of 100,000 *taḡha*'s on it, but reassured the inhabitants by his humanity. Two or three weeks later, he entered the palace. Falling madly in love with Khānzāda Khānum, wife of Muzaḥfar Mirzā, he married her by force, without even observing the legal interval. Troops were sent in all directions against the Timūrids, who were tracked down and put to death; Badī' al-Zamān alone escaped, through the protection of Shāh Ismā'īl.

Two years were occupied in new expeditions against the Kazaqs, a demonstration against Kābul and the siege of Qandahār, held by Nāṣir Mirān-shāhī, which had to be abandoned. At this time Shaibānī massacred the Dughlāt princes, Sa'īd Čaghataī, Maḥmūd Khān, and his six sons, Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā, etc. (914 = 1508/1509). Then posing as the champion of the *Sunna*, he next year summoned Shāh Ismā'īl to return to orthodoxy. The Persian ruler paid no heed to his threats and protested against the aggressions of the Ūzbeks; Shaibānī then sent him a dervish's *kashkūl* (wooden bowl) and ironically invited him to follow the profession of his ancestors. Shāh Ismā'īl promised to go on a pilgrimage to Meshhed, where he would meet his adversary, and at once took the offensive. Shaibānī at this time was busy putting down a revolt at Firūzkūh; the Kirghiz had just inflicted a disastrous defeat on his son Muḥammad Timūr, and Shaibānī took refuge behind the walls of Marw. There he received an ironical letter from Shāh Ismā'īl on his way to meet his adversary, who had not kept his promise to come to attack him in his own country. The battle was fought on the banks of the Murghāb. Surrounded by 17,000 Persians, who had destroyed the bridges, the Ūzbeks, having lost half their fighting men, succumbed after a desperate struggle. Shaibānī left the field to die of his wounds in an abandoned farmhouse. It has been said that his skull, mounted in gold, became Shāh Ismā'īl's drinking cup, that the skin of his head, stuffed with straw, was sent to Bāyazīd II, and his right hand to Akā Rustam, prince of Māzandarān, who had always wanted his support. His tomb in the madrasa, which he had founded some months before in Samarqand, became a place of pilgrimage. The most probable date of his death is Shaibān 29, 915 (December 2, 1510). Cf. *Bābur Nāme*, transl. Beveridge, p. 350 note.

Shaibānī has rightly been reproached for his complete lack of scruples and for his cruelties; he only thought of extending his dominions and for him the end justified the means. But he was not the unlettered and boastful barbarian, extravagant and coarse, that Bābur shows us, giving lessons to theologians, correcting the works of artists and having his own bad verses recited before an audience (*Bābur Nāme*, ed. Beveridge, p. 206^b and transl. p. 325—326). He knew Persian and Arabic well and has left notable productions in Turki. His official poet, Mullā Binā'i, had ability. He helped and encouraged men of letters, artists and scholars, sought their society and founded several madrasas. The last of the founders of great empires to arise in Central Asia, Shaibānī brought Uzbek power to its apogee; his successor, Kūčkūndjī Khān, was able to restore it again and successfully resist the Persians and Bābur; but the death of Shaibānī, with the separation of the Shī'īs of Persia from the Sunnis of Transoxiana, marks a far-reaching change in the situation in Central Asia (cf. Vámbéry, *Gesch. Bochara's* ii. 64).

Shaibānī had married Mir Nigār Čaghatai, daughter of Yūnus Khān, Khānzāda Khānum, whom Shah Ismā'il sent back to her brother Bābur with great honour and Zuhra Begi, who handed over Sāmārkand to him. In addition to Muhammad Timūr, he had a son Khurram, who died young.

Bibliography: Mirkhwānd, *Rawdat al-Safā*, vii. 61, sqq.; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 284 sqq.; Bāber, *Mémoires*, years 906 up to 915; This work, often biased, has a much needed complement in the *Tārikh-i Rashīdī* of Mirzā Muḥammad Haidar Dūghlāt (cf. especially p. 116—123, 158—169, 175—180, 190—211 and 221—237); Mrs. Beveridge also calls attention to the importance of the *Tawārikh-i Guzīda Nuṣrat Nāma* (British Museum, Or. 3222), a Turkish work dated 908 (1502/1503) of which the *Shaibānī Nāma* publ. by Bérézine, Kazan 1849, is only a synopsis. The epic of Muḥammad Šāliḥ Mirzā with the same title is a long panegyric of Shaibānī; it has been published with a German translation by Vámbéry, Vienna 1885, and re-edited by Melioransky and Samoilovitch, St. Petersburg 1908. The genealogical history of the Turks by Abu 'l-Ġhāzī, often transl. or edited from Bentinck 1726 and Desmaisons 1874, devotes its viiith book to him: *The Tadhkire-i Muḥim Khānī* of Moḥammad Yūsuf al-Munshī only contains the main events (*Mélanges asiatiques*, iv. 259). Véliaminoff-Zernoff, *Khāns de Kāsımoff*, p. 234—249; Erskine, *History of India* (cf. esp. 184—192, 203—206, 295—325); Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 691—713; Vámbéry, *Geschichte Bochara's*, ii. 35—65, 191—193, 250—268.

(L. BOUVAT)

SHAIKH. This word means one who bears the marks of old age, who is over fifty (cf. *Lisān*, iii. 509). It is applied to aged relatives; the Shaikh is the patriarch of the tribe or family.

In pre-Islāmic antiquity the title *Saiyid*, the chief of the tribe, was frequently given the epithet *Shaikh* meaning full maturity in years and therefore of mental powers. The moral influence of the Shaikhs over the Beduins was considerable and the term came to mean chiefs having a long career behind them, the glorious veterans.

In the history of the Muslim period, it has

frequently the sense of supreme chief, especially among the royal pretenders seeking to revive Arab traditions. Thus in the fourth (tenth) century the reformer Abū Yazīd calls himself *Shaikh al-Muminin*, i. e. Shaikh of the Believers (Dozy, *Bayān*, i. 225, transl. Fagnan, i. 315). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 288—289) mentions a governor of a town with this title. It is also the title of the governor of Medīna *Shaikh al-Haram*. Ibn Khaldūn (*Mokaddima*, ii. 14 and 165 of the transl.) tells us that at the Hafṣid court of Tunis the first minister, regent of the empire, who appointed all the officials was called *Shaikh* of the Almohads. Muḥammad, the founder of the Wattāsīd dynasty took the title *al-Shaikh* as did Muḥammad al-Mahdī founder of the dynasty of Sa'dī Sherifs.

The title, at the present day, at once a term of polite address and a sign of importance, respected, venerated, which all who govern, administer or hold a share of public authority are happy to have, whether in the spiritual or political sphere, in the mystic as well as the social life, is borne with unconcealed pride. It is given to the head of a family, to the political head of the section of a tribe called *dwar* (in North Africa) and comprising a group of common origin. It is given to high dignitaries of religion, to teachers, scholars, to men of religion without distinction of age, to all persons respected for their office, their age or their morals. Thus we have the Shaikh al-Islām, the title of the Grand Mufti, the Pontiff of Islām, the Shaikh al-Dīn, Minister of Religion, Shaikh al-Madīna, Chief of police, Shaikh al-Balad, the mayor of a town. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim are the two Shaikhs par excellence (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mokaddima*, ii. 165); the official leader of the pilgrimage is called in Egypt *Shaikh al-Djamal* (Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence Musulmane*, ii. 641).

But it is particularly in the Muslim religious brotherhood or *ṭarīqa* [q. v.] that the title *Shaikh* has an importance of its own. (A. COUR)

SHAIKH AL-ISLĀM is one of the honorific titles which first appear in the second half of the fourth century A.H. While other honorific titles compounded with *Islām* (like *ʿIzz*, *Djālāl*, *Saif al-Islām*) were borne by persons exercising secular power (notably the viziers of the Fātimids, cf. van Berchem, *Z. D. P. V.*, xvi., p. 101), the title of *Shaikh al-Islām* has always been reserved for *ʿulamā* and mystics, like other titles of honour whose first part is *Shaikh* (e.g. *Shaikh al-Dīn*; the surname of *Shaikh al-Fatyā* is given by Ibn Khaldūn to the jurist Asad b. al-Furāt; cf. *Mokaddima*, transl. de Slane, i., p. lxxviii.). Of all these titles only that of *Shaikh al-Islām* has been extensively used. Thus in the fifth century the head of the Shāfi'ī theologians in Khurāsān, Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, was called by the Sunnis the *Shaikh al-Islām* par excellence (cf. also Djuwainī, *Djihan-Gusha*, ii. 23, where there is a reference to the *Shaikh al-Islāmī-i Khurāsān*), while at the same period the partisans of the mystics Abū Ismā'il al-Anṣārī (1006—1088) claimed this title for him (al-Subkī, *Ṭabaṭāʾat*, Cairo 1324, iii. 117; Djāmī, *Nafakhāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, Calcutta, 1859, p. 33, 376). In the sixth century Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī was called *Shaikh al-Islām*. Other examples in the centuries following are the mystic *Shaikh* Šafī al-Dīn of Ardabil (cf. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 33), and the theo-

logian al-Taftāzānī. In Syria and in Egypt, however, Shaiḫh al-Islām had become a title of honour (but not an official one) which could only be given to jurists and more particularly to those who by their *fatwā's* had attained a certain fame or the approval of a great body of jurists, especially at the beginning of the Mamlūk period. Thus in the polemics provoked by the teachings of Ibn Taimiyya, his adversaries refused him the title of Shaiḫh al-Islām, given him by his partisans (cf. the article IBN TAIMIYYA, where in the *Bibliography*, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Shāfi'i's treatise, *al-Radd al-wāfir 'ala man za'ama anna man sammā Ibn Taimiyya Shaiḫh al-Islām kāfir*, is quoted). The modernists of our day who are under the influence of Ibn Taimiyya and Ibn Kaiyim al-Djawiyya, represent these two jurists as religious leaders who really deserve the title Shaiḫh al-Islām (*al-Manār*, ix. 34, according to Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 339). Towards 700 (1300) Shaiḫh al-Islām had thus become a title which each *muftī* of some authority could claim for himself. Maḥmūd b. Sulaimān al-Kafawī (d. 1582) in his biographies of Ḥanafī jurists, *al-'Alām al-akhḫār min fuḳahā' madhhab al-Nu'mān al-Mukhtār* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 83) says that among the *muftī's* those are called Shaiḫh al-Islām who settle differences and decide questions of general discipline (according to 'Alī Emīrī in *Ilmiye Sālnāmesi*, p. 306). We thus find that in Egypt and in Russia down to the present day, and in Turkey till the xviiith century (cf. Ewliyā Çelebi, *Siyāhatnāma*, passim) *muftī's* (*Shī'* is as well as Sunnis) of any importance may be given this title. In Persia the development of the title has been different; here the Shaiḫh al-Islām has become a judicial authority who presides in each important village over the ecclesiastical tribunal, composed of Mollas and Muḍṭahids. In the time of the Ṣafawids he was appointed by the Ṣadr al-Ṣudūr (cf. Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1676, i. 598, who calls him Scheik el-Selom and Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i. 452, 454).

But the title gained most glory after it had become applied more particularly to the *Muftī* of Constantinople, whose office in the Empire of the Ottoman Sultāns in time acquired a religious and political importance without parallel in other Muslim countries. In the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire the influence of the 'ulamā' had been greatly surpassed by that of the mystic shaiḫhs and after the reconstitution of the empire by Muḥammad I, we see a furious struggle between the new Sunni orthodox influences and mystic-*Shī'a* influences (e. g. the incident of Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd), a struggle that ended in the victory of orthodoxy under Selīm I. Historical pragmatic tradition seems to have ignored this development and must be accepted with a good deal of reserve, while the older sources give but little information. Thus the collection of biographies *al-Shaḫā'ik al-Nu'māniya* (written under Sulaimān I) is compiled from quite the orthodox point of view, but it is quite evident from it that the majority of the older jurists in Ottoman countries had studied in Egypt or Persia or had Arab or Persian teachers; some of the first *muftī's* of Constantinople were themselves foreigners like Fakhr al-Dīn al-'Adjamī (*muftī* from 1430—1460) and 'Alā' al-Dīn al-'Arabī. Later tradition makes Shaiḫh Ede Bālī, father-in-law of 'Othmān, already the

the first *muftī* of the Ottoman lands ('*Ilmiye Sālnāmesi*, p. 315). They also claim that a *Muftī* al-Anām was appointed as early as under Murād II, with authority over all the other *muftī's* (*Sijill-i 'Othmānī*, i. 6), and that Muḥammad II after the taking of Constantinople gave the official title of Shaiḫh al-Islām to the *muftī* of the new capital, Khidr Beg Celebi, who was at the same time given authority over the two *kāḍī* 'asker (d'Ohssoon, von Hammer), but there is nothing to show that the *muftī* was already so important a personage at this time. According to the *Shaḫā'ik*, this Khidr Beg was only *kāḍī* of Stambul, while Fakhr al-Dīn al-'Adjamī was the *muftī* (*op. cit.*, p. 111, 81). If we later find that the biographer of the Shaiḫh al-Islām in the *Dawḥat al-mashā'ikh* (see *Bibl.*), begins his biographies with the *muftī* Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Fenārī (d. 1430), this seems to be purely conventional. It is only under Selīm I that the great influence of the *Muftī* of Constantinople begins to manifest itself during the 24 years in which the office was held by the famous Zembilli 'Alī Djemālī Efendi [q. v.]. In the time of the latter (he was *Muftī* from 1501 to 1525), the two *kāḍī* 'asker still had precedence over him because they sat in the Imperial *Dīwān*, while the *Muftī* did not (*Shaḫā'ik*, p. 305), but on the other hand we are told that the same Djemālī Efendi refused to accept from Sultān Sulaimān I the two *kāḍī*-*askerliks* combined which were offered him (*Shaḫā'ik*, p. 307). It is only in the reign of Sulaimān that the *Muftī* of Constantinople seems to have acquired undisputed authority over all the 'ulamā' of the empire, including all grades of judges. According to d'Ohssoon and von Hammer, this *muftī* was Ćiwi Zāde Muḥyī al-Dīn Efendi [q. v.]; it should be noted, however, that the latter was also the first *Muftī* who was relieved of his office by the Sultān (in 1541).

The growth in importance of the *Muftī* of Constantinople was in any case spontaneous and not caused by the sovereign will of the Sultāns, expressed by the conferring on his part of the title of Shaiḫh al-Islām, which at this period was borne by many *muftī's* (see below). To explain this development, we may investigate in several directions. There is the tempting hypothesis of M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes who sees a striking analogy between the position of *Muftī* of Constantinople and that of the 'Abbāsīd caliph at the court of the Mamlūks, before the conquest of Egypt by the Turks (*La Syrie*, Paris 1923, p. xxii.). On the other hand, the organisation of the 'ulamā' of the Ottoman empire under a religious chief may be in some way influenced by that of the Christian hierarchy in the empire under the Oecumenical patriarch. Lastly we may perhaps see in the Shaiḫh al-Islām a survival of the ancient mystical religious tradition in the Ottoman state, a tradition which demanded alongside of the secular power, a religious authority having no judicial powers but representing, so to speak the religious conscience of the people.

This last hypothesis would explain the tenacity with which the Shaiḫh al-Islām maintained his position through the centuries that followed in spite of the power of the Sultān to dismiss the holder of the title, a power of which they make frequent use. 'Othmān II (1618—1622) went so far as to deprive the *muftī* of all his

prerogatives — on account of his refusal to issue a *fatwā* legalising the fratricide — but under his successor all these prerogatives were restored. Murād IV had the *muftī* Akhī Zāde Husain (1632) put to death, without the dignity of the office itself being compromised. Sixteen years later it was the *muftī* 'Abd al-Rahīm Efendi who took the initiative in the dethronement and execution of Ibrāhīm I, although this cost him his office. The last *muftī* who was able to retain his position for a long series of years was Abū 'l-Su'ūd (1545—1574). After this time they succeeded one another at intervals averaging three to four years. Since the end of the xvth century it has been possible for the same person to become *muftī* several times. The frequent change of *muftī*'s became more and more connected with the political intrigues of the grand viziers, of the imperial harem, of the Janissaries, intrigues by which the *muftī*'s themselves were sometimes gravely compromised, e.g. the famous Kara Çelebi Zāde [q. v.]; the majority, however, were men of integrity, although their political independence became for the most part quite illusory.

Since the beginning of the xvth century, the *muftī*'s have all been natives of Ottoman countries and, like all 'ulamā', have belonged to Muslim families; in this they have been distinguished from the high officers of state and of the army who were frequently children of Christian parents, recruited by the *dewshirme*. Later the *muftī*'s sometimes belonged to different generations of one family. They usually acquired the *mashyakhāt-i islāmīye* (the usual Turkish pronunciation, however, is *mashikhāt*) after having gone through the higher offices of the judicature; the majority of the *muftī*'s therefore had been *kādī* 'asker before their appointment. This custom gave rise to an esprit de corps among the 'ulamā' and their chief which often comes out in history. Unlike the usage which gradually became established for the high judicial offices, the title of *Shaiikh al-Islām* was not given to an individual without his actually accepting the office (there are only two exceptions).

The eminence of the *Shaiikh al-Islām*'s position in the state found its expression in the ceremonial. As, according to the *Kānūn* on ceremonial, he was regarded as the Abū Ḥanīfa of his time, only the Grand Vizier was higher in rank than he. In the xviii century the *muftī* was obliged to pay visits only to the grand vizier. The formalities of his visits to the latter and to the Sultān were minutely regulated. The duties and prerogatives of the *muftī* on the occasion of religious ceremonies, the burial of the Sultān, the taking of the oath to the new sovereign (*ba'at*) and the solemn installation of the latter were equally defined. In addition to *Shaiikh al-Islām* he had several more titles, the oldest of which *Muftī al-Anām* was the most used; others were *'Alam al-'Ulamā'*, *Baḥr 'Ulūm Shattā', Asās or Afḍal al-Fiḍalā', Ṣadr al-Ṣudūr, Mesned-Neshin-i Fetwā*. His dress was always characterised by simplicity; the early *muftī* Molla Khosraw (q. v., d. 1480) wore a little turban over the *tādī* of the Imām A'zam (*Shakā'ik*, p. 137). In later times he wore a white *kaftān*, trimmed with fur and a turban with a band of gold brocade (there are many pictures of the dress, e.g. in Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, ii. 49).

The political function of the *Shaiikh al-Islām* was formerly confined to his power of issuing *fatwā*'s. In supplying the demand for *fatwā*'s to private individuals, he was soon replaced by the *Fetwā Emīnī* (see below) but enormous importance was attached to *fatwā*'s relating to questions of policy and public discipline. To the first category belong for example the *fatwā* of 'Alī Djemālī on the war against Egypt (1516) and that of Abū 'l-Su'ūd on the war against Venice (1570). Under 'Othmān II the *muftī* Es'ad Efendi declined to authorise by *fatwā* the fratricide of the Ottoman princes. *Fetwā*'s regarding public discipline were for example, that of Abū 'l-Su'ūd authorising the drinking of coffee (see KAHWA), that of 'Abd Allāh Efendi on the establishing of a printing-press (in 1727, cf. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1919, p. 9) and that of Es'ad Efendi authorising the Nizām-i Djedid of Selim III [q. v.]. By their *fatwā*'s the *muftī*'s also collaborated in imperial legislation by legalising by their *fatwā*'s the different *Kānūnnāme*'s (e.g. the *Kānūn* of Sulaimān I all had the approbation of Abū 'l-Su'ūd, cf. *Milli tetebbü'lar medjmu'ası*, 1331, i., Nos. 1 and 2). Besides, it was the custom to consult the *Shaiikh al-Islām* on all political matters of any importance. In the majority of cases the *muftī*'s thus exercised a beneficial influence on public affairs, although by their personal interference they had often to suffer from the Sultān's arbitrary measures. The decline of the Ottoman empire has sometimes been attributed to the reactionary spirit of the institution of the *Shaiikh al-Islām*; it should be noted, however, that in many cases the *muftī*'s have shown themselves less reactionary than the majority of the clergy and that through their intervention they were able to prevent fanatical and arbitrary acts (e.g. Abū 'l-Su'ūd's opposition to the forced conversion of all the Christians). Although in the Ottoman empire of the xixth and xxth centuries the *Shaiikh al-Islām* no longer played this important political role, appeal was occasionally made to the traditional authority of this institution when policy required it, as on the occasion of the deposition of 'Abd al-Hamīd in 1909, the proclamation of the *djihad* in 1914 and the *fatwā* against the nationalists of Angora in 1920. The *fatwā*'s of 1914 are not only concerned with the policy of the Ottoman empire but are addressed to the whole Muslim world. This fact reveals a new, and more general, pan-islamic conception of the function of the Ottoman *Shaiikh al-Islām*. It is a conception which seems to have developed in Turkey in the course of the xixth century, probably in connection with new theories of the caliphate. And just as is the case with these latter theories, the idea of the central importance of the *Shaiikh al-Islām* for all the Muslim world is first found in Christian European authors. The xvth century travellers (e.g. Ricaut) already compare him with the Pope. Volney (*Voyage en Syrie*, Paris 1789/1790, ii. 371) regards him as the representative of the spiritual power of the Caliph to the whole Muslim world. Legally speaking, it is true, the *fatwā* of a *Muftī* is addressed to every Muslim who wishes to follow it, but it was only in 1914 that the attempt was made to take advantage of the universal spiritual authority, which was attributed at the time by Christians as well as by Muslims to the *Shaiikh al-Islām* in Constantinople (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii. 272).

As head of the hierarchy of the 'ulamā', the Mufti had acquired the right of recommending to the sultān persons, who should be nominated to the six higher grades of the judiciary. He himself only very rarely acted as a judge.

When towards the end of the xviiith century the administration of the Ottoman empire began to be modernised, there was gradually formed an administrative department with the Shaikh al-Islām at its head. By this time there were already several personages who assisted the Mufti in his many duties, such as the *keṭkhoda* or *kjāya* who could represent the mufti, the *tel-khiṣḍji*, who was his agent in the government, the *mektūbdji* or general secretary and the *fetwā emāni* whose duty it was to prepare and give out the fetwās asked for by the public. All these functionaries had their own offices. In the period of the *tanẓimāt*, this departmental organisation was consolidated. The Shaikh al-Islām was given as his official residence the former residence of the Agha of Janissaries; it was in this office henceforth called Shaikh al-Islām Kapısı or Bāb-i Fetwā (cf. the article Constantinople), that the offices of his department were housed till its abolition. The department dealt with the administration and management of all institutions having a religious basis, except the administration of the *evkāf*. The Shaikh al-Islām thus became the colleague of the heads of the other ministerial departments, which were created in the course of the xixth century. He became a member of the Ministry and as such his tenure of office was limited by the life of the cabinet of which he was a member. He retained his precedence over the other ministers; this priority was laid down in Art. 27 of the Constitution of Midhat Pasha of 1876, in which it is enacted that the Sultān is to choose the Grand Vizier and Shaikh al-Islām directly while the other ministers are appointed by the Grand Vizier. As early as the xviiith century the Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islām were the only officials who received their investiture in the presence of the Sultān.

In proportion as the secularisation of the institutions of the Ottoman empire advanced, the influence of the Shaikh al-Islām in the State declined. The institution in 1839 of a Council of State (*Shūrā-yī Dewlet*) deprived him of much of his influence on domestic politics; then the creation in 1879 of new civil and penal tribunals under a new Minister of Justice (*Adliye Nezāreti*) took away another large share of his influence. A series of legislative measures was passed which defined the competence of jurisdiction according to the *sharī'a* and *niẓāmiya* tribunals. This development filled a prominent part in the religious reforms of the Young Turks (cf. e.g. the poem *Meshikhat* of Zia Gökalp, p. 62 of *Aus der religiösen Reformbewegung in der Türkei*, by Dr. A. Fischer, Leipzig, 1922) and was brought to its logical conclusion, when in 1916 the Young Turkish government removed the administration of all the *maḥākim-i shar'iye* to the Ministry of Justice and that of the *madrasas* to the Ministry of Education. This step was justified by appeals to modern public law. The declared object was to avoid the mistakes made at the time of the *tanẓimāt* and to make the *meshikhat-i islāmiye* a department for purely religious matters (cf. e.g. the *Ṭanin* of Oct. 31 and Nov. 2, 1916). It was in the same spirit that

an office was established in 1917 at the Shaikh al-Islāmāt, the *dār al-ḥikma al-islāmiya*, of a propagandist character. But after the armistice of Mudros (Nov. 2, 1918) the Young Turkish reforms were revoked by the new government. But by this time, however, the life of the Shaikh al-Islāmāt was nearing its end, for in November 1922 after the victory of Turkish nationalisation all that remained in Constantinople of the old government institutions of the Ottoman empire was abolished. Their functions were taken over by the officers of the new government at Angora. This government no longer included the Shaikh al-Islāmāt. At the constitution of the new government, it is true, a *shar'iya wekāleti* had been instituted but the anti-clerical spirit of the Grand National Assembly did not allow this imitation of the Shaikh al-Islāmlik to survive; it was replaced by a modest *diyānet işleri re'isliyi*, by a law passed on March 3, 1924, the day on which the Ottoman caliphate was abolished.

The fullest description of the office of Shaikh al-Islām towards the end of his existence is found in the *İlmiye Sālnāmesi* published in 1334 (1916) by the Shaikh al-Islāmāt which was then under the vigorous direction of Muṣṭafā Khairi Efendi. The principal departments which composed it, were the *fetwā-khāne*, 'the *medjlis-i tedkikat-i shar'iye*, a kind of court of cassation for the *maḥākim-i shar'iye*, an office for the administration of the medreses (*ders wekāleti we-medjlis-i maṣālih-i talebiye*), an office which superintended the printing of Ku'rāns and legal works (*tedkik-i maṣāliḥ we-mi'ellesfāt-i shar'iye medjlisi*), an office dealing with the mystical orders (*medjlis-i meshā'ikh*) and the administration of the *bait al-māl* or *emwāl-i aytām*. There were also administrative departments dealing with the archives, correspondence and accounts. As in other government offices, there was an under-secretary of state (*muṣteshār*). The Shaikh al-Islām Kapısı also contained the great *shar'iya* tribunals of the *kāḍi 'asker*, the *ḥassām* and the *İstambul kādisi*. Finally a large number of committees (*endjümen*) whose advice was asked on different matters, including a committee for the nomination of judges had their homes there. For further details see the *İlmiye Sālnāmesi*.

Bibliography: The biographies of 108 Shaikh al-Islām are given in *Dawḥat al-Mashā'ikh* by Rifat Efendi, lithogr. at Stambul n.d.; the last biography is that of 'Ömer Ḥusām al-Din Efendi (d. 1288/1871). A *dhail* has been written by 'Ali Emiri Efendi. Following these two sources the *İlmiye Sālnāmesi*, p. 322—641 gives the biographies of 124 Shaikh al-Islām down to Muṣṭafā Khairi Efendi (held office till Nov. 1916), edited by the historians Aḥmad Refik and 'Ali Emiri Efendi. The latter contributed to the same *Sālnāme*, p. 304—320, a *Mashyakhat-i Islāmiye ta'rikhçesi*. At Vienna there is a manuscript of the *Dawḥat al-Mashā'ikh* of Mustakim Zade (Flügel, ii., p. 409 sqq.). Many western writers on Turkey have notices in their books of the Shaikh al-Islāmāt: Ricaut, *The history of the present state of the Ottoman empire*,^o London 1686, p. 200 sqq.; D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, ii., Paris 1790, p. 256 sqq.; J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815 ii. 373 sqq.; other descriptions: Dr. Stephan Kekule, *Über Titel*,

Amter, Rangstufen und Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache, Halle s/l p., 1892, p. 16 sqq.; G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1905, i. 285 sqq.; A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge 1913, p. 207 sqq. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SHAIKH 'ADĪ. [See 'ADĪ].

SHAIKH SA'ID, a seaport in South Arabia on the strait of Bāb al-Mandab, 2 miles from the island of Perim. It lies on a cape whose cliffs 850 feet high dominate this island. Two volcanic hills which lie on a peninsula 6 miles long by 4½ broad here form the extreme south-west corner of Arabia. Between the latter and Perim runs the so-called Little Strait, called Bāb al-Manhali or Bāb Iskandar by the Arabs, because Alexander is said to have built a town here; there are actually ruins south of the cape. A. Sprenger and E. Glaser have — probably rightly — identified Shaikh Sa'id with the ancient Ocelis or Acila mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 23, § 104, 28, § 152, Ptolemy, i. 7, and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, § 25. It took about 20 days to reach here from Berenice. The name Ocelis, as Glaser suggests, probably conceals some name like Ukail. The harbour originally belonged to the kingdom of Katabān [q. v.], then passed to the Gebanites and finally to the Himyarites. In the ivth (xth) century it belonged to the Banū Maǧǧid b. Haidān b. 'Amr b. al-Hāf b. Kudā'a. The modern name of the place comes from the tomb of Shaikh Sa'id, who is buried on the north side of the cape. But the harbour is now of no practical significance. It is a so-called monsoon harbour, which may become very dangerous for shipping at the turn of the monsoon.

The unusually favourable strategic situation of the place prompted the French Admiral Mahé de Labourdonnais as early as 1734 to acquire the cape from a native Sultān. Louis XVI is even said to have kept an agent there. Shaikh Sa'id continued to be a French sphere of interest. No less a person than Napoleon Bonaparte wished to garrison the place, a proposal also suggested to Mehemed 'Alī in 1828 by the French government. But, when in 1838 he was actually preparing to put the plan into force, he encountered the resolute opposition of England who occupied 'Aden in 1839 and Perim in 1857. Not long afterwards the French again became actively interested in the place. After long negotiations a Marseilles firm bought the territory for 50,000 francs from the native sultān to whom it belonged. It was not till 1871 that this purchase was confirmed to the Société de Bab el-Mandeb, founded by Rabaud-Bazin. During the Franco-German War, the port was used as a coaling station by the French. But after the war French interest in this harbour declined and in 1873 an agreement was come to between England and Turkey in which the latter recognised England's sovereignty over Cape Bāb al-Mandab. In 1884 Shaikh Sa'id was occupied by the Turks. The French had to reconcile themselves to this, especially as the Turks had planted fortifications in the Cape. It was not till 1896 that the French Chamber again began to take an interest in the harbour. France is even said to have declared the territory of Shaikh Sa'id to be a French Colony. Later repeated attempts to enforce France's claims in a practical fashion

have always come to nought. Turkey continued to occupy the place and in time made it a well defended fortress which, although bombarded by the English in 1914, was strongly supported next year by the troops of the Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamid al-Dīn and was even able to bombard Perim and close the straits for a time. The military collapse of Turkey in the world-war resulted in the restoration of the place to the native population. Like Mokhā, Shaikh Sa'id is an important coast-town in the independent imāmate of the Zaidī lord of Yemen, which is of all the more value as coal and iron are found there.

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SHAIKHĪ, followers of Aḥmad Aḥsā'ī [q. v.], dissenting Shī'a theologians of Persia. Their teachers are the pupils and successors of the founder: Saiyid Kāẓim of Resht, teacher of Ḥādījī Muḥammad Karīm Khān of Kirmān and Mollā Muḥammad Māmakānī, a theologian who was one of the commission which tried and condemned the Bāb at Tabriz towards the end of 1847. Their doctrines definitely prepared the way for those of the Bāb. They are opposed to those of the Akhbārī, who follow pure tradition; they protest against the immoderate number of traditions and the complete absence of criticism with which they are adopted; from this particular point of view they approach the Sunnī way of thinking.

They give new explanations of the principles of religion and of ḥadīth. The twelve Imāms are the effective cause of creation, being the scene of the manifestation of the divine will, the interpreters of God's desire. If they had not existed, God would not have created anything; they are therefore the ultimate cause of creation. All the acts of the divinity are produced by them but they have no power in or of themselves; they are only organs of transmission. Hence we have the charge of *tafwīd* (delegation of God's powers) wrongly brought against the Shaikhī by the Shī'a theologians. God being incomprehensible and escaping the thought of every created being, He can only be understood through the intermediary of the Imāms, who are in reality hypostases of the supreme being; to sin against them is to sin against God. The *lawḥ mahfūz* is the heart of the Imām, which embraces all the heavens and all the worlds. The Imāms are the first of created beings and have preceded them all.

In eschatology the *Shaiḫī* have been charged with denying the resurrection of the material body. They reply that man possesses two bodies; one is formed by temporal elements: "like a robe which a man sometimes puts on and sometimes takes off"; it is this which dissolves in the grave; the other which subsists when the first has crumbled to dust, is a subtle body which belongs to the invisible world (*ḡism huwarḡiliyāʾī*); it is this which is resurrected on this earth and then goes into paradise or hell.

Their thought became later more definite for they admitted two *ḡasad* and two *ḡism* (these Arabic words both mean "body"); the first *ḡasad* is composed of the four visible elements, it is it which is perceptible in this world below and does not share in the future life; the second *ḡasad* persists and reappears in the other life; the first *ḡism* is the body which the spirit reclothes in *barsakh* (purgatory); from the moment of death till the first sound of the trumpet, the second *ḡism* subsists pure: it is in it that the spirit becomes incarnate which directs itself towards the second *ḡasad*; it is it and the latter which come out of the grave entirely purified.

Knowledge of God. For God there exist two kinds of knowledge; one is essential knowledge and has no connection with contingencies: the other is a new knowledge created (*muhḡadh*); this knowledge is the actual being of the known and the Imāms are the gates (*bāb*) which give access to this knowledge. The world is eternal in time and new in essence; for accidents without substances, forms without any substratum cannot come into existence. Accidents are transitory novelties, sometimes they exist, sometimes they disappear; they were nothing and they return to nothing. Substance on the contrary is not a transitory novelty; in consequence matter is a novelty in essence; it is eternal in the future, but not in the past; otherwise the future life would have an end; paradise and hell would disappear. Paradise is the love of the people of the House, the members of the family of the Prophet, the Imāms. Paradise and hell are created by the acts of men.

The material bodies of the Imāms after their death fall into decay in the grave; while it is true that these bodies are subtle they show themselves under the human form, created of the four elements; as soon as their human body is no longer useful to men, they return it whence they have taken it and each of its molecules returns to its source: while the *Shīʿīs* believe that the bodies of the Imāms are not subject to the injuries of time.

It is not possible for known things to be eternal; they must therefore then be new and contingent; they are different to the essence of God but knowledge existed before the objects of knowledge. There are two kinds of knowledge; essential knowledge and newly created knowledge, the latter is of two kinds, that of possibility *ʿilm imkānī* and that of beings *ʿilm akwānī*; the first is used of beings before their existence, and the second once they exist. This second acquired knowledge is not an attribute of God, it is present before Him.

They attribute particular importance to the order given by God (*amr*) which is the first class of created things and precedes the creation in the strict sense of the word (*ḡhalḡ*); the first constitutes a fixed world without change: it is through

it that time exists and in consequence the latter can exert no influence on it. The knowledge of other creatures is preceded by ignorance, while this is not the case with God; this knowledge is new in the creature, it cannot be so for God. It is by the reflection of phenomena that man gains the apprehension of the world which surrounds him. This reflection does not exist for God who knows beings by their essence. Just as beings are manifold and varied as regards their existence, so there exists in God's knowledge of beings plurality and multiplicity.

They condemn *Ṣūfism* and its pantheism with such sayings as: "It is impossible for the essence of God to be the being of multiple things". They explain the miracles of the Prophet (ascension by night, the split moon) not in a material sense but figuratively and with rationalistic interpretation.

At the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, troubles broke out in Tabriz in 1266 (1850) because a *Shaiḫī* was forbidden to enter the public baths as a result of a decision of the *Mudjtahid*. The governor succeeded in quieting the disturbance and made peace between the two parties. Later persecutions were several times directed against the members of the sect.

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SHAIKHI (pronounced: *Sheikhi*, in two syllables, *nisba* from *Shaiḡh*, q.v.), nom de plume (*takhalluṣ* or *makhlaṣ*) of a considerable number of Turkish poets. V. Hammer mentions sixteen of them in his "*Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*". (See the index s. v. Scheichi). The most important by far was *Shaiḡhī Ćelebi*, alias *Mevlānā* (*Mawlānā*) Yūsuf Sinān Germiānī, a Turkish "Romantic" poet. Born at Kütahia (Cotyaecum in Phrygia), the capital of the Germiān, he flourished at the beginning of the 15th century. He is sometimes called *shaiḡh al-shuʿarā*, "The *sheikhs* of the poets".

It is difficult to form an exact idea of his life. Information is not lacking either from the "*tezkere-nūwis*" (the authors of poetical biographies) or from the historians, but none of them was contemporary with *Shaiḡhī*, and their information is vague and they are sometimes difficult to reconcile with one another. V. Hammer and Gibb — the latter without even citing his sources — have combined the different data so as to obtain a continuous narrative, but one that does not give a great guarantee of truth.

Here we give a résumé of the biography of the poet according to Sehi, an author less often cited than Laṭīfi but having, nevertheless, the advantage of being of an earlier date (he wrote between 1520 and 1548): Yūsuf Germiānī went to Persia where he studied under Saiyid Sharif Djurdjānī [q. v.], showing a marked preference for medicine, whence the name of Hekīm (doctor) Sinān by which he was equally well known. The Emīr Süleimān (the son of Bāyazid I, who ruled at Adrianople, then at Brussa from 1402 to 1410 and who was the patron of letters and of art) having noticed his poetical ability, *Shaiḡhī* entered into favour with

the Ottoman sovereigns and later Murād II wished to make him a vizier. Some envious individuals persuaded the Sultān to put Shaiḵhi's talent to the proof by imposing upon him a very difficult task, the translation of the "Five" Poems (*Khamṣa*, q. v.) of the Persian Nizāmī. Shaiḵhi having chosen the poem called Khusrāw u-Shīrīn began by presenting the first 1000 verses of it to Murād who rewarded him generously. On his return into his own country, the poet was assailed and robbed by brigands whom his enemies had placed in wait for him. This was the occasion of his writing a well-known satire called *Khār-nāme*, "Laus asini". He was buried at Germiān (Kütahia).

According to *Taṣhköprüzāde*, Shaiḵhi had been initiated into Ṣūfism by Hādjdjī Bairām, the founder of the Bairāmī order, who was born and buried at Angora, in 833 (1429—1430). Shaiḵhi was actually at Angora, to which he was called to the court of Sultān Mehmed I (according to Rieu, wrongly Mehmed II) in 818 (1415—1416), (according to the *Taḍj al-tewāriḵ* of Sa'd al-Dīn) in his capacity as doctor to the prince of the Germiān, who had been seized with a lethargy. The poet-doctor is said to have declared that an entertaining romance would suffice to dispel the melancholia. The following verse taken from a *nā't-i sharif* of Shaiḵhi, which is quoted in the *Fā'ik Reshād* (p. 86) seems to confirm this detail:

lafe-ñ müferrîhi maraz-ı ruh-a dîr shefâ.

"The entertaining word is the remedy for the sickness of the soul".

Shaiḵhi is said to have been rewarded for his medical services by the title of physician in ordinary to the Sultān (*ser ṭabīb* or *heḵīm-baṣhî*) which he is said to have been the first to hold officially. The author of the *Sedjill-i 'Oṭhmāni* in recounting this anecdote calls our poet Sināi instead of Sinān (iii. 113 and iv. 721) and also gives the date of his death as 829 (1425—1426), which would make him die at a very early age, if it is true that he was born under Bāyazid I (whose reign began in 1389). An anecdote which almost all the authors repeat and which resembles a folk-lore tale, tells how a patient with solemn countenance one day doubled the sum which he was giving to "doctor", Shaiḵhi in order to enable him to buy something to cure his own eyes, which were affected.

The sojourn and medical practice of Shaiḵhi at the Ottoman court seem very different to reconcile with the continuous stay which he is said to have made at Kütahia according to *Taṣhköprüzāde*. One is at times given the impression that two persons have been confused. From the point of view of the history which is so little known of the local Turkish dynasties, which the Ottoman dynasty, particularly jealous of its own greatness, had absorbed and effaced, it would have been interesting to have had more precise ideas on the relations of Shaiḵhi with the Germiānoghlu. [q. v.] In the preface to his interminable *Shāhnāme*, Firdawsī Tawil, who, having lived during the time of Bāyazid II (1481—1512), is anterior to Sehi himself, tells us that Shaiḵhi had begun Khusrāw u-Shīrīn not for the Sultān Murād II, but for a prince of the house of Germiān called Muṣṭafā. The historian 'Alī tells (iv/i. 191) that the bucolic sovereign (*hākim-i rūstāyi*) of the Germiān, unable to appreciate the beauty of the "*ḡaṣida*" of Shaiḵhi wearied quickly of his company. One day he greatly upset

the poet by showing, by his generous gifts, his preference for the following verses which an "*nuzan*" (popular bard) had recited to him.

*Benim döwletli Sultānım, 'aḵibātın (sic!)
ḵhayır olsun,
Yedüyün balla ḵaimaḵ, yürüdüyün çayır olsun.*

"Fortunate Lord that thy end may be happy, may you have only honey and cream for fare and may you tread on your way, only on the meadows".

The necessities of the metre (*hezeḍj*) made it necessary to read '*aḵibātın* instead of the correct '*āḵibetīn* and *ḵhayır* (metrical value: √-) instead of *ḵhair* (-√). The pronunciation *ḵhayır* was in conformity with the vulgar Turkish usage but indescribably shocked men of letters.

The works of Shaiḵhi: the most important is the poem already mentioned, Khusrāw u-Shīrīn. All the authors say that it was left incomplete and that it was Shaiḵh-zāde (Shaiḵh oghlu) Djemālī who finished it. In reality the addition consists of 111 verses, in which the subject dealt with in very vague terms is the death of Shaiḵhi and in which we find a new eulogy of Murād II. The first verse of the addition is: *gelün ey bilü djamīn nüşh edenler; bu ḵikmet sözlerini gush edenler*.

According to the MS. Anc. f. t. 322 in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Djemālī had as his prenomén Bāyazid ben Muṣṭafā (fol. 273). The MS. 328 follows this hint with the words *Aḵmed al-tarḍjumāni al-Aḵshahri*. It is known that the poem attributed to Ferhād, the lover of Shīrīn, the bas-reliefs of Bisütün (cf. Hammer: *Hist.* ii. 169). The work of Shaiḵhi is not the first Turkish translation of the poem. See a translation into Kıpçak Turkish of 1383, mentioned in J. Deny's *Gram. de la langue turque*, Paris 1920, p. xx.—xxi.

The satire called *Khār-nāme* was due, according to certain authors, to reasons other than those mentioned by Sehi. The district where Shaiḵhi is said to have been the victim of brigands was called *Doḡuzlu*.

Shaiḵhi also composed *ghazels*, as well as *nā't* and *terdjī-i bend*, and a certain number of *ḡaṣida* of which a few were dedicated to the house of Germiān, others to the Emīr Süleimān, which were discussed above. It seems difficult to admit that there is here, as in the case of the poet Aḵmedī — see Gibb, i., p. 265 — a confusion with the prince Süleimān of the family of Germiān the date of death († 790 A.H.) of the latter rendering the same hypothesis improbable.

Like his predecessor and compatriot (?) Aḵmedī [q. v.] but with greater authority, Shaiḵhi naturalized in Turkey the methnewī metre (which is that of Khusrāw u-Shīrīn). He was, moreover, greatly influenced by mysticism which pervaded the methnewī par excellence, that of Mawlānā Djālāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Shaiḵhi was considered the greatest of the Turkish poets of the epoch before Aḵmed Pasha, who accustomed the Turks to a language more refined. Too learned for the taste of the prince of Germiān, Shaiḵhi was, however, criticised by Latīf for his "oghuzāne" style, this ethnic here meaning "vulgar". Certain Turkish critics, even modern ones, give vent again to these complaints, reproaching Shaiḵhi with the use of Turkish "archaisms". It is certain that in the eyes of Turks to-day these peculiarities are only an

additional merit, and that the relative simplicity of his poetry in which words truly Turkish are not systematically banned, is appreciated more and more.

Of other Turkish personalities of this name, there is to be mentioned the author of a supplement (*Dheil*, 1780 bibliographies up to the reign of Ahmed III) to the *Ḥadā'ik al-Ḥaḳā'ik* by 'Atā'i, who composed a continuation of Tāshköprüzāde's work (cf. the *Bibliography*). Another Shaikhi ('Abd al-Qādir, † 1002) was Shaikh al-Islām in the reign of Murād III.

Bibliography: Oriental authors: the different *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* (*teskeret-üş-shu'arā*) are easy to consult, being arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the authors. (See those of 'Ashik Çelebi, Hinnāzāde or Kīnāzāde, especially). Here are, however, a few more precise references for the printed *tesākir*: Sehi, *Hesht Bihisht*, edited by Mehemed Shükri (Library of Amid) 1325 (1909), p. 52 sqq.; Latifi, *Teskere-i-Latifi*, ed. Ahmed Djewdet (Library of the İkdām), Constantinople 1314, p. 215 sqq.; do. in German: *Biographische Nachrichten von vorzüglichen türkischen Dichtern, nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werken, aus dem türkischen des Mowla Abdul Latifi und des Ashik Hassan Tshelebi übersetzt von Thomas Chabert*, Zürich 1800, p. 219 sqq. (less complete); Tāshköprüzāde, *al-Shakā'ik al-nu'māniya*, transl. into Turkish by Edirneli Mehemed Medjidi Efendi, Constantinople 1269 (1853), p. 128—129; 'Ali Efendi, *Kühül-Akhhbar*, Constantinople 1277, iv/i., p. 190; sqq.; Fāik Reshād, *Eslāf*, Consple. 1311, p. 36 sqq.; do., *Tārikh-i edebiyāt-i 'osmāniye*, Consple. n.d., p. 80 sqq. (many verses from Shaikhi quoted); Shihāb al-Din Süleimān, *Tārikh-i edebiyāt-i 'osmāniye*, Consple. 1328, p. 37 sqq.; Mehemed Thūraiya, *Sigjill-i 'osmāni*, Consple. 1308, iii., p. 113 and iv., p. 721.

Western authors: Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit*, Pesth 1836, p. 104 sqq.; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900, i., Chap. vi. (The Romantics-continued; Sheykhi), p. 299—335; Hammer, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, index; Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k.-k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna 1867, i., p. 617 (cf. also index to Jusuf Sinan); Catalogue (manuscript) of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris: Anc. f. t. 322—326, 328—330, 363, Sup. t. 353, 614 (all manuscripts of Khusrav u-Shīrīn); for the principal manuscripts of other Libraries see the Catalogue of the Brit. Mus. by Rieu, p. 165. (J. DENY)

SHAIKHĪYA. Name of a sub-division of the Shādhiliya-order [q. v.], which deserves the name of a brotherhood rather than that of an order. It was founded by 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad (951—1023 = 1544—1615), who bore the title of Sidi Shaikh. He was a lineal descendant of the caliph Abū Bakr and belonged to a branch that emigrated from Arabia to Egypt in the 1st century A. H., and from there to Tunisia where it resided from 699—802 A. H.; from this date onward it had its quarters in the Maghrib, where it was known under the name of Bū Bakriya or Ūlād Bū Bakr.

Sidi Shaikh was *muḳaddam* of the Shādhiliya-order. He retained the rite of this order with the addition of a thrice repeated *fātiha* at the end of

each of the five daily *ṣalāt*'s. His piety and character made him the chief of his people in matters spiritual and temporal. In order to procure accommodation for his many visitors, he built a *ḳṣar* at al-Abyaḍ which to the present day is one of the five *ḳṣūr* of the Shaikhi's. His position became hereditary in his family for some generations. In the second half of the xviiith century, however, a schism took place in consequence of which the Shaikhiya became divided into two groups, the *Shēraga* and the *Gheraba*. The further history is dominated by this schism.

In the sixth century a certain Bū 'Amama ('Amāma?) tried to unite the factions under his authority, which he based upon his being divinely appointed successor of Sidi Shaikh. His personal attitude resembled that of the popular derwishes and was moreover marked by hatred of Christians. He extended the rite by the addition of a *dhikr* and a *du'ā*.

The Shaikhiya has its centre chiefly in the southern borderland between Algeria and Morocco. Apparently it never spread abroad.

Bibliography: L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 349 sqq.; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, p. 468 sqq. Cf. also the art. **TARIKA**.

SHAIKHZĀDE, pronounced *Sheikhzāde*, a compound Persian word signifying "son (or descendant) of the Shaikh" [q. v.], synonymous with the Turkish expression *Sheikh-oghlu*. The word *sheikh*, pronounced in vulgar Turkish, *Shēkh*, means according to Turkish usage "preacher in a large mosque; the head of a religious brotherhood". This expression must not be confused with *shēh-zāde* (vulgar secondary form for *shāh-zāde*) "prince imperial".

Sheikhzāde is a patronym of the same kind as *Imāmzāde* or *Imām-oghlu*, *Mū'edhdhinzāde* or *Mū'ezin-oghlu*, *N.-Pasha-zāde*, *N.-Bey-zāde*, *N.-Efendizāde*. The Arabic synonym *ibn al-Shaikh* is not used in Turkish; expressions like *Ibn-i Kemāl* for *Kemāl Pasha-zāde* are exceptional.

The patronymic *Sheikhzāde* or *Sheikh-oghlu* has been employed as a proper noun in the names of the following Turkish personages:

I. The author of the *Khurshid Nāme*, which was completed about May 20, 1387. It is in the preface and in the epilogue of this work that we find information about the poet *Sheikh-oghlu* or *Sheikhzāde*, and at the same time about his patron, Süleimān Shāh, the prince of the German. (The quotations which follow are from the manuscript A. F. T., No. 314 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.)

Sheikh-oghlu was born about the year 1340. He was in fact "about fifty years" of age when he finished his book (*bu shimdi elli-ye yaklaşad? yashim*, fol. 304, b. l. 9). By birth on both his father's and his mother's side he was of high descent (*iki bashdan benüm aslum ulu-dur*; l. 2). His ancestors were powerful (*devlet isri*), men of learning (*'ilm issi fākhir beyler*), Muslims of note. Süleimān Shāh had absolute confidence in him (*Hem it-idüm ara hem tash-idüm ben, Ne kilsam neylesem sabash (shābāsh) idüm ben*; ibid., l. 6) and had granted him the right of acting as secretary as well as High Treasurer (*nishān u defter u māl u khasine*; fol. 6, l. 7). This entirely confirms Sehi, who says that *Sheikh oghlu* was *nishāndji* and *defterdār* of the prince of the German.

It is also to this prince that he intended to dedicate his poem. He says in fact:

*Süleimān-shāh zemānī-di ki evvel,
Usatdīm bu kitabı düzmeğe el,
Ki shāhi-di temāmet Germiyanun
Hem ulu oghl-yidi Ğaghshadanun
(MS. N^o. 355: Ğaghshadanun).*

"It was in the time of Süleimān Shāh when I first
"stretched out my hand to compose this book;
"he was the Shāh of all the Germiyan
"and the elder son of him who makes the
weapons clash".

But this prince died when the author was in the middle of his work (fol. 16, l. 10). Sheikh oğlu then entered the service of Yıldırım Bāyezid, the son-in-law of Süleimān Shāh, still prince imperial, having already received as an appanage the capital of the Germiyan (see article GERMİYANOĞLU), and it is to Bāyezid that the poem is dedicated in recognition of the benefits which he had heaped upon the author in his turn (fol. 18, l. 1). This combination of circumstances explains how the poet could at the same time write a eulogy of his former master. He could not forget indeed that the latter must be eclipsed and over-shadowed by his powerful namesake, who was equally a patron of the Ottoman House (the Emīr Süleimān, son of Bāyezid). His name has only been preserved on inscriptions and coins (Khalil Edhem, *Al-i Germiyan kitabeleri*, *Revue de l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane* [in Turkish], i. 112—128; Ahmād Tawhīd, ... *Kütahyede Germiyan [Kermiyan] Beyleri*, ii. 505—513).

In the eulogy of Bāyezid, "young in age but old in knowledge" (*Yigit-dür ömrile, aklile pır*; fol. 18, b. l. 11), this prince is described in different ways in the different manuscripts. That of Berlin, the oldest, styles him: "Bāyezid Bey, son (= descendant) of Orkhan Bey". In the MS. 314 of Paris (fol. 16, b. l. 1 and 2), he is the son of the Sultān Shāh (*Sultān oghludur Shāh*), these words being followed by this qualification: *Ne (Na) Sultān ibn-i Sultān ibn-i Sultān, Shehinsheh Bāyezid ibn-i Murād Khān*. The same formula is found in the manuscript 355, fol. 4, l. 4, but in place of *Shehinsheh*, etc. there is: *Ėelebi Bāyezid, ol Shir-i merdān*. It will be noted that the imperial princes actually bore the title of Ėelebi up to the reign of Mehemed II (*Sidjill-i othmāni*, i. 89). The surname İldırım (the form in old Osmanlı for Yıldırım) appears in the verse: *savaşda İldırım dirlerse hakık-dür*, fol. 16, b. l. 5.

In the same preface it is said that the work was finished in the time of Bāyezid (*devletinde*, fol. 17, l. 10) and further on, the author expresses the hope of living long enough to finish under the name of the same prince (*Sheküm adile*) an *İshk Nāme*. The end seems to be a eulogy of a minister (the Grand Vizier 'Alī Pasha, cf. fol. 19, l. 10). All these differences and variations make one surmise that the preface was entirely remodelled at a later date, perhaps by the author himself. A critical edition would be desirable, but whatever may be the version adopted as definitive, one can adopt as certain the date of the completion of the work (May 20, 1387) given in the epilogue. This date is thus formulated (fol. 304, l. 13) *yidi yüz seksen doküdan — Ki takht vurmış-ıdi Ğhurshid ökünde —* "in 789 when the sun had raised his throne under (the sign of)

Taurus". Then a description of spring follows, which concludes thus . . . *rebī ul-ākhirün* (sic) *ākhir zāhir — Bu Ğhurshid Nāme oldu evvel ākhir* (sic). "It was evidently at the end of the Rabi' II (spring), That the *Ğhurshid Nāme* was finished (ibidem, l. 2)". Now the lunar month of Rabi' II, 789 extended from 21st April to 20th May, and that corresponds exactly with the passage of the sun to the zodiacal sign of Taurus. Such an exact coincidence, which is in contrast to the usual lack of precision in Ottoman chronology excludes the possibility of error. The poem then is older than is usually believed.

It follows from what has been said that Süleimān Shāh had already been dead for some time in the year 789 (cf. the article GERMİYANOĞLU). We may notice also that according to the eulogy of him by Sheikhoghlu, Süleimān Shāh was so devout that the dervishes forgot the respect due to a great prince (*ulu Shāh*) and did not salute him first (*selām önürmez-ıdi*, fol. 15, b. l. 13). As regards the epithet *ğaghshadan* which is given in a passage quoted above to the father of Süleimān Shāh (Germiyanoghlu Mehemed) and which we have translated by "he who makes the shields clash", it is obviously the regular participle in *-(y)an* of a causal verb of onomatopoeic origin *ğagh(ı)-sh-a-t-mak* (*ğaghshatmak*), synonymous with the metathesis of *ğagh(ı)sh-a-t-mak* or *ğaghshatmak* (whence no doubt comes the proper name Fach Schad, wrongly given by v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, i., p. 110, note 1; we shall correct the other errors in the same quotation). The verb *ğaghshamak* is given by Mahmūd Kāshghāri, *Diwān lughāt al-Turk*, iii. 212, below in the sense of "to jingle (little pebbles), to tinkle, in speaking of toys or other objects". (Cf. also J. Deny, *Gram. turque*, § 850, rem. 4 and note; add the words *ğaghshad*, from the *Burhān-i kātib* in Turkish, p. 626, l. 24; *ğaghshamak*, from the Dict. of Redhouse, p. 722, b.; *ğaghshak*, from Kāshghāri, i. 390, l. 12—15; and *ğaghsha sh-mak*, Vambéry, *Altosm.*, p. 185).

The *Ğhurshid Nāme* describes the loves of Ğhurshid, the daughter of the king of Persia Siyāwush and of Feraḡshād, son of the king of Maghrib (see the analysis in Hammer, *loc. cit.*). It is a poem of 7,640 verses (with two rhyming hemistichs of 11 syllables), that is to say it is a *mathnawī* like the *Khosrew-u Shirin* and in the same metre, the *hesedj* (— — — | — — — | — — —). This poem is called *Ğhurshid-u Ferrukhshād* by Sehi and *Feraḡ Nāme* by Hādjijī Khalifa (iv. 412), v. Hammer, Gibb, and, following them, other authors pronounce it *Ferrukhshād*, and Gibb corrects the editor of Hādjijī Khalifa by reading *Ferrukh Nāme*. In the Paris manuscripts quoted, this name is always written Feraḡshād and this reading ought always to be retained as the only one compatible with the metre (— — —). The word is found indeed either at the beginning or at the end of the hemistich (fol. 70, 72 b., 73, 78, 78 b., 76 etc.) where *Ferrukhshād* (— — —) would be inadmissible. This last word besides does not occur either in the *Shāhnāme* or in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, and seems due to a confusion with *Ferrukhzād* and *Ferrukhrüz* (cf. an analogous confusion in the popular story of *Ferrukhshād*, *Ferrukhrüz* and *Ferrukhnāz*, translated into French by the Jeune de Langues Maltor in 1742, Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Suppl. turc., N^o. 945).

Sehi identifies *Sheikhoghlu* with the "nephew", on his mother's side, and continuer of *Shaiḫi*. The historian 'Alī who makes the same confusion, calls him *Djamālī Sheikhzāde* (Hammer: *Djemālīzāde*). The dates contradict this identification (*Shaiḫi*, who wrote under Murād II, was still alive in 1421), and it is difficult to believe that he could have for his continuer a nephew born in 1340. Two different individuals must therefore be distinguished.

Köprülü Zāde Mehemed Fu'ād notes in N^o. 124 of the bibliography to his *Türk edebiyâtında ilk müteşşavîfler*, Stambul 1918, an autograph and unique manuscript belonging to him of a work entitled *Künz ül-küberā* by *Sheikhoghlu* "extremely important from the point of view of the history of language and literature", but without more detailed information, it is impossible to say if it is here a question of our author.

Bibliography: See especially Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900, i. 427 sqq.; The manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are: A.F.T., N^o. 314 (a fine vocalised *nesḫi* MS. of 882), 315 and 355 (the last two incomplete). The Berlin copy (Pertsch, N^o. 365) is of Rabī' I, 807 (Sept. 7—Oct. 6, 1404).

II. The author, or rather the translator, of the *Ḳırk Wezīr* (*Wazīr hikayisi*, "the history of the forty viziers"). Only the little which is given in the preface of this work is known about this writer. The text also varies according to different manuscripts. In some one finds only *Shaiḫzāde*, in others only *Aḥmed-i-Miṣrī*. Gibb thinks it is one and the same person, the translator of the *Ḳırk Wezīr* from Arabic into Turkish, from a work which has been lost, entitled *Arba'in ṣabāḥ wa-masā*, "The Forty Days and Forty Nights". This translation is dedicated in the great majority of manuscripts to Sulṭān Murād II (1421—1451), and this indicates approximately the epoch in which our author lived (according to Pertsch he is said to have written the *Ḳırk Wezīr* in 850 = 1446). It is to be noted, however, that according to the text of *Belletête* (which is in agreement with one of the manuscripts of Vienna) *Shaiḫzāde* is the name of an author who wrote *in Arabic* for the Sulṭān of Egypt (*Miṣr* and *Maṣr* in place of the *ʿaṣr* of other manuscripts), and it is an anonymous writer speaking of himself in the first person who wrote the Turkish translation, ornamenting it with diverse flowers of diction and quotations. According to other manuscripts, we might suppose that *Sheikhzāde* (or *Aḥmad Miṣrī*) made the first translation and that an anonymous writer improved upon it. *Fleischer*, *Behrner* and *Gibb* reject the reading *Miṣr* as wrong, but the change of person (which passes from the third to the first) in the text of the preface remains none the less a puzzle. It is important then to set up a critical text from the different manuscripts of the *Ḳırk Wezīr* in order to establish even the name of the author.

Like the *Bakhtiyār-nāme* [q. v.] or the "History of the Ten Viziers", "The Forty Viziers" are a ramification of the "*Sindbād Nāme*" [q. v.] or the "History of the Seven Wise Men" (seven viziers in the Arab version). The framework of "The Forty Viziers" may be summarized as follows: There was in Persia a sovereign called *Shāh-i Khāfīkayn* (of the east and of the west), whose young wife fell in love with her stepson, a prince

of marvellous beauty and of great virtue. Solicited by the Queen (*Khātun*), the prince (*Shehzāde*) follows the advice which his tutor (*khodja, astād*) had given him, who after consulting his horoscope, recommends him to maintain, whatever happens, the silence of a mute, during a dangerous period which will last forty days. Irritated by the indifference of the prince, the queen slanders him to the king, who orders his son to be put to death. It is at this moment that the forty viziers intervene and the first of them in the presence of the executioner tells a story (that of *Shaiḫ Shihāb al-Dīn Maḳtūl*, who died the victim of a woman's ruse), at the end of which the king consents to postpone the execution of the prince until he has obtained further information. In the evening the queen on her part tells a story calculated to revive the anger of her husband, who again summons the executioner on the following morning. But the second vizier intervenes in his turn and so on until the forty stories of the viziers alternate with the forty stories of the queen. Finally, on the forty-first day, when the king was just going to give credence to the queen by putting his son to death and throwing the viziers into prison, the tutor, who had disappeared during this time, comes back and relieves the prince of the silence imposed by the omens. Then the prince reveals the intrigues of the queen. The latter, confounded by the testimony of her servants, is attached to the tail of a horse, which shatters her to pieces dragging her over stones and rough roads.

The stories of the forty viziers are most frequently localized in Egypt, which is in accordance with the indications in the preface as to the place where the collection is said to have been written (*Aqḥid* [*Aḫshid*], the Sulṭān of Egypt, of one of the tales — cf. *Chauvin*, p. 123 — is probably *Iḫshid*).

Bibliography: A very full bibliography of the Forty Viziers is given in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège and Leipzig 1904, viii. (*Syntipas*), p. 18—21, 112 sq. (and extracts publ. by Smirnov, *Chrestomathie Ottomane* [Russian title], St. Petersburg 1903, p. 220—223. We might also note that a young Turcologist of Prague, M. Duda, is preparing an edition of the Forty Viziers.) The manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris are: A.F.T. 378, 388 to 392; Suppl. turc. 428 to 434, 1392 to 1394, 644. For the other manuscripts and editions printed in Turkey, cf. *Pertsch*, Berlin, Catalogue No. 454, 437, 438; Gotha, Catalogue No. 230 and esp.: *Rieu*, British Museum p. 216, a. 3. Muḫyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā al-Ḳūdjawī, called *Shaiḫzāde*, died in 951 (March 25, 1544—March 14, 1545), wrote a gloss in Arabic on the Commentary of *Baidāwī*, the *ḫaṣīdat al-burda* and other texts.

Bibliography: *Hādījī Khālifa*, *Kashf al-Zumūr*, vii., Index, No. 6432; *Brockelmann*, *G.A.L.*, i. 265—417; *Dozy*, *Catalogue* . . . bibl. *Ac. Lugduno-Bataviae*, 1851, ii. 82.

4. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Shaiḫ Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, called *Shaiḫzāde* (in *Hādījī Khālifa*: *Shaiḫhi zāde*), d. in 1078 (June 23, 1667—June 11, 1668), finished in 1077, *Maḍma' al-anhur*, commentary (Arabic) on the *Multaḳā al-abhur*, a treatise on Ḥanafī law by *Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī*; see *AL-ḤALABĪ*. The Turkish translation

of this work by Mawḳūfātī is at the root of d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'empire Othoman*. This commentary was first published in Constantinople in 1240 (1824/1825) and again in 1305, 2 tomes in one large volume in-4°.

Bibliography: Ḥadjdī Khalīfa, vi. 105; Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, No. 1450; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 432; Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes... offerts... par Decourdemanche*, 1909, ar. No. 6411 (misprints in the dates).

On other individuals who have had the surname Shaikhzāde see: Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. MSS.* in the *British Museum*, 82, b. and 120b; Dorn, *Das asiatische Museum*, St. Petersburg 1846, p. 219.

(J. DENY)

SHĀ'IR (A.), poet. The word is probably derived from the word *shī'r* "poetry" or "poem", which may be of ancient Semitic origin, for we have in Hebrew *shir* for a solemn hymn, and it is most unlikely that the derivation is from the Arabic verb *sha'ara* "to know", as Arabic philologists explain it. The very fact that the verb is not used in the meaning of composing verses seems to speak against such a derivation. [Goldziher in his *Abhandl. z. arab. Phil.*, i., 17, has explained *shā'ir* as "the one with inspired knowledge"]. The origin is lost in the remotest antiquity and though to my knowledge no ancient Arabic inscription contains any metrical verse, we cannot argue from this that poetry did not exist at those times. The remarkable fact remains that the oldest specimens of Arabic poetry which we can consider genuine have already fully developed rules as to metre and rhyme. That a poem must rhyme is imperative, but the *shā'ir* in some of the earliest specimens of his art which are preserved employs metres which the critics of the second century of the Hīdjra did not acknowledge and did not know (e.g. poems by 'Abid, Imru' al-Ḳais and 'Amr b. Ḳamī'a). Also in early times it was probably more frequent than we can now ascertain that the metre was not always correct, even if it corresponded with one of the 16 metres evolved by Ḳhail and al-Akhfash, for one verse of Zuhair has several syllables too many which the grammarians have not been able to amend.

It is also important that the earliest specimens of Arabic poetry are by men who held an honourable position in their tribe; the time had not come when poor men, like al-Ḥuṭai'a, practised the art. Some authorities wish to emphasise that the *shā'ir* and the *kāhin* were probably identical, a view which I cannot endorse, as Arabic poetry as a rule in early times holds aloof from all that is religious. It is a strong point that it is as a rule strictly concerned with worldly affairs.

The short *raq'as* metre may have been the first which was practised in the *hīd'ā* or "leading the moving string of camels", but we have no ancient specimens of the *hīd'ā*, the earliest being preserved in the *Diwān* of al-Shammākh who lived during the time of the rise of Islām.

The earliest poets of whom we have any knowledge lived in Eastern Arabia and in their poetry they employed only very few of the 16 metres, and it is significant that even such late poets as Djarīr and Farazdaq never use the shorter metres, which seem to have originated later in the Hīdjāz. Djarīr only uses the metres *raq'as*, *ṭawīl*, *wāfir*, *basīf*, *kāmīl* and *mutakārib*, the poet al-A'shā adds to

this number only the metre *khafīf*. As later poets in various parts of Arabia employ all other metres, the fact mentioned might point to the existence of some unknown cause for this peculiarity. The *shā'ir* was considered to be possessed of some special knowledge communicated to him by a kind of familiar spirit which inspired him, and he had in his company one or more real persons whose business it was to remember his verses and to recite them in other camps. While the familiar spirit may only have been fictitious, the reciter of the poet, named *rāwī*, was very real and we have many names of such *rāwī*'s mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and by the poets themselves in their poems. More important, however, is that in many cases the *rāwī* himself became a poet of note in the next generation. Among the *rāwī*'s of repute the following may be named. Ṭufail al-Ghanawī had for his *rāwī* Aws b. Ḥadjjar, whose *rāwī* was the poet Zuhair. The latter was also *rāwī* of his uncle Bashāma. The *rāwī*'s of Zuhair were his son Ka'b, al-Ḥuṭai'a and al-Shammākh. Such chains of poets who recited each other's poems could be mentioned in greater numbers than is generally realised. This points to a kind of school for poets and the *rāwī* at the same time made attempts at own composition, which he submitted to his master; this also accounts for finding in certain parts of Arabia a prevalence not only of specific metres, but also of special themes. It is not an accident that Abū Dhū'aib, Sa'ida b. Dju'aiya and al-Mutanakhkhul, the Hudhali poets, specialise in the description of bees; they were one the *rāwī* of another and not only used similar metres but also the same subjects which they had learned from their masters. This also explains why we find a line word for word in a poem of Ṭufail, Aws b. Ḥadjjar and Zuhair. "The unfettered horses of passion" was an idea which the *rāwī*'s of Ṭufail could not omit from their verses.

The poet of the early times loved to fill his poems with fine words and it is specially in the earlier times that a large quantity of foreign words were used to adorn the poems, a practice which ceased after the first century of the Hīdjra. At this time the calling of the *shā'ir* had altered entirely. In the earlier times the poet stood for the honour of his tribe; he had to mourn his relations or the valiant men of his clan or sing the defiant *hīdjā* against the enemies of his tribe. Now the poet had sunk to be a beggar for favours from the mighty and rich; to this he added lampoons against rivals, who made his work of extorting presents more difficult, and new themes for the edification of drunken gatherings, poems on boys and obscene ditties. We have no Persian poetry as old, but Ibn Djinī tells us (*Khazā'ir*, i. 252) that in Persia also poetry flourished and that they were very diligent in avoiding the use of any Arabic word in their poetry which was by critics considered a serious fault. We do not know the contents of this class of poetry, but we may assume that the lighter poetry in the Arabic language as represented by the poems of Bashshār and Abū Nuwās reflects the themes of Persian verse. The earliest authentic Persian poetry dates from the fourth century of the Hīdjra and the specimens preserved agree remarkably well with the kind of verse composed in Arabic by their contemporaries like Abū 'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī, who wrote in both

languages. Since then the *shā'ir* has never died out, but the art which seems so fresh in the earliest specimens has seldom been able to leave the old path and like sheep and cows the poets, whether Arabic, Persian, Turkish or Urdu, have been chewing the cud to this day.

The Prophet took a special stand against the poets. He was accused of being a *shā'ir*, which brought about the answer at the end of Sūra xxvi., which has been entitled "the Poets" from these verses. "The poets are liars and those who follow them have gone astray". The poets, however, were too well established in Arab civilisation and the traditions know that the Prophet's immediate successors were well versed in ancient poetry; especially 'Alī is credited with many verses, all of which are probably spurious. Though the Prophet would not be called a poet himself, he made full use of several poets, especially Ḥassān b. Thābit, who composed biting verses against the Mekkian adversaries. The method the *shā'ir* had to use for such verses to reach the hostile camp was to teach the verses to a *rāwī* who recited them in another place before a neutral audience, which had, however, sufficient interest to repeat the verses to the party attacked. As regards the art of the poet I am inclined to doubt that all ancient poems were originally complete poems; often the *shā'ir* could only get from his familiar spirit the inspiration for part, and, like Zuhair, had to work for a whole year on a single poem or recite it before it was complete, according to the rules which Ahlwardt e.g. has laid down for every poem. We have ample evidence that many poems were at all times only fragments, for an Arabic (or Persian) *ḥasīda* with the same rhyme going through a great number of verses is a very unreal thing.

(F. KRENKOW)

SHAIṬĀN, Satan. (See also *ḌINN*, *IBLIS*). "Every proud and rebellious one among *ḍinn*, men and animals" is the meaning given in the dictionaries. As applied to spirits *shaiṭān* has two distinct meanings with separate histories. The sense of devil goes back to Jewish sources and that of superhuman being has its roots in Arab paganism, though the two meanings interact. In the stories about Solomon a *shaiṭān* is nothing more than a *ḍinn* superior in knowledge and power to other *ḍinn*. But even their powers are limited. Closely connected with this is the use of the word in the sense of genius. "He made up his mind, when they died, to hunger and disappointment, but his Demon said to him — Thou hast the charge of a household to meet" (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, xvii. 68). Belonging to the same order of ideas is the belief that a poet was possessed by a *shaiṭān* who inspired his words. Later writers knew the names of these familiar spirits. There is some evidence that the pagan gods of Arabia were afterwards reduced to the rank of demons. Ṭabarī says (*Tafsīr*) that the *shaiṭān* are those whom the infidels obeyed while disobeying God. The bow of Kuzāḥ was afterwards called the bow of *Shaiṭān* and the two horns of *Shaiṭān* is a name for a phenomenon accompanying sunrise. Similarly old superstitions are preserved in the belief that a *shaiṭān* eats excrement and all manner of filth and frequents the borderline between shade and sunlight.

The word is common in the *Qur'ān* but in the Sūras of the first Makkian period the indefinite

singular alone is found and that only once. It is not till the second period that the definite form occurs, suggesting that the prophet had found or remembered another idea. *Shaiṭān* is tacitly identified with Iblis who is obviously borrowed from Judaism. Thus al-*shaiṭān* is the chief of the evil spirits and *shaiṭān* is a spirit, though not necessarily evil. There is no fixed tradition as to the relation of al-*shaiṭān* with the *shaiṭāns* and other *ḍinn*. One account says that he is their father; another makes him produce eggs from which they were hatched and another says that God first created the devil then his wife and from the union came three eggs from which the various sorts of *ḍinn* were hatched. The *Qur'ān* says that *Shaiṭān* is made of fire; the commentators refine on this and say that the angels are made of light, *Shaiṭān* of fire or of the smoke of fire. It is not settled whether the *shaiṭāns* have no bodies at all or have bodies of some very subtle substance. The punishment of *Shaiṭān* for resisting God is postponed to the end of the world when he will receive his reward in hell-fire. He is not the lord of hell; according to the *Qur'ān* Mālik is lord of hell. His standing epithet *raḍīm* is derived by tradition from the stoning of the devil by Ibrāhīm at Minā; according to Prof. Nöldeke it is derived from the Abyssinian word meaning accursed. Other names for *Shaiṭān* are *Ṭaghūt* and *Ḍjānn* which is said to mean the father of the *ḍinn*. The serpent which helped *shaiṭān* to tempt Adam was punished by being deprived of its legs but the peacock, the intermediary, seems to have escaped scot-free. Perhaps there is some connection with the Malik Tā'ūs of the Yazidis.

In religious thought *Shaiṭān* is the power that opposes God in the hearts of men. He whispers his insidious suggestions in their ears and makes his proposals seductive to them. The *Qur'ān* ascribes this activity now to one *shaiṭān* now to several. Later it is said that one *shaiṭān* is attached to each man so that it is possible for everyone to speak of "my *shaiṭān*". There are no exceptions to this rule for even Yahyā b. Zakariyā (the Baptist) had his *shaiṭān* though he was too good to listen to its insinuations. The union between a man and his *shaiṭān* is as close as that between a man and his blood. But there is no hint of dualism for a *shaiṭān* has no real power over man, he owes his success to craft alone. He cannot exploit that success for he is afraid of God and leaves men in the lurch as soon as he has persuaded them to sin. The activities of *Shaiṭān* are summarized in the following tale. He complained to God of the privileges granted to men and was thereupon given similar ones. Diviners were his prophets; tattoo marks his sacred books; lies his traditions; poetry his religious reading; musical instruments his muezzins; the market his mosque; the baths his home; his food was everything on which the name of God was not invoked; his drink all intoxicating liquors and the object of his hunting women. The popular view is that every man is attended by an angel and a *shaiṭān* who urge him to evil and good deeds respectively. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is reported to have said: — They are two thoughts that rush into the minds of men. He thus reduced these spirit forces to mental states.

Shaiṭāns were of both sexes and ugly. They could appear in human form without anything

unnatural betraying their identity. Many had names. Those of the familiars of some poets were known. Farazdaq's demon was 'Amr. The shaiṭāns of India and Syria were among the most powerful and the names of their chiefs are given. Diseases, particularly the plague, were their weapons. Some said that the shaiṭāns were bound during the month of Ramaḍān and a cock was supposed to be a protection against them.

Attempts were made to reduce these ideas to some system. An unbelieving *djinn* was a shaiṭān; one strong enough to move buildings and overhear the divine plans was a *marid* (rebel) and one capable of more than that was an *'ifrit*. Spirits who attacked boys were called *arwāḥ*. Some men had power over the various kinds of spirits, but this power was not for all. The body of the *makhḍūm* had to be a fit temple (*haika'*) for spirits if a man was to control them.

The Arab philologists accepted shaiṭān as a native word and derived it from the root *sh-t-n* though some preferred the root *sh-y-ṭ*. The word is very rare in early poetry. Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt uses it in connection with the throwing of the stars at the devils. 'Adī b. Zaid tells of Iblis being punished in fire. It might be urged that he was familiar with the idea but not with the word shaiṭān. Umayya also has the participle *shāṭin* in the sense of rebellious spirit. It almost looks as if he were experimenting to find a suitable word. The form shaiṭān used by Belāḍhori seems to be an attempt to represent the Greek form of the word. As the idea is obviously borrowed, it is probable that the word — a regular Arabic form — is also borrowed from the Ethiopic which is in turn derived from Hebrew.

Shaiṭān is also the name of a snake and has some metaphorical meanings.

Bibliography: The passages of the Qur'ān and the commentaries thereon; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. 106 sqq.; Noeldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 34; al-Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*; Tha'ālibi, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*; Ṭabari, i. 78; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, iii. 20 sqq.; al-Kazwini, *Adjā'ib al-Makhḥūkāt*; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris ed., iii. 321.

(A. S. TRITTON)

SHAIYĀD, a term used as a synonym of the word *kalender* and meaning a certain kind of dervish. The word has been derived from the root *sh-y-d*, which means "to perish", according to the translation of the *Ḳāmūs* by 'Āṣim. The same author defines *ishāda* as follows: "to cry something with a loud voice; to raise (a building) to a great height; to mention some one loudly, i.e. to praise him openly and make him famous; to cry a lost article". Thus etymologically we might translate *shaiyād* by "some one who loses himself; who does not hesitate to annihilate himself on the path of Truth; who continually proclaims the Truth in a loud voice". This comes near Zenker's translation (p. 554). Ṭaiyār Efendi in his *Rehber-i Gulistān* (Maṭba'a-i 'Āmir, 1308, p. 156) gives the meaning impostor (*kadhḍāb*), but this is due to the fact that the word *shaiyād* is used as a synonym of *'aiyār* — which is also an old Sūfi term — and is not a translation (the *'aiyārs* formed a special body which played a part in politics in Baghḍād towards the end of the second century A. H. and whose influence long survived; they contributed a great deal to the spread of

Sūfism in other lands of Islām and laid the foundations for the development of the *futuwa*, cf. *Kashf al-Maḥḍjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 100, 183; *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, i. 332; R. Hartmann, *As-Sulamī's Risalat al-Malamatiya, Der Islam*, viii. 190—191. In the third century, we find in Khorāsān and in Transoxiana similar groups which in Khorāsān are called *ghāziyān* or *fityān* and in Transoxiana *djawālīka*; [cf. Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Türkiye Tāriḫi*, i. 81—82].

We find this term — which is synonymous with *kalender*, *haidarī*, *abdāl* — in general use from the seventh century A. H. onwards and especially in Asia Minor. We know that there was a Sūfi named Shaikh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shaiyād, a contemporary of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, in Ḳonya (*Les Saints des Derwichs Tourneurs*, transl. Huart, i. 113); Sa'dī, in the *Gulistān*, speaks of a *shaiyād* with dishevelled hair who claimed to be 'alewī and referred a *ḡaṣida* of Enwerī to himself. In the seventh century and later, we find Turkish poets like Shaiyād Ḥamza [q. v.] and Shaiyād 'Isā, author of a romantic poem called *Ṣaṣal-nāme* (in the *Bibl. Nat.* there is a Turkish MS. No. 1207, entitled *Ṣaṣal-nāme* by a Turkish poet called Ibn Yūsuf). The references in Faḳīrī, a poet of the tenth century, in his *Risāle-i ta'rīfāt* (on this book cf. the bibliographical index to my *Ilk Muteṣawwifler*) show that these shaiyāds still existed in his time and that, both in their manner of living and in their mystic life, they did not differ from the groups of heterodox dervishes who had much in common and were closely connected with one another, like the *abdāl's*, *haidarī kalender's*, *djāmī's*, *edhemī's*, *bābā's* and *bektāshis* (for historical information, regarding them, cf. my *Anadoluda Islāmīyet*). In the *Ālam-ārāy-i 'Abbāsi*, among the events of 1029 A. H., there is mention of a shaiyād (cf. Dorn, *Auszüge aus Mohammedanischen Schriftstellern*, 1858, p. 370; the note which Dorn gives in his introduction on the word *shaiyād* is of no importance; cf. p. 18).

(KÖPRÜLÜ ZĀDE FU'ĀD)

SHAIYĀD ḤAMZA, a Turkish poet who lived in Asia Minor in the seventh century A. H. He was one of the Baṭīnī [q. v.] *bābās*, who spread throughout Asia Minor in this century under different names like *kalender*, *abdāl*, *bābā's*, *yesewī* and *haidarī*, and taking the opportunity of the material and moral crisis caused by the invasion of the Mongols, went from village to village, trying to spread their teaching among the people (on the religious situation and movements in Asia Minor at this time see my *Anadoluda Islāmīyet*, p. 36—90). This explains the surname of Shaiyād [q. v.] which he took. The only information regarding his life is found in certain legendary biographies written in the tenth century. It is certain that he was the author of mystical-religious poems written in the language of the people in syllabary metre (*hidjā wezn*) in preference to the *'arūd* but these poems are lost like many of the literary products of this period. The only remnant that survives is a *mathnawī* of 15 *bait's* preserved in the *Djāmī' al-naṣā'ir*, composed in 918 by Egerdirli Hādjirī Kemāl (the only known MS. of this work is in the *Kütübkhāne-i 'Umūmī*; for further information cf. the bibliographical index to my *Ilk Muteṣawwifler*); this *mathnawī* has been published by me. Shaiyād Ḥamza the memory of whom and his works sur-

vived till the tenth century, did not, like Yūnus Emre, have a powerful poetic personality but, like his predecessors and contemporaries whose names are now forgotten, he had an influence on the development of Yūnus (on the character of and formative elements in Turkish literature at this time cf. my *İlk Muteşavvifler*, Ch. vii., p. 205—286). Nevertheless after gaining some fame at the period when this style of poetry was adopted by Yūnus Emre and his successors to the popular taste, the works of Saiyād Ḥamza gradually lost their popularity and became completely forgotten from the tenth century onwards.

Bibliography: Besides the sources mentioned above: Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād, *Seldjükkiler dewrinde Anadolu kış'irleri, I, Shaiyād Ḥamza*, in *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, i, N^o. 3, 1922, p. 18—19. (KÖPRÜLÜ ZADE FU'AD)

SHAIZAR, a town in Northern Syria, the ancient Σαῖζα, Byzantine τὸ Σαῖζ. It is mentioned as early as the inscriptions of Thutmosis III and in the 'Amārna tablets. Seleucus I settled colonists here from Larissa in Thessaly and gave it the name of this town; but the new name could not drive out the old, which soon came into general use again in the Muslim period in the form *Shaizar*. It is mentioned as *Shaizarā* along with *Ḥamā* by Imru 'l-Kais and 'Ubaidallāh b. Kais al-Rukaiyāt (Imru 'l-Kais, *Diwān*, xx. 40, ed. Ahlwardt, *The Diwans of the six anc. Arab. Poets*, p. 130; Kais al-Rukaiyāt, *Diwān*, liv. 9, ed. Rhodokanakis, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, phil.-hist. Kl., cxliv., Abh. x., p. 240).

In the year 17 (638), the people of the town received Abū 'Ubaida with open arms. They went out to meet him with music, and were satisfied with the same general terms of peace as had been offered to the people of *Ḥamā*, namely payment of the poll and ground-tax (*djizya* and *kharāj*). *Shaizar* later became a district (*iklim*) of the military province (*djund*) of Himṣ. Towards the end of the ixth century, the people were Kindis (al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 324). When Nicephorus Phocas advanced on Ḥalab, Saif al-Dawla retired to *Shaizar*, but fell very ill there and was brought back dying to his capital (356 = 967). In the following year Nicephorus took *Shaizar* and burned down its chief mosque. In the treaty between him and Karghūya of Ḥalab (Šafar 359) the town was included in the latter's territory (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubda*, transl. Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 232 = Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, cxvii., Col., 1023). On the 16th Raddjab 383 (Sept. 6, 993), *Shaizar*, which then belonged to the Ḥamdānīd Sa'īd al-Dawla, was taken by the Egyptian general Bandjutakin who guaranteed the commandant Sūsan, an old officer of Sa'īd al-Dawla, security of life and property. When Sa'īd al-Dawla appealed to the Emperor Basil for help against the Egyptians, the latter came up and besieged *Shaizar*; the commander appointed by the Caliph, Maṣṣūr b. Karādīs, was bribed by him and handed over the fortress, which received a strong Greek garrison (383 = 994/995). But it again passed — apparently as a result of the defeat of Damianos Dalassenos at Afāmiya (998) — who installed Ḥamlān (or Ḥalmān) b. Karādīs as governor there (who can hardly be identified with the above mentioned Maṣṣūr as Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Ak. Nauk.*, xlv., p. 311, note 266 and Schlumberger *Épôqée byzantine*, ii. 151, note 3, suppose; rather his brother). Basilios however attacked *Shaizar* the very next year (999),

began hostilities on October 28 and destroyed the aqueduct which supplied the fortress with water. An attempt to bribe the commander failed, but want of water finally forced him to offer to surrender, if he and his troops were allowed to march out freely, without the usual proskynese before the Emperor, and the citizens were guaranteed security of life and property; the Emperor accepted these conditions; in spite of this, many citizens left the town with the garrison, and Basilios repopulated it with Armenian colonists.

The town remained for the next eighty years in the hands of the Byzantines. In the year 395 (1004/1005) a certain Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Aṣfar of the tribe of Taghlib appeared as a fākir and advanced against *Shaizar* with a prominent Arab named al-Ḥamālī, to drive the Greeks out of it. They defeated a Byzantine detachment and were only driven away by an Egyptian army sent in reply to an official complaint by Basil to the Caliph al-Ḥākim (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, in Rosen, *op. cit.* p. 41 [transl. p. 43] and Kamāl al-Dīn, *ibid.* p. 342 sq.; in Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum*, p. 2, *Sizaram* should be read for *Caesaram*, cf. his note p. 95). About 1025 Šālīh b. Mirdās [q.v.] granted the Munqidhīs of the tribe of the Banū Kināna the land round *Shaizar*, which however itself still remained in the hands of the Byzantines. The Munqidhī Muḥallad was ruling over Kafartāb in 1041; he was the ancestor of Usāma Abu 'l-Mutawwaḍj Muḥallad b. Naṣr b. Munqidh, who extended his territory down to the Orontes, and probably built the fortress Djisr banī Munqidh at the bridgehead below *Shaizar*. When he died in January 1059, he was succeeded by his son 'Izz al-Dawla Sadīd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, who in 1078, by arrangement with the last Mirdāsīd of Ḥalab, Šābiḳ, rebuilt the fortress above mentioned and the suburb of *Shaizar*, Ḥiṣn al-Djisir, in order to cut off the fortress from supplies and support from the Greeks, and thus force it to surrender. In the same year he gave shelter in this fortress to the Turkomans under Aḥmad Šāh, who were fleeing before Tādj al-Dawla Tutuṣh (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Hist. Merdas.*, p. 85, 90; Derenbourg, *Ousāma*, p. 20), but was able to win the favour of Tutuṣh again, and later of Šaraf al-Dawla, who took Ḥalab on June 18, 1080. On December 19, 1081 he succeeded in getting possession of the citadel of *Shaizar* which had hitherto belonged to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, by a treaty with the Bishop of al-Bāra, who resided in it. The Greek garrison were allowed to depart. Šaraf al-Dawla who envied him the possession of the fortress, and in vain endeavoured to take it from him, was appeased by rich presents from the Munqidhī. The latter died next year (towards the end of 1082); he was succeeded by his pious son 'Izz al-Dawla Abu 'l-Murhaf Naṣr, a peaceful, art-loving prince, under whom the territory of *Shaizar* for a time also included Afāmiya, Kafartāb and al-Lādhiḳīya till he had to cede these towns in 1086 to Malik-Šāh of Iṣfahān. *Shaizar* was several times besieged during his rule, but always unsuccessfully. He died childless in 1098, shortly after the conquest of Anṭākīya by the Crusaders (Oct. 1097). He had destined as his successor his younger brother Maḍjd al-Dīn Abū Salāma Murshid (1068—1137), father of Usāma; but this hunter and calligrapher declined the emirate in favour of his youngest brother 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Asākir Sulṭān.

Madjd al-Dīn Mu'ayyid al-Dawla Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Usāma (d. 1188), the celebrated author of the *Kitāb al-Fitbār* (born July 4, 1095), gives in this autobiography a valuable account of life and activities in his native town, which however he left in 1129 and never saw again after his father's death (May 30, 1137).

The fortress (*Ḥiṣn, Kal'a*) was built on a steep ridge running north and south, called 'urf al-dik ["cock's comb"] (Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 205). The Nahr al-'Aṣī flowed round it on north and east; on the south side it was cut off by a deep trench from a high plateau which formed its continuation. The upper town (in Usāma: *balad*, in European sources: *praesidium, oppidum, pars superior civitatis*) lay within this citadel, the fortifications of which were presumably strongest at the north and south ends, and therefore are still best preserved here. It had only three gates; through the north gate one crossed over a sloping stone bridge of several arches, which crossed a brook and formed the only entrance to the fortress, to the stone bridge Dīsr Banī Munkidh, leading straight across the Nahr al-'Aṣī, over which lay on the south side of the river the lower town (Usāma: *Madīna*, in European sources: *suburbium, pars inferior civitatis*), which was called al-Dīsr after it (*Gistrum, Γίστριον*) and was defended by a fort which probably lay on the right bank (*Ḥiṣn al-Dīsr*). The neighbourhood of Shaizar was well-watered and had a luxurious vegetation. It was particularly rich in pomegranate-trees.

During Sulṭān's rule, Shaizar was frequently threatened by raids of the Banū Kilāb of Ḥalab, the Franks and other enemies, without their being able to take this stronghold. The Emperor, John Comnenus, who laid siege to the fortress from the Djabal Dīsuraidjis opposite on the east bank of the Orontes for 24 days (April 29,—May 21, 1138), and bombarded it for ten days in succession, had finally to retire with no success, in spite of the fact that he had already promised it in the preceding year to Fulco of Antioch as a fief. Sulṭān died in 1154, or a little before that. He was succeeded by his son Tādī al-Dawla Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, who perished in the middle of a festival in a terrible earthquake with almost all the members of his house (1157). In October of this year the Franks endeavoured to seize the ownerless shattered fortress, but were driven back by the Isma'īlis, who had held the region of Maṣyād since 1140. Nūr al-Dīn, however, took Shaizar from them, restored the citadel and placed it under his foster-brother, Madjd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. al-Dāya. He also repaired Shaizar after a second earthquake which devastated a considerable part of Northern Syria on June 29, 1170. In the same year Abū Bakr died, and was succeeded by his brother Shams al-Dīn 'Alī. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who took Northern Syria in 1174 after Nūr al-Dīn's death from his eleven year old son, Isma'īl, made Ṣabīḡ al-Dīn 'Uḥmān, his vassal in Shaizar; he was succeeded by his son 'Izz al-Dīn Maṣ'ūd and later by his grandson Shihāb al-Dīn Yūsuf under the suzerainty of the Aiyūbids of Ḥalab. Malik 'Azīz of Ḥalab deprived the latter of his fief for insubordination in 630 (1233). Four years later, however, we again find him described as lord of Shaizar; but it is doubtful if he was still living there. In 638 (1240/1241), Shaizar was again occupied by a Ḥalabī army. When the Mongols invaded Syria in 1260, Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn Yūsuf of Ḥalab fled

before them, and razed his fortresses to the ground as he went; Shaizar was among these, Baibars had it rebuilt when he ascended the throne, after the expulsion of the Mongols in 1261. He visited the town in 1268 on a tour through the country. Under Sulṭān Qalā'un, Shaizar belonged for a year (1280—1281) to the rebel emīr Sunḡur al-Aṣḡar of Dimashk. Henceforth it was a *niyāba* under the *nā'ib* of Ḥalab (cf. the inscriptions of Shaizar of the time of Barsbāi, published by Littmann). After the troubles stirred up by Mīntāsh and al-Nāṣiri (1389), nomad tribes occupied this *niyāba* (Kalkashandi, *Ṣubḡ al-A'shā*, iv. 227, 17). About 1450 Khalīl al-Zāhiri uses the modern form of the name, Saidjar, for the first time. No deduction can be made from the fact that al-Dīr'ān Abu 'l-Baḡā' in his description of Kāitbāi's journey (1477) through Northern Syria, does not mention Shaizar (cf. Devonshire's edition in *B.I.F.A.O.*, xx., Cairo 1921), as the Sulṭān's route did not take him near the town. With Turkish rule or even before it began the gradual decay of the stronghold, which is still going on.

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SHAKĀK (**SHAKKĀK**), a Kurdish tribe on the Turco-Persian frontier. In Persia to the west of Lake Urmia before the war they occupied the cantons of Brādōst, Somāi [q. v.], Čehriḳ (cf. **SALMĀS**) and Kōtūr; in Turkey, the eastern districts of the wilāyet of Wān: Sarāi (Mahmūdī) and Albak (Bashkal'a), i. e. the territory which in the xvth century belonged to the Dumbuli tribe (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 313—314).

The name of the tribe is written by Yūsuf Diyā al-Dīn: **Shikākān** and by Shīrwānī: **Shakāk**; Khurshid Efendi writes "**Shikāki** or **Shikāki**". To the south of Lake Urmia in the canton of Bahi we have a village Kāni-Shakāk ("the source of the **Shakāk**"), which not being far from Bulak-Shikāki (cf. **SHAKĀKĪ**) may be evidence of contact between the two tribes, if it is not a phonetic variant of the same name.

Among the Persian clans, the principal are: Kardār and Delān (Somāi and Brādōst) and 'Awdō'i (Čehriḳ und Kōtūr). There were in all about 2,000 families of **Shakāk** in Persia who formed the warrior caste (*'ashirāt*); their subjects (*ra'yat*) were the remnants of tribes who have disappeared.

The 'Awdō'i have played a prominent part in local politics. Their ancestor is said to have arrived in Diyār Bakr at Urmia about 1700. The first known chief was Ismā'il Āghā (d. 1231/1816) whose stronghold and tomb are on the river Nāzlu-čai (N.W. of Urmia). The 'Awdō'i harassed by the Afshar then entrenched themselves in Djūnī (Somāi) from which they went northwards to Čehriḳ. Dja'far Āghā, sometimes frontier-commissioner and sometimes rebel and brigand, was killed at Tabriz in 1905 by order of the governor-general. His brother Ismā'il, better known by the Kurdish diminutive of Simkō (Simitkō) succeeded him and operated between Čehriḳ and Kōtūr. He trimmed carefully between Persians, Turks and Russians, holding a practically independent position. As a result of his numerous crimes (e.g. the assassination of the Nestorian patriarch, Mār-Shimūn, and the massacres of Muslims at Urmia), the Persian government undertook several expeditions against Simkō who in 1922 was driven towards Turkey and Mesopotamia.

On the Turkish side, the principal clans are: Mukūrī, Milān, **Shamsiki** and Taḳurī (at Mahmūdī) and Merziki (at Bashkal'a). The Turkish government used to recruit 5 "Hamīdiye" regiments from among these clans. About 1900 these clans numbered 2,000 families, but the war must have severely reduced their numbers.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SHAKĀKĪ (**SHĪKĀGHĪ**), a tribe of Kurdish origin. According to Yūsuf Diyā al-Dīn, the word *shikāki* means in Kurdish a beast which has a particular disease of the foot. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 148), the **Shakāki** were one of the four warrior tribes. (*'ashirāt*) in the nāhiya of Finik of the principality of Djazīra. According to the Ottoman *sāl-nāma*, there were Kurdish **Shakāki** in the nāhiya of Sheikhler in the qaḍā of Kīllis in

the wilāyet of Aleppo (cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Altertums-kunde*, i. 744). The nāhiya **Shakāk** of the *Djihān-numā* (between Mukus and Djulāmerg) is certainly only a mis-reading for **Shatākḥ**. As a result of certain movements, probably in the time of the Ak-Koyunlu, we find the **Shakāki** leading a nomadic life on the Mughān on the frontier of Transcaucasia (cf. **SHĀH-SEWAN**). At the beginning of the xixth century there were 8,000 families on Russian territory. Dupré speaks of 25,000 hearths of **Shakāki** among the tribes speaking Kurdish. About 1814 J. Morier numbered them at 50,000 grouped along the Tabriz-Zandjān road in the districts of **Hashtarūd**, **Garmarūd** and **Miyāna** as well as at **Ardabil**. 'Abbās Mirzā drew from this tribe the main cadres of his infantry drilled in European fashion. According to Morier, the **Shakāki** spoke Turkish. Shīrwānī puts the summer and winter quarters of the 60,000 families of **Shakāki** in the region of Tabriz-Sarāb (on the road from **Ardabil**) and adds that it is a Kurdish tribe whose language is Turkish, which forms part of the *Kīzlī-bash* (*min tawābi-i kīzlī-bash*), which evidently means that the tribe is **Shī'a** as is also suggested by its association with the **Shāh-sewan**. The importance of the tribe may be judged from the fact that at the beginning of the xxth century the Persian government recruited four regiments from the **Shakāki**: we do not know the connexions that may exist between the **Shakāki** and the Kurdish **Shakāk**, but all indications point to their being a Turkicised Kurdish tribe (like the Kurds of **Gandja**). In the toponymy of the region south of Lake Urmia (cf. the article **SĀWĀJ-BULĀK**), we find traces of the passage of the **Shakāki** (the village of **Kīshlak-Shikāki** at **Suldūz**).

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(V. MINORSKY)

SHAKAR-GANDJ, Indian saint, whose real name was FARĪD AL-DĪN MAS'ŪD, was born in 569 A.H. (1173 A.D.). He was a disciple of Khwāja Kūtb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and settled in Adjwadhan, better known as Pākpatan, in Multan and died there on Saturday, Muḥarram 5, 664 (October 17, 1265), at the age of 95 years. It is said that by continued fasting his body had become so pure that whatever he used to put into his mouth to allay the cravings of hunger, even earth and stones, used to turn immediately into sugar; hence he derived his title of **Shakar-gandj**, "sugar-store".

At the tomb of this saint there is an annual fair on the fifth day of Muḥarram, and Muslims in considerable numbers come there to pass through a narrow gate-way known as the *Bihishtī Darwāza* or "Gate of Paradise", which leads to the mausoleum and is opened only once a year.

His teachings were collected by his famous devotee Badr al-Dīn Ishaḳ b. 'Alī al-Dihlawī under the title of *Asrār al-Awliyā*.

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Faiths of Man, ii. 92; *J. A. S. Bengal*, v. 635, and Thornton's *Indian Gazetteer*, under Pauk Puttan.

(M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN)

SHAKĪKAT AL-NU'MĀN (A.), the blood-red *Anemone hortensis* or *A. conoraria*, which is a native of the Mediterranean lands and nearer Asia. According to al-Kazwīnī, *al-Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, i. 288, it is also called *Khadd al-Adhrā'*, "the virgin's cheek", and Persian *Lālah* (cf. Vuller's, *Lex.*, ii. 1074: "any wild flower and especially the tulip and anemone"). It opens by day and closes at night and turns towards the sun. Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir (reigned 482-489 A.D.) is said to have said as he passed a spot covered with anemones: "any one who pulls up one of these, will have his shoulder torn out". *Shakika*, however, was also the name of Nu'mān's mother. Others say the name comes from *shakika* "summer-lightning" and *nu'mān* "blood", which is probably truer. According to de Lagarde, *ἀνεμώνη* is the Greek transcription of *an-nu'mān*; according to Dozy, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, p. 373, it is the other way round and *an-nu'mān* comes from *anemone*. Ibn al-Baitār gives a detailed description of the plant; the medicinal uses of it and its root are numerous.

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SHAKUNDA, arabicised form of Secunda, name of a little town opposite Cordova on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. According to al-Maqqārī and Ibn Ḥalīb it was originally surrounded by a rampart. It was here that a decisive battle was fought in 747 A.D. between the Ma'addī clan under Yūsuf al-Fihri [q. v.] and al-Ḥumail b. Ḥātim [q. v.] and the Yamani clan commanded by Abū 'l-Khaṭṭār who was defeated. Later at the zenith of the Umayyad caliphate, Secunda became one of the richest suburbs of Cordova and was also called the "southern suburb" (*al-rabaq al-djānūbi*). The celebrated Abū 'l-Walid Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Shakundī, the most famous man of letters in al-Andalus in his day was born in Secunda; he was appointed Kādī of Baeza and Lorca by the Almoḥad Sultān Ya'qūb al-Manšūr and died in 629 (1231/1232). It was he who wrote the famous epistle (*risāla*) on the merits of his native country as a companion piece to that which the author Abū Yahyā b. al-Mu'allim of Tangier had composed on the excellence of North Africa. The text is given almost in full by al-Maqqārī in his *Nafḥ al-Tib*. On him see especially: F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, No. 234, p. 276-280.

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SHAKŪRA, a Spanish Arabic place-name corresponding to the Spanish Segura. This last name is now only applied to the river which waters Murcia and Orihuela and flows into the Mediterranean near Guardamar. In the Muslim geographers this river is usually called the "white river" (*al-nahr al-abyaḍ*). It rises like the Guadalquivir in the range called Djabal Shakūra, but on the eastern slope. The mountains to which this name was given are of considerable extent. They were, according to the Arab geographers, covered with forests and had no fewer than 300 towns and villages and 33 strongholds. They corresponded apparently not only to the Sierra de Segura still called on the maps Sierra de Segura, but also to those called del Yelmo, de las Cuatro Villas, de Castril and de Cazorla. The highest points are the Yelmo de Segura (6,000 feet) and the Blanquilla (6,100 feet).

Shakūra was also the name in the Arab writers of a fairly important town in the district, clustered round a castle reputed to be almost inaccessible. It was here that Ibn 'Ammār, the vizier of the 'Abbādid al-Mu'tamid, came to seek refuge with Ibn Mubārak, lord of the town, who handed him over to his master. At the end of the Almoravid dynasty, Segura was the usual residence of Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. Hemoshko, lieutenant and vassal of the famous king of Murcia, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mardaniṣh.

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SHALTĪSH (sometimes SALTĪSH), Spanish Saltes, is the name which the Arab geographers give to the little island situated in the estuary of the river Odiel opposite the modern Huelva (Ar.: Walba). A fairly minute description of it is given by al-Idrisī: it almost touches the mainland on the west coast, for the arm of the sea which separates it is only half a stone's throw in width. This island has no spring of drinking water; there was a little town on it in the period of Muslim rule. It is a fishing centre of some importance; according to Ibn Sa'īd, the fish caught here were salted and sent to Seville. Saltes formed part of the province of Sīdona (Arab.: *Shadhūna*) and in the middle ages shared the destinies of Huelva. This island was the last possession of the Bakrī ruler Abū Mus'ab 'Abd al-'Azīz after in 1051 he surrendered his capital to the 'Abbādi sovereign al-Mu'tadīd.

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AL-SHALYĀK, the usual Arabic name for the constellation of the Lyre (Lyra), is the arabicised form of the Greek word *χέλυς* (= lyre), as the Arabs usually reproduce the Greek *χ* by *sh* (cf. Arshimides, Eutoshios) and are fond of adding a *k* to such foreign words (E. B. Knobel, see below, thinks the meaning of *shalyāk* is unknown). The word *Sulḥafā* is a second name for the Lyre occurring in Ulugh Beg; it again corresponds to the Greek *χέλυς* in its original meaning of "turtle". *Al-Lūra*, the form taken from the Greek *λύρα*, is also found quite early in the Arab astronomers, e.g. in al-Bīrūnī, in the form *ṣūrat al-lūrās wa-huwa al-ṣandj* (*al-ḵānūn al-Maṣ'ūdī*, Berl. MSS. Or., 8^e. 275, fol. 196^b) and not for the first time in Ulugh Beg (as L. Ideler thinks). The word *al-ṣandj* (= cymbal, harp) comes from the Persian *zang*, *sang* or *čang* (= Persian harp).

The constellation of the Lyre is a northern one, but is not circumpolar in the latitudes of the Muslim world. It thus contains stars, one of which is particularly striking for its brightness and its white light. This is α Lyrae or Vega. The full name of the star is: *al-nasr al-wāḳi* ("the falling eagle"). The last component of this expression was changed in course of time into Vega through the influence of the Spanish. The star Vega was classed by the Greeks and Arabs as of the first magnitude; as a matter of fact its magnitude is 0.1.

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AL-SHA'M, Syria. From time immemorial the Beduins, troublesome neighbours of Syria and Palestine have been attracted by the fertility of this land, "a land of wine and leavened bread". They succeeded sometimes by whole tribes, sometimes by dribbles in slipping into the districts bordering on the desert. They founded there from the beginning of the 2nd century before Christ principalities at Ḥims, at Palmyra and at Petra. They did not take long to adopt the Syrian language and civilization. In the fifth century A.D. the Ḡhassānid phylarchs (cf. ḠHASSĀN) were entrusted with the defence of the Syrian *limes*. They soon embraced Christianity. So also did the tribes, which in the sixth century roved up and down the steppes which separated Syria from Arabia: the Banū Kalb, the Banū Lakhm, the Banū Djuḍhām [q. v.]. As is attested of the Banū Kalb (*Aghāni*, xx. 127), these Syro-Arabs spoke a sort of *sabir*, a mixture of Arabic and Aramaic, related without doubt to the Ṣafaitic dialect. Thus any of these groups before the Ḥidjra might have given a name to the Arab Parnassus. They all believed themselves to be Syrians and had only commercial relations with the Arabs of Naḡjd and the Ḥidjāz. At Mūta [q. v.] they fought with the Byzantines against the invaders from Medina.

The Arab conquest: The death of Muḥammad (June 8, 632) and the election of Abū Bakr, was the signal in Arabia for the *ridḍa*, the defection of the tribes. A year after that date bands were formed around Medina amongst the Beduins who had taken part in the bloody sup-

pression of this revolt. They undertook the government of Syria, in conformity with an order of the Prophet or simply with the object of ravaging this land now without defenders. Thinking he had only to deal with an ordinary raid of pillaging Beduins, Sergius, commander in Caesarea, hurried to meet them with several hundred hastily equipped soldiers. He came upon the Arabs assembled in the valley of al-'Araba, to the west of the Dead Sea. Overcome by numbers, the Byzantines retired in disorder, and suffered a second defeat at Dāthina. Sergius fell in the débâcle (Feb. 634). The imperial troops collected reinforcements, and the Arabs received reinforcements from Medina. Under the command of Ḳhalid b. al-Walid [q. v.] who had hurried from the Irāk, they inflicted on the enemy the disastrous defeat of Adjnādain (July 30, 634) between Jerusalem and Baitḍjibrin. The defeated forces tried to reform behind the marshes of Baisān. Dislodged, they crossed the Jordan, to be again defeated at Fihl (Pella). Palestine was definitely lost to the Empire.

In March 635, the Arabs took up their position under the walls of Damascus. Abandoned by the Greek garrison, the citizens capitulated in the following September. The army collected by Heraclius to raise the siege arrived too late. The Arabs established themselves in Djabīya, then retired to entrench themselves behind the Yarmūk, the eastern tributary of the Jordan. A mutiny of Armenian troops broke out in the Byzantine camp. Abandoned by the Syrian Arabs in the middle of the battle, the imperial forces were completely routed. This battle (Aug. 20, 636) settled the fate of Syria. The conquest of the north and of the Phoenician coast was simply a route-march. Everywhere the towns, abandoned by their garrisons, paid contributions. Nowhere was a serious resistance encountered. This was literally the *falḥ yasir*, easy conquest, as Balāḍhūrī tactfully calls it. Jerusalem did not surrender till 638, and Caesarea after a more or less continuous siege of seven years, in 640, thanks to the treachery of a Jew. After the surrender of the last coast towns of Palestine, the conquest could be regarded as complete.

Shortly before the capitulation of Jerusalem, the Caliph 'Omar arrived in Syria, to preside over the congress or "Day of Djabīya" [q. v.]. The question of the organization of Syria was debated. The year 18 was marked by the plague of 'Amwās [q. v.]. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Damascus, perished in the epidemic and was replaced by his brother, Mu'āwiya. 'Omar rigorously maintained the political inequality of the conquerors and conquered. The latter formed the *dhimmī*'s. The privileged race of Arabs was to furnish the framework of a military and salaried aristocracy. Syria was divided into *djund* or military districts: Damascus, Ḥims, Palestine, al-Urdunn or the Province of Jordan. Yazīd I later added the *djund* of Kinnisrin for the north of Syria. From their military cantonments — the chief of which was Djabīya — the conquerors controlled the country and collected the taxes. Besides the land tax, the *dhimmī*'s paid a personal or poll-tax. In Syria, as in the other conquered provinces, "organisation was confined to a military occupation for the exploitation of the natives. The Arab government was confined to finance; their chancellery was an audit office" (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich u. sein Sturz*, p. 20).

At the beginning of his administration, which under 'Othmān extended over all Syria, Mu'āwīya realised the necessity of getting the support of the Beduin tribes, politically more developed than the Beduins of the peninsula. For his military operations see the article MU'ĀWĪYA.

'Alī, 'Othmān's successor, wanted to dismiss him, but the Syrians took the side of their governor. The encounter between Syrians and 'Irākīs on the battlefield of Šiffin [q. v.] being undecided, arbitrators were appointed to decide between the two parties. The conference at Adhroḥ [q. v.] proclaimed the overthrow of 'Alī (Jan. 658). Profiting by this diplomatic success, Mu'āwīya sent 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs, his lieutenant, to conquer Egypt. On January 24, 661, 'Alī fell a victim to a Khāridjī dagger, and the field was left clear for his rival.

Omayyad Syria: Mu'āwīya had only been awaiting this day to found a dynasty, that of the Omayyads. The elder branch is called Sufyānid, from Abū Sufyān [q. v.], father of Mu'āwīya. The younger line begun by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam took from him the name Marwānid.

Mu'āwīya was acclaimed Caliph at Jerusalem by the troops and emirs of Syria. By taking up his residence in Damascus, he made it the capital instead of Medina, or Kūfa. Whether deliberate or not, this step displaced the centre of gravity of the caliphate to the advantage of Syria. It dealt the unjustified supremacy of the Beduins a blow from which it never recovered. Mu'āwīya made the Syrian Arabs supreme, and under the Omayyads they held all the principal offices. He twice tried to besiege Constantinople. For a verdict on the policy and character of the sovereign, who was with 'Omar I the real founder and organiser of the Caliphate, see the article MU'ĀWĪYA. He died at Damascus in April 680 (aged 75).

His son and successor, Yazīd I, had to face a rebellion, which the ability of his father had been able to prevent breaking out. Ḥusain b. 'Alī and 'Abdallah b. al-Zubair [q. v.], nephew of 'A'isha, the prophet's widow, refused to recognise Yazīd and took refuge on the inviolable territory of Mecca. Ḥusain left the sanctuary to fall in the massacre of Karbalā' (cf. MASHHAD ḤUSAIN); on October 10, 680 Medina quarrelled with Syria, and its inhabitants proclaimed Yazīd deposed. After futile negotiations recourse was had to arms. Victorious on the day of al-Ḥarra [q. v.], the Syrians marched on Mecca, where Ibn al-Zubair had declared himself independent. His headquarters were in the great mosque. A scaffolding of wood covered with mattresses protected the Ka'ba from the Syrian catapults. The carelessness of a Meccan set it on fire (Nov. 683). The news of the death of Yazīd (Nov. 11, 683) decided the Syrian army to retreat. Yazīd was not a worthless sovereign, still less the tyrant depicted by anti-Omayyad annalists. He continued his father's policy. The patron of artists and poets, and himself a poet, he completed the administrative organisation of Syria by creating the *djund* of Ḳinnisrīn (cf. above). He perfected the irrigation of the *Ghūta* [q. v.] by digging a canal which was called after him. The *Continuatio Byzantino-Arabica* calls him "*jucundissimus et cunctis nationibus regni ejus gratissime habitus . . . cum omnibus civiliter vixit*". Beloved of his subjects, he lived *civiliter* like a private citizen. "No Caliph", says Wellhausen, "ever had such praise: it comes from the heart".

His younger son, the valetudinarian Mu'āwīya II had but a transitory reign. He was apparently carried off by the plague which was raging in 684. His brothers were all very young. The fact that they were minors compelled the Syrian chiefs to give their support to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [q. v.], first Caliph of the Marwānid branch (June 22, 684). The Syrian Ḳaisīs having refused to recognise him, were defeated at Mardj Rāhiṭ [q. v.]. His reign was a continual series of battles. A rapid campaign secured him Egypt. Exhausted with his exertions, the septuagenarian Caliph returned to Damascus to die on May 7, 685. His eldest son 'Abd al-Malik [q. v.] succeeded him. He had to retake the eastern provinces and Arabia from the anti-Caliph Ibn al-Zubair, and at the same time repel an invasion of the Mardaīs or Djurādjima [q. v.]. In Jerusalem we owe him the building of the mosque of al-Aḳṣā. His reign marks the beginning of the nationalisation or arabicising of the administration, which had remained in the hands of the individuals of the conquered races. He succeeded, if not in substituting Arabic for Greek, in getting it used alongside of Greek in the keeping of the official accounts and registers. He was the creator of Arab coinage. 'Abd al-Malik died in Oct. 705, after a reign of 20 years.

His successor, Walid I, brought to the throne an autocratic temperament and a display of religious fervour unknown in his predecessors. He was the great builder of the dynasty. According to the earliest evidence it seems that the Christians of Damascus had been allowed to retain the splendid Basilika of St. John. Walid took it from them and turned it into a mosque. In his reign the Arab empire attained its greatest extent. Walid was singularly successful in his enterprises. His autocratic mood revealed itself in a diminution in tolerance to the conquered peoples. The great administrative offices were definitely taken from the Christians. By his fondness for magnificence, Walid secured undisputed popularity with the Arabs of Syria. He died on February 23, 715.

His brother, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik [q. v.], founder of al-Ramla [q. v.] in Palestine, succeeded him. He perished at the disastrous siege of Constantinople. He was succeeded (Aug. 717) by his cousin 'Omar II b. 'Abd al-'Azīz [q. v.] who died on February 9, 720, and was replaced by the incapable Yazīd II. From the time of Walid I the Omayyads had begun to forsake Damascus; the official capital, it ceased to be the Caliph's residence. The decline of the dynasty set in after the death of 'Omar II. Hishām, who succeeded Yazīd II, vainly endeavoured to revive the prestige of the Syrian caliphate. The conquests ceased. In France the Arabs suffered the disastrous defeat of Poitiers, Oct. 732. Hishām allowed the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch to reside in Syria. His greed, the failure of his military plans, and finally the way in which he shut himself up in his desert palace of Ruṣāfa, made this ruler unpopular, though he was the most hard-working of the Omayyad caliphs. He was succeeded in February 743 by his nephew, Walid II, son of Yazīd II. This prince, an artist and poet, lived contentedly in the desert, where he began the building of the splendid palace of Mshattā [q. v.]. He died at the hands of an assassin before finishing it (April 744). His successor, Yazīd III, was the

first caliph born of a slave. He died five months later, having designated as his successor his insignificant brother, Ibrāhīm, who did not succeed in getting himself acknowledged.

In the midst of the general anarchy, there came on the scene the energetic governor of Mesopotamia, Marwān b. Muḥammad [q. v.], grandson of the caliph Marwān I. The victory of 'Aindjarr in the Bkā' broke the resistance of his adversaries, the Syrian Yemenis. Becoming caliph in December 744, Marwān II made the mistake of moving the capital to Ḥarrān (Mesopotamia) which alienated the Syrians from him. He exhausted himself in putting down their rebellions and those of the Khāridjīs. The 'Abbāsids, were now secretly conspiring against the Omayyad dynasty. Taking advantage of the disaffection in Syria, Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ [q. v.] had himself proclaimed caliph at Kūfa (Nov. 749). After his defeat on the great Zāb (Jan. 750) Marwān had to evacuate Mesopotamia, and then Syria. Abandoned by the Syrians, he took refuge in Egypt where he died at Abūšir in August 750. The Omayyads were everywhere pursued and exterminated, their tombs desecrated, and their ashes scattered to the winds. The Syrians tried in vain to regain their lost ground. They raised the "white flag" of the Omayyads in opposition to the "black flag" of the 'Abbāsids. They found too late that by indifference to the fall of the Omayyads they had thrown away the future and supremacy of Syria. They hoped henceforth for speedy coming of al-Sufyānī [q. v.], a national hero and champion of Syrian liberty. As his name shows, al-Sufyānī, was to be a descendant of Abū Sufyān. He was to bring back the golden age and the happy days of the dynasty, the memory of which his name perpetuates.

Immediately after the conquest, the tribes of Syria had to learn the dialect of the Ḳuraish, now promoted to be the classical language. Among the Syrian Arabs, distracted by foreign conquests and the suppression of revolts in the provinces, intellectual activity under the Omayyads had been confined to poetry. The chief representatives of this literary renaissance were, next to the Taghlibi Christian Akḥṭal [q. v.], the Caliphs Yazid I and Walid II. Arts and liberal professions remained the monopoly of the subject races, like banking and commerce. The Ḳadari movement [q. v.] which seems to have started in Syria, shows that the Arabs of Syria were beginning to take an interest in the philosophical problems to which they had been introduced by their Christian compatriots.

Agriculture remained flourishing in spite of the greed of the exchequer. As a result of the war with Byzantium, maritime trade had considerably diminished. On the other hand the fall of the Persian empire had opened up Central Asia to the Syrians, but they were soon to meet the competition of the commercial cities of the 'Irāk, notably Baṣra. Syrian commerce, so active in the time of Justinian, became dormant under the Arabs. When maritime relations were resumed, it was the western peoples who secured the advantage from it, at the time of the Crusades. From the time of the Marwānids, the great towns of eastern Syria — Damascus, Ḥims, etc. — began to be islamised as a result of the abolition of the military cantonments. The subject races learned Arabic, without, however, abandoning Aramaic

or Greek. Decimated by epidemics, famine, civil strife and foreign wars, the Arab population of Syria grew slowly. If we neglect local outbursts of fanaticism, there is no evidence of systematic persecution or proselytising encouraged by the authorities. The latter only exercised pressure on the Christians of Arab race, the Tanūkh and Taghlib. The Banū Kalb and other Syrian tribes had adopted Islām soon after the conquest.

In spite of their position as political helots, this was a period of marked tranquillity and tolerance for non-Muslims, if we compare it with the troubles that awaited them under the 'Abbāsids. For the Arabs, paid and fed by the State, it was a golden age, a continual feast. Their chiefs, growing rich in exploiting the provinces, acquired enormous fortunes. What favoured the success of the 'Abbāsid conspiracy was the incapacity of the latter Marwānid caliphs, excluding of course Hishām and Marwān II.

Then came the grave and continuous dissensions, after Mardj Rāhiṭ, between Ḳaisis and Yemenis, and lastly the refusal of the conquerors to grant political rights to the non-Arabs, who were their intellectual superiors.

'Abbāsid and Fātimid Syria. With the fall of the Omayyads, Syria lost its privileged position, and ceased to form the centre of a vast empire. It found itself reduced to the rank of a simple province, and jealously watched on account of its attachment to the old régime. The capital of the caliphate was moved across the Euphrates. Straining under a power, the hostility of which they never ceased to feel, the Syrians found themselves systematically excluded from all share in government affairs, as they were henceforth to be under the Fātimid and succeeding rules. The caliphs of Baghdad only intervened in Syria to make it feel its position of inferiority by inflicting increased taxation on it. Driven to extremes by the exactions of the caliph's agents, the Christians of Lebanon attempted without success to gain their freedom in 759—760. On the occasion of the pilgrimage or of the war against the Byzantines, the Caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, Hārūn and al-Ma'mūn passed through Syria. In the midst of the troubles that preceded the accession of al-Ma'mūn (813—833), the position of the Christians became intolerable and many of them migrated to Cyprus.

The misfortunes of their country, the loss of its autonomy, could not decide Ḳaisis and Yemenis to forget their regrettable differences, which ended by weakening the Syrians and dooming to failure their efforts to shake off the 'Abbāsid yoke. A descendant of Mu'awiya, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Sufyānī, raised the "white standard" which had become the symbol of Syrian independence. But to get the support of the Kalbis, he alienated the Ḳaisis (809—813). Another rising was no more successful. An Arab of obscure antecedents, named Abū Ḥarb of Yemeni origin, proclaimed himself the Sufyānī (cf. above). The indifference of the Ḳaisis once again brought about his defeat in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim (833—847). Yielding to caprice the moody caliph al-Mutawakkil (847—861) thought of shifting his capital and living in Damascus. A mutiny in his guard forced him to return to Mesopotamia. His reign was a period of severe trial for the Syrians. From his reign dates for the most part the intolerant legislation, which it has been proposed to attribute

to 'Omar I: the wearing of a special dress, the prohibition of riding on horseback etc. Numerous churches were turned into mosques. At this date there were no longer any Christians of Arab stock in Syria. Under the Omayyads, the Banū Tanūkh had resisted all advances of the government. The Caliph al-Mahdī (775—785), however, forced them to apostatise.

It is to the early 'Abbāsids, that the Syrian military marches owe their origin, the *'awāsim* and *thughūr* [q.v.], lines of forts built to check the progress of the Byzantine invaders. In 906 an agitator claiming to be the Sufyāni was arrested. This was the last attempt at an Omayyad restoration; it failed before the apathy of the demoralised Syrians. A Turkish Mamlūk, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [q.v.], already master of Egypt, invaded Syria under pretext of defending it against the Byzantines. He declared himself independent there. The dynasty which he founded had only an ephemeral existence (875—905), as had that of the Ikshīdids (875—905) who repeated the experience of the Ṭūlūnids. In the interval, Syria had been devastated by the Karmatians [q.v.] who left behind them the germ of Ismā'īlī doctrines. From the time of the Ṭūlūnids, the country may politically speaking be considered lost to the 'Abbāsids. Their power was only felt there during a few brief periods of restoration.

In their turn the Beduin tribes wished to take their share in plundering an empire in decay. A Taghlibī clan, the Banū Ḥamdān [q.v.] found themselves entrusted with the reconquest of Syria for the Ikshīdids and checking the Byzantine advance. They installed themselves as masters of the south of the country, without however breaking with the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. The most famous of these Ḥamdānīd emirs was Saif al-Dawla [q.v.], who in his court at Aleppo, showed himself an enlightened patron of arts and letters (949—967). After the fall of the Ḥamdānīds (1003/1004) in spite of a brief 'Abbāsīd reaction at Damascus (975—977), Syria fell into and remained for over a century (977—1098) in the hands of an 'Alid dynasty, or more accurately Ismā'īlī, that of the Fāṭimīds [q.v.].

Having conquered Egypt, the Fāṭimīd armies invaded Syria (969), and conquered Palestine and then Damascus, without encountering any particular resistance. In the centre and north it is difficult to say what form the Egyptian conquest took. The direct authority of the Fāṭimīds was enforced so long as their troops occupied the region. After their departure, the local Emīrs did as they pleased without openly breaking with the suzerain in Cairo. Fāṭimīd rule was only kept up in Syria by continually dismissing the agents to whom it was forced to delegate its authority, thus perpetuating administrative instability. In Palestine it had to reckon with the Banū 'l-Djarrāḥ. These Emīrs of the tribe of Ṭayy arrogated to themselves for over a century a regular hegemony over the nomad Syrians. In the reign of al-Ḥākim (996—1020), the Banū 'l-Djarrāḥ amused themselves by appointing an anti-caliph, and then sending him back to Mecca, whence they had brought him. In Tyre a humble boatman succeeded for a time in declaring himself independent (997).

Taking advantage of the anarchy the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963—969) had conquered Northern Syria. His successors, Tzimiscēs (969—976) and Basil II (976—1025), easily con-

quered the valley of the Orontes and the Phoenician coast. Of all these conquests all that the Byzantines were able to keep for over a century was the "duchy" of Antioch, which included northern Syria, except the emirate of Aleppo. We have already mentioned the Caliph al-Ḥākim [q.v.] with whom is connected the origin of the Druses [q.v.]. This moody prince quarrelled with the Christians and ordered the Basilika of the Resurrection in Jerusalem to be destroyed. Syria gradually detached itself from Egypt. In the midst of the political disorders, the pernicious influence of the Beduins increased. About 1023, the Banū Mirdās of the Kaīsī tribe of Banū Kilāb established themselves in Aleppo, and held it with interruptions till 1079.

By this time the Saldjūks [q.v.] had already gained a footing in Syria. The provinces of Syria fell into their power, Damascus in 1075. At Jerusalem a Saldjūk Emīr Ortoḡ, founded a local dynasty (1086—1087). In 1084, the Greeks lost Antioch, their last possession in Syria. Syria was now divided into two Saldjūk Sultānates, that of Aleppo and that of Damascus. Saldjūk Emīrs more or less independent commanded at Aleppo and Ḥims, all at war with one another. At Tripoli, a humble *Ḳādī* founded the dynasty of Banū 'Ammār. To the south of this town the towns on the coast remained in the hands of the Egyptians. Into the midst of this confusion, this piecemeal distribution of territory, came the armies of the Crusaders.

The persistent hostility shown by the 'Abbāsīds to the intellectuals of Syria, the political anarchy, the rule of Turkish and Berber adventurers, unlettered and greedy masters, were all circumstances unfavourable to the progress of ideas. A few poets had gathered at the court of the Ḥamdānīds and Mirdāsīds of Aleppo. The patronage of Saif al-Dawla encouraged the preparation of the celebrated *Kitāb al-Aghani*. The reader may be referred to the articles on Abu Tammām, Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, al-Mutanabbī, a native of Kūfa, but a Syrian by education and upbringing, al-Maḳḍīsī, one of the most justly esteemed of Arab geographers. Less tolerant, more irritating than the Omayyads, the authorities began to encourage conversion to Islām. Arabic slowly began to take the place of Syriac as the spoken language of the subject races, who began to write in it. Profane sciences, especially medicine, began to be cultivated, mainly by Jews and Christians. The end of this period coincides with the institution of the Madrasas [q.v.] which grew up under the stimulus of the Saldjūks, especially in Aleppo and Damascus. The lack of respect into which the 'Abbāsīd caliphate had fallen reacted on orthodox Islām: it favoured the rapid growth of sects practising initiation and following the *Shī'a*: the Druses, Ismā'īlīs, Nuṣairīs and Mutawālīs [q.v.].

The exactions of the 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimīd agents diminished without however destroying the great vitality of the country. In 311, a governor of Damascus was sentenced to pay 300,000 dinārs to the treasury. The country began to become depopulated and agriculture languished. Its complete decline was only checked by the introduction of new crops: sugar-cane and the orange. Cotton-growing was developed and cotton was used for the manufacture of paper. In the tenth century there was a paper factory in Damascus. One should

read the sketch of the commerce of Syria in al-Maḥḍisī's geography, *Aḥṣan al-taḥāsim* (p. 180, 184), to get an idea of the varied resources of a country which centuries of oppression and the most deplorable administration had not been able to impoverish.

Syria under the Franks. On October 21, 1097, the army of the Crusaders appeared before the walls of Antioch. After a very laborious siege, they entered it on June 3, 1098. Then following the valley of the Orontes through the mountains of the Nuṣairis and along the coast, the Franks, now reduced to 40,000 men, debouched before Jerusalem. The city, which the Fāṭimids had just retaken from the Ortokids, was taken by assault on July 15, 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected head of the new Latin state (1099–1100). But the first Frank king of Jerusalem was really his brother and successor, Baldwin I. He conquered the towns on the coast, Arsūf, Caesarea, Acre, Ṣaidā, Bairūt and Tripoli (1109–1110). This brave leader, the most remarkable of the crusading sovereigns, died during an expedition against Egypt (1118). His successor, Baldwin II du Bourg, captured Tyre in 1124; he failed before Damascus, but the town had to promise to pay tribute.

It was towards 1130 that the Latin kingdom attained its greatest extent stretching from Diyārbakr to the borders of Egypt. In Syria its frontier never crossed the valley of the Upper Orontes, nor the crest of the Anti-Lebanon. The great cities of the interior, Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ, Baalbek, Damascus while agreeing to pay tribute, remained independent. The kingdom consisted of a confederation of four feudal states: 1. On the east, the county of Edessa lay along the two banks of the Euphrates. 2. In the north the principality of Antioch included in its protectorate Armenian Cilicia. 3. In the centre the county of Tripoli stretched from the fort of Margat (Marḡab) to the Nahr al-Kalb. 4. Lastly came the royal domains, or kingdom of Jerusalem, strictly speaking. It included all cis-Jordan Palestine and in Transjordan, the ancient districts of Moab and Edom, which became the seignury of Crac (Kerak, q.v.) and of Montréal (cf. SHAWBAK) "in the land of Oultre-Jourdain". For a time it had a dependency, the port of Aila-^cAḡaba. To defend these possessions the Crusaders built strong castles: the Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, q.v.), Chastel-Blanc (Ṣafīṭā), Maraclea (Marāḡiya), Margat (Marḡab) and in southern Lebanon, Beaufort (Shāḡif Arnūn). Lastly in Transjordan the two massive fortresses of Crac and Montréal.

After the death of Baldwin II (1131) the decline of the Latin state began; it was hastened by the isolation of the Crusaders and their lack of unity. The Byzantines claimed the rights of a suzerain over the north of the kingdom. The Armenians sought to form a national state for themselves in the region of the Taurus. Instead of coming to an agreement, Franks, Byzantines and Armenians only succeeded in enfeebling one another to the advantage of the Muslims, who were gathered round remarkable leaders like Zangī, Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q.v.]. Baldwin III (1144–1162) resumed the siege of Damascus (July 23–28, 1148) without any more success than his predecessors. Already Lord of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn installed himself in Damascus. Amaury, king of Jerusalem from 1162, formed the bold project of seizing the

heritage of the dying dynasty of the Fāṭimids. He was anticipated by Nūr al-Dīn. The latter sent his lieutenant, the Kurd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, to Egypt. On the death of the last Fāṭimid Caliph, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn proclaimed himself independent in Egypt, and founded the Aiyūbid dynasty there, then seized Damascus from the sons of Nūr al-Dīn. On July 4, 1187, at Ḥaṭṭīn between Tiberias and Nazareth, the whole Christian army under Guy de Lusignan fell into the hands of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Jerusalem capitulated on October 2 following. Deprived of their defenders, the other cities, except Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, had to surrender.

The preaching of the third crusade brought to the camp before Acre, which the Franks had been besieging two years, Philip Augustus of France and Richard Coeur-de-Lion of England. The town surrendered on July 19, 1191. A truce between the belligerents ceded the coast from Jaffa to Tyre to the Crusaders. In default of Jerusalem, which they had been unable to reconquer, Acre was henceforth the capital of the kingdom. The death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn produced dissension among his numerous heirs. The Emperor Frederick II took advantage of the discord to negotiate with al-Malik al-Kāmil, Aiyūbid Sulṭān of Egypt, for the cession of Jerusalem and other places of no strategic importance. Threatened by the sons of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who had made an alliance with the Franks, their uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil called in the help of the Khwārizmis who crushed the combined Syrian and Frankish forces near Ḥazza (1244) and enabled the Egyptians to occupy Jerusalem, Damascus and Ḥimṣ.

The seventh crusade brought St. Louis to Syria after the check to his expedition to Egypt. For four years (1250–1254) he was engaged in fortifying the towns of the coast. It was the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, Baibars, Ḳalā'ūn and al-Malik al-Ashraf, son of the latter, who dealt the last blow to the Latin kingdom. Acre fell (May 31, 1291) after a heroic defence. In the course of the next months, Tyre, Ḥaifā, Ṣaidā, Bairūt and Ṭarṭūs were taken or evacuated. 'Athlith [q.v.] the imposing fortress between Ḥaifā and Caesarea was the last to surrender (Aug. 14, 1291). The Frankish colonies in Syria were at an end.

The Crusades introduced into Syria the feudal organisation of contemporary Europe. The elective character of the kingship soon gave place to dynastic succession. The king only ruled directly the Palestinian kingdom of Jerusalem. His authority was limited by the privileges of the three orders: the clergy, nobility and bourgeoisie. "He cannot", notes Uṣāma b. Munḡidh, "annul the decisions of the Court of Seigneurs". The authority of the great feudatories within their principalities was circumscribed in the same way. Agricultural serfdom was retained, as had been the custom in Syria. The name "poulains" (*pullani*) was given to the issue of marriages between Franks and natives: the etymology of this word is still obscure. The army was recruited not only from Franks but also from Armenians and Maronites. The Turcopoles were the Muslim auxiliaries. The position of Muslims and Jews recalled that of the *dhimmi*'s [q.v.] in Muslim lands, with this difference that they were not so heavily taxed. According to Ibn Dju-bair, his co-religionists did not conceal their satisfaction with Frankish rule.

Every principality had its own silver coin.

There were also gold ducats, "besants sarracénats", or "sarrasins" with Arabic inscriptions. Commerce, more or less dormant since the Arab conquest, again became active as a result of maritime relations with the west, which were never greater. The principal ports were Acre, Tyre and Tripoli. In the principalities of the north, the terminus for continental trade was La Liche (Lādhikiya) or Soudin (Suwaydiya) now called Port St. Simeon. We have to go back to the time of the Phoenicians to find a period of so great economic activity.

The state of war hampered, but did not put a stop to intellectual activity among the Muslims of Syria. In Damascus, al-Ḳalānisi was busy with his history, and Ibn 'Asākir finished his monumental encyclopaedia, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, devoted to individuals who had a more or less remote connection with Syria. At the end of his troubled career, the Emir Usāma b. Munqidh, produced an autobiography which is very valuable for the study of the relations which existed between Franks and Muslims. Barhebraeus, Syrian and Mesopotamian, wrote Arabic and Syriac with equal elegance. It was in this last language that the Jacobite patriarch wrote a voluminous *Chronicle*. Muslims, Christians and Jews studied medicine with success. Never except in the Roman period had there been so much building. The fortresses built by the Crusaders are wonderful specimens of mediaeval military architecture. Among the churches which they built, we mention that of Djubail, the monumental basilika at Tārtūs, the graceful cathedral of John the Baptist, now the great mosque of Bairūt, with its walls once covered with pictures. Many crusading lords had adopted Syrian customs (*taballādū*, [Usāma]). In the collaboration of Franks and natives was hailed, as by Pope Honorius III, a "Nova Francia", the dawn of a new civilisation. The destruction of the Latin kingdom destroyed any hopes based on it. The coming of the slave dynasty (Mamlūks) opened a period of anarchy, such as Syria had not yet seen.

Mamlūk Syria. We have already given a resumé of the exploits of the early Mamlūk Sultāns against the Frank principalities. Fearing a return of the Franks and the warships of the European navy, which ruled the Mediterranean, the Mamlūks began to lay waste the towns of the coast, not even excepting the most prosperous, Acre, Tyre and Tripoli; they demolished the citadels at Ṣaidā and Bairūt. Tripoli was rebuilt two miles from the coast. From the administrative point of view, they retained the old Aiyūbid appanages and divided Syria into six main districts called *mamlaka*, or *niyāba*: Damascus, Aleppo, Hamā, Tripoli, Ṣafad and Kerak (Transjordania).

The past history of Damascus assured its *nā'ib*, or viceroy, not only authority over his Syrian colleagues, but a special prestige of his own. This high official had little difficulty in persuading himself that he had the same rights to the throne as his suzerain in Egypt. To guard against the ambition of the Syrian *nā'ib*'s, Cairo took care to change them continually (Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā). Never did instability of government and greed of rulers, uncertain of the morrow, attain such proportions. Lebanon continued to enjoy a kind of autonomy. The dissenting Muslims of the highlands — Druses and Mutawālīs — took advantage of the troubles of the Mamlūks, occupied with the Franks and Mamlūks, to proclaim their independence. All the

forces of Syria had to be mobilised, and a long and bitter war endured (1293—1305) which ended in the complete destruction of the rebels and the devastation of Central Lebanon.

The Mongol Khāns of Persia were burning to avenge the military defeats which the Mamlūks had inflicted upon them. The most energetic of these sovereigns, Ghāzān (1296—1304), in 1299 secured the support of the Armenians and Georgians as well as of the Franks of Cyprus, and routed the Mamlūks near Hims. The troops occupied Damascus, and advanced up to Ghazza. The Egyptians having again invaded Syria, Ghāzān recrossed the Euphrates to meet them, but he was defeated in 1303 at Mardj al-Ṣuffar near Damascus. Syria had nothing to gain by the coming of the Burdjīs, who in 1382 replaced the Bahrī dynasty. They "preserved" Ibn Ayās tells us, "the old laws", that is to say the anarchical rule of their predecessors. Sultan Farāj (1392—1405) had to begin the reconquest of Syria no less than seven times. The year 1401 coincided with the invasion of Tīmūr [q. v.]. After the capture of Aleppo which they sacked, his hordes appeared before Damascus. The town having agreed to surrender, the Tatars plundered it methodically. The majority of the able-bodied inhabitants were carried off into slavery, especially artists, architects, workers in steel and glass. They were almost all taken to Samarḳand. Fire was then set to the city, to the mosque of the Omayyads and other monuments. Tīmūr led back his army and left Syria a prey to epidemics and bands of brigands. Meanwhile on the plateaus of Anatolia, the power of the Ottomans was gathering. The capture of Constantinople (1453) had increased their ambition. Death alone prevented Muḥammad II from invading Syria. His successors did not cease preparations. Ḳā'itbāy (1468—1496) and Bāyazīd [q. v.] signed a treaty of peace, but it was only to be a truce.

The destruction of Baghdād by Hülāgū and the fall of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate had shifted the centre of the Muslim world to the west of the Euphrates, Arabic literature found in the land of the Mamlūks an asylum, at best precarious. No encouragement was to be expected from ignorant and brutal sovereigns, many of whom could not even sign their own names. The intellectuals lived in the past, their activity lacks originality. It was the golden age of epitomizers, compilers, authors of handbooks and encyclopaedias. They were interested in collecting knowledge and learning it by heart. Among the encyclopaedists a special place must be given to the worthy Shihāb al-Dīn b. Fadlallāh al-'Omārī, author of the *Masālik al-Aḥbār*, a voluminous compilation of a historical, geographical and literary character for the use of officials of the Mamlūk chancellery. We may next mention Abu 'l-Fidā' [q. v.], historian and geographer, the geographer Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d. 1327), markedly inferior to his predecessor al-Maḳḍisī [q. v.]. The versatile al-Dhahabī [q. v.] was born in Mesopotamia but lived and died in Damascus (1353). Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 1450) was the author of a history of Tīmūr. Al-Ṣafadī [q. v.] compiled a great biographical dictionary (1296—1383), Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā (d. 1436), the author of the *Tārīkh Bairūt*, has left us in this work on the Emirs of the Ghārb the best contribution to the history of the Lebanon and a valuable supplement to the annals of the Frankish states. Ibn Taimiya [q. v.]

and his pupil Ibn Kaiyim al-Djauziya are among the most original figures of this period. Their activities covered the whole field of Muslim studies. Indefatigable polemicists with a keen scent for heresies, they have had the peculiar good fortune to be exalted both by the Wahhābīs and the modernist Muslims of to-day.

The departure of the Crusaders marks the end of a period of astonishing economic prosperity. Syrian commerce fell back into stagnation. Little by little, however, necessity forced the resumption of relations with Europe. The decline of Acre, Tyre and Tripoli, ruined by the Mamlūks and the fall (1347) of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, to which western merchants had first gone, were to the advantage of Bairūt. For over a century this town became the principal port of Syria. Near Damascus and opposite Cyprus, — the kingdom of the Lusignans and rendezvous of the European shipping — Bairūt was every year visited by ships of the Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Provençals and Rhodians. These various communities had henceforth consuls as their representatives, officially recognised by the Mamlūks and receiving a grant or *djama'kiya*. On the other hand the Cairo government regarded them as "hostages" [*rahina*] (Khalil al-Zāhiri); it held them responsible not only for those under their jurisdiction, but also for acts of hostility by Corsairs. The consuls protected pilgrims and intervened if required on behalf of native Christians. Thus we already have the system of capitulations which was to be developed in succeeding centuries.

Syria under the Ottomans. With the opening of the XVIth century the rule of the Mamlūks had begun to break up. Their exactions had exasperated the populace. The Ottomān Sultān Selīm I. [q. v.] resolved to take advantage of the occasion to invade Syria. Taking the initiative, the Mamlūk Sultān, Qānsūh al-Ghūrī [q. v.] mobilised his forces, and marched via Damascus and Aleppo towards Anatolia. The two armies met at Dābiq, a day's journey north of Aleppo. The Turkish artillery and the Janissary infantry scattered disorder through the Egyptian ranks. Ghūrī disappeared in the disaster of Dābiq (Aug. 24, 1516). Aleppo, Damascus and the towns of Syria opened their gates to the conqueror who went on to Egypt and put an end to Mamlūk rule. The Turks retained at first the territorial divisions or *niyāba*. The Mamlūk Ghazālī, *nā'ib* of Damascus, had gone over to the Ottoman camp after Dābiq. The renegade was in return given the administration of the country except the *niyāba* of Aleppo, which was reserved for a Turkish Pasha.

On the death of Selīm I (1520), Ghazālī had himself proclaimed Sultān under the name of al-Malik al-Ashraf. He was defeated and killed at Kābūn at the gates of Damascus (Jan. 1521). Before the end of the 16th century, Syria had become divided into three great pashaliks: 1. Damascus, comprising ten sandjaks or prefectures, the chief of which were Jerusalem, Ghazza, Naplus, Šaidā and Bairūt; 2. Tripoli, including the sandjaks of Hims, Hamā, Salamiya and Djabala; 3. Aleppo, including all North Syria, except 'Aintāb, which was included in the pashalik of Mar'ash. In the century following, the pashalik of Šaidā was created to include Lebanon. In its main outlines, this administrative division lasted till the middle of the xviiith

century, when the centre of government of Šaidā was moved to Acre.

The Diwān of Stambul was only interested in Syria in so far as it enabled it to watch Egypt and Syria, and to levy upon its resources contributions to the expenses of the palace and for foreign wars. The taxes, which were put up to auction went to the highest bidder. According to a Venetian Consular report, the pashalik was worth 80,000 to 100,000 ducats (probably the silver ducat, the Venetian *grosso* whence *kirsh* plur. *kurush*, or piastre = 5 francs). The Pashas only administered directly the important towns and their immediate neighbourhood. The interior of the country was left to the old feudal tenants whose number and influence had increased since the Mamlūks: — Bedouin emirs, Turkomans, Mutawālīs, Druses, Nušairīs. The Porte only asked them to pay the tribute or *miri*, without worrying if it saw them fighting with its own representatives. Every year the Turkish Pasha at the head of his artillery and janissaries set out to collect the taxes. The force lived on the country and laid it waste if resisted. Is it remarkable that agriculture, the principal resource of Syria declined, the population diminished, the country districts emptied in favour of the Lebanon and mountainous districts where the harassed people sought an asylum?

The instability of their position increased the rapacity of the Turkish functionaries. Damascus saw 133 Pashas in 180 years. This period saw the rise of Fakhr al-Dīn [q. v.], the champion of Syrian independence (1583—1635), the Mutawālī emirs, the Banū Harfūsh, lords of Ba'albek and al-Bkā', the Banū Manšūr b. Furaikh, Beduin Shaikhs, who carved out for themselves an appanage in Palestine and in the region of Naplus. These feudal lords were fairly well organised in spite of their cupidity, and they were able to defend their gains from the arbitrary Turk. By sending round the Cape the traffic of the middle East, the Portuguese occupation of India proved fatal to Syria. The harbour of Bairūt remained empty. Tripoli at first, then — thanks to the initiative of Fakhr al-Dīn — Šaidā attracted European ships which came for cargoes of silk and cotton. Aleppo, thanks to its situation between Mesopotamia, the sea, and the Anatolian provinces whose market it was, the principal depot on the direct route to the Persian Gulf, remained for three centuries the chief commercial centre of Northern Syria.

In the second half of the xviiith century, the doings of three individuals suddenly attracted attention to the town and region of Acre. These were Dāhir (Syrian pronunciation of Zāhir) al-'Omar, Djazzār and Bonaparte. Dāhir, a Beduin Shaikh, lord of the land of Šafad, extended his authority over Galilee, and settled at Acre which he fortified and raised from its ruins. He resisted the Porte (1750—75) with assistance lent by the Egyptian Mamlūks 'Alī Bey and Abu Dhahab and a Russian squadron cruising in Syrian waters. Besieged in Acre by the Turks, he died there in 1775. His successor Djazzār [q. v.] held out for three months (March—May 1799) against the military genius of the youthful Bonaparte. Pasha of Damascus and of Acre, he remained the arbiter of Syria for nearly 40 years (1775—1804), in spite of his exactions and his cruelty.

The four million inhabitants of Syria and Palestine at the time of the Arab conquest were reduced

to one and a half after three centuries of Turkish rule. The cultivation of cotton, which with that of silk, formed one of the main sources of Syria's wealth had completely declined, when Muḥammad 'Alī [q. v.] of Egypt, decided to attract to Egypt the disheartened Syrian planters. It was this state of anarchy that enabled the Lebanon emir Baḥr [q. v.] to intervene in Syrian politics. Down to about 1840 we continually find him mixed up with the history of Syria. Even the great Turkish officials sought his intervention. Yūsuf, Pasha of Damascus (1807—10) implored his help against a threatened invasion of the Wahhābis. Baḥr presided in Damascus at the installation of Sulaimān, Pasha of Acre and successor-designate of Yūsuf Pasha. In the middle of the general confusion however Muḥammad 'Alī of Egypt was watching for an opportunity of adding Syria to his governorship of Egypt. 'Abdallāh Pasha who succeeded Sulaimān at Acre (1818) undertook to give it him. He refused to allow the extradition of Egyptian fellāḥin and the repayment of a million piastres. Summoned to contribute towards this sum by the Pasha of Acre, under whom the Lebanon was, the Christians of the Lebanon refused to pay. The rising of the Christians was a new feature in Syrian politics, but it was not to be the only one. Through contact with the Europeans the Christians were becoming enlightened and they were learning their own strength. Taking as a pretext the refusals of 'Abdallāh Pasha, Muḥammad 'Alī sent his son Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v.] into Syria at the head of an army trained on European lines. Acre surrendered on May 27, 1832, after a siege of seven months. On July 8 at Ḥims, Ibrāhīm routed the Turks. A little later he forced the pass of Baillān and entered Anatolia. A treaty (May 1833) assured Egypt temporary possession of Syria.

The new rule proved tolerant. It admitted Christians to the communal councils; it favoured the abolition of measures humiliating to non-Muslims. It endeavoured to reform the police and the tribunals. On the other hand it provoked discontent by introducing forced labour and conscription even in the semi-independent regions of the Lebanon. Rebellions broke out among the Druses of the Lebanon and of the Ḥawrān, among the Nuṣairis and in the never properly subjected province of Naplūs. Ibrāhīm exhausted himself in suppressing these risings. The Turks thought the moment had come for the re-conquest of Syria. They were completely defeated (June 27, 1839) at Nizib, north of Aleppo. European diplomacy then intervened at the instigation of England, which was disturbed by the ambition of Muḥammad 'Alī. Until the expedition of Bonaparte, England had taken no interest in Egypt. Thenceforth she was continually occupied with Egypt and the Red Sea. Her agents stirred up the whole of Lebanon. An allied fleet bombarded Bairūt (Sept. 1840). On Nov. 2, Acre surrendered and Ibrāhīm Pasha had to agree to evacuate Syria. Shortly before, the Emir Baḥr had gone into exile.

From the reign of Maḥmūd II. [q. v.] the Porte had inaugurated a policy of administrative centralisation, and decreed the abolition of local autonomies and feudalities. After the departure of the Egyptians, it moved to Bairūt, whose importance was steadily increasing, the administrative centres of the ancient pashaliks of Acre and Ṣaidā, in order to prepare for the annexation of Lebanon. With the

same object it declared the old line of princes of the Lebanon, the Shihāb Emirs, deposed. The only result was to perpetuate anarchy there. The Christians who had fought against the Egyptians claimed to be treated on terms of equality to the Druses. In the southern Lebanon several had acquired the confiscated lands of the Druse chiefs banished by Ibrāhīm Pasha. The latter, coming back from exile, demanded a return to the *status quo* and the restoration of their ancient privileges. In taking their side, Turkey paved the way for new conflicts and sanguinary fighting. The Syrian Muslims showed no less animosity to the Christians, whom Egyptian rule had partly enfranchised. They took no account of the intellectual and material progress made by the Christians, nor of the political equality promised by the *khatt* of the Sultan. The *khatt-i ḥumayūn* [q. v.] of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Majīd [q. v.] communicated to the congress of Paris (1856), and tacitly placed under the guarantee of the Powers, scandalised Muslim opinion, but inspired confidence among the Christians. At Damascus and in the large towns they took advantage of the occasion to enrich themselves. A secret agitation began to stir up the Druses and Muslims, and waited for the events of 1860 to burst forth.

The Druses of the Lebanon combining with their co-religionists of the Wādī 'l-Taim and of the Ḥawrān, scattered fire and death through the villages of the Maronites, who were at sixes and sevens, as the result of an agrarian dispute. The anti-Christian movement reached Damascus, which the Muslims pillaged and then set fire to the prosperous Christian quarter, after massacring its inhabitants. In this city, in the Lebanon, and in Bairūt, the Turkish authorities intervened only to disarm the Christians, and watched the butchery inactively, powerless or abetting it. Under a mandate from Europe, France disembarked at Bairūt (Sept. 1860) a body of troops „to help the Sulṭān to restore peace.” Taking the initiative, the Porte had sent Fu'ād Pasha [q. v.] with discretionary powers to Syria. He began to inflict summary judgment. Sentences of exile pronounced against the Turkish leaders and the most compromised Druses, faced Europe with the *fait accompli*: French intervention, though paralysed by the cunning of the Turks and the distrust of England, nevertheless restored confidence to the Christians, and preserved their native land for the people of Lebanon. The latter, given an autonomous organisation under the direct supervision of Europe (cf. LUBNĀN) thus gained half a century of peace and prosperity.

After 1864 Syria was divided into two wilāyets: Aleppo and Damascus. In 1888 Bairūt, the chief port, the centre of the commercial life of Syria, was made a separate wilāyet. Falling into stagnation after the shocks of 1860, the country saw with indifference the fall of Sulṭāns 'Abd al-Azīz and Murād, the coming of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd [q. v.] and the granting of a constitution in 1876 (soon withdrawn). Between 1881 and 1883 we have the foundation of the first Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine, which paved the way for Zionism. The latter received official recognition by the Balfour Declaration (Nov. 1917). It has been incorporated in the text of the British mandate over Palestine (1922).

Under 'Abd al-Ḥamīd also, emigration began to assume disquieting proportions. Having no room for development at home, exploited by a greedy

and untrustworthy power, the Syrians began to emigrate. Among the just complaints of the Syrians, was the indifference of the Turkish government to public works. France, with its capital, came to the relief of Syria, now left to herself, and having suffered a further economic blow by the opening of the Suez Canal. With the exception of the Syrian section of the Baghdad railway and the Damascus-Medina railway — the work of 'Abd al-Hamid, the Syrian railway system is in the main a French creation. These enterprises have considerably increased the wealth and productivity of Syria, by linking it up with an extensive series of connections, the Taurus, Anatolia and Constantinople on the north, and Arabia and Egypt on the south.

The Turks took even less interest than the Mamluks in furthering intellectual progress. 'Abd al-Hamid showed himself frankly hostile to Arabic literature, and instituted a system of turkicising. In spite of all obstacles the Christians of Aleppo in the xviith century succeeded in resuming contact with Arabic studies, which had been practically closed to them for centuries. We owe to them the establishment of the first printing press in the Lebanon (1610) and in Aleppo. It is to their beginnings that we owe the literary revival of the xixth century when Syria became the centre of Arabic studies. Under the stimulus of foreign missions, French, Americans, etc., Syria became covered with schools and printing-presses which published newspapers, reviews and standard editions. Bairūt took the lead in the intellectual life of Syria, less by its own energy than under the stimulus of Europe. Still more efficaciously than the American mission, the Society of Jesus, with its very well organised printing-press, contributed to the renaissance of Arabic letters and no less to the diffusion of European culture. Bairūt and Syria in general thus produced a large number of young literary men. Their native land soon becoming too small for them (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 492), some migrated to Egypt. Among them we may note the two Yazidji, Nasif [q.v.] and his son Ibrahim (d. 1906) and Butrus al-Bustāni [d. 1883, q.v.]. Turkey took no part in the movement for the education of Syria. Here it was again foreigners, particularly French and Americans, who made up for official indifference. They developed education in all three grades. In 1878 the Jesuits founded the Université St. Joseph at Bairūt. The older Syrian Protestant College of the Americans at Bairūt has recently been made a university (1923).

Syria of to-day. A revolution prepared secretly by the young Turkish party overthrew 'Abd al-Hamid and set up in his place his brother Reshad (April 1907). The Constitution of 1876 was re-established, and the Parliament which had been closed by the Sultan was reopened. Syria hailed with enthusiasm the revolution as the dawn of a new era. This illusion was of short duration. The young Turks, whom the Syrians had trusted, were not long in resuming once more the process of turkicising begun by 'Abd al-Hamid. With more method and continuity they declared war against all who were Arab by race or language. They insisted everywhere in Parliament and in the government offices on the employment of Turks only, and removed the Syrians from high offices and important military commands. This provocative policy

brought together for the first time Muslims and Christians in Syria. It awakened amongst all the desire to come to an understanding in regard to a common policy and to take joint action. Their demands were limited to reforms of a decentralizing nature. They asked that in the allotment of public offices, regard should be had to the progress which had been made by Syria, the most civilised province of the Empire, and that in the imposition and spending of taxes regard should be paid to the needs of their country. They thought the time had come to grant it a certain administrative autonomy. It was the obstinacy of the young Turks in rejecting these moderate demands which opened the door to separatist ideas, and finally convinced the Syrian nationalists that there was nothing for it but to rely upon their own efforts and upon the sympathies of Europe.

On the 29th of October 1914, Turkey entered the Great War. It began by suppressing the administrative autonomy of Lebanon, and imposing on it a Turkish governor. Djamāl-Pasha took into his own hands the government of all Syria with discretionary powers. He at once proceeded to hang the principal patriots whether Syrian, Muslim or Christian. Hundreds of others were sent into exile. Soon afterwards famine and disease decimated the population, principally of the Lebanon. Energetic but presumptuous, dreaming of the conquest of Egypt, Djamāl proceeded very unsuccessfully to attack the Canal of Suez (Feb. 1915). After the repulse of the second attack (August 1916), the English, commanded by Allenby, advanced as far as Ghazza. By November 1917 they had become masters of the southern portion of Palestine, and on the 11th of December, they entered Jerusalem, which the Turks had evacuated. The latter defended themselves for a further nine months on a line extending to the north of Jaffa as far as the Jordan. The decisive action took place on the 19th of September, 1918, on the plain of Saron near Tulkarm. The forces of Allenby broke the Turkish front. It was a rout. At the end of the month the English, without meeting with any resistance, arrived in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The advance was delayed for a few days, in order to allow the Emir Faïsal, the son of the Grand Sherif of Mecca, time to hasten from the remote end of Transjordan and to make on the 1st of October his entry into Damascus at the head of a body of Beduins. On the 31st of October, the Turks signed an armistice. A week later, the last of their soldiers had repassed the Taurus.

The English occupied the country with a military force. The French contingent, which had brilliantly contributed to the victories in Palestine, established itself on the Syrian side. During the course of the war the allies, in order to secure the help of Husain b. 'Ali, Grand Sherif of Mecca, had promised to support the establishment of a federation of Arab states "with reservation of the rights acquired by France". The Emir Faïsal took advantage of these equivocal formulæ to claim the whole of Syria, and organised a form of government at Damascus. This town became a hot-bed of intrigues, from which hordes of bandits and assassins went out to perpetuate the insecurity in Syria. On March 7th, 1920, an alleged "Syrian Congress" at Damascus proclaimed "Faïsal I, King of Syria". General Gouraud, appointed High Commissioner of the Republic of Syria, called upon

Faṣāl to produce his credentials. When the ultimatum received no response, the French, after a few hours fighting, scattered at Khān Maisalūn in the Antelebanon, the bands who opposed their advance (24th of July 1920). On the following day they entered Damascus; Faṣāl had taken to flight. On August 10th following, the Treaty of Sèvres separated Syria from Turkey, in order to form provisionally an independent state, on condition that the councils of a mandatory should guide its administration until such time as it should be capable of independent government. Previous to this, the Congress of San Remo decided that the mandate should be confided to the French government. On the 1st of September 1920 at Bairūt, Gouraud solemnly proclaimed the constitution of "Grand Liban" (v. LUBNĀN). Thereafter the "Federation of Syrian States" composing the three independent states of Damascus, of Aleppo and of the "territory of the 'Alawīs" (the name officially adopted for the Nuṣairīs) was formed. The administrative centre of this last state is Lādhikiya. A fourth state was formed for the Druses of the Ḥawrān. Like the people of Lebanon they had been allowed to remain outside the Syrian Federation. The latter had as its chief a Syrian president. Native officials, with the help of French advisers, assumed the government of these states. Representative councils were entrusted with the discussion of affairs of general interest and settling the budget.

Syria, placed under French mandate, adjoins Turkish Anatolia. The Northern frontier is defined by a line running from Alexandretta, crossing the Euphrates to the south of Djerāblus, and ending at Djazīrat b. 'Omar on the Tigris. On the west Syria is bounded by the kingdom of 'Irāk, on the south by Transjordan and English Palestine. This part of the frontier runs on irregularly from Rās al-Naḡūra between Tyre and Acre. On the East it goes round the Lake of Tiberias, traverses the valley of Yarmūk, leaves the town of Darā (Ḥawrān) on the north and after crossing the desert reaches the district of Djazīrat b. 'Omar by way of Abū Kamāl on the Euphrates.

The following are the approximate results in round figures of the census of 1921—1922, the first taken in Syria since the Arab conquest. The nomads in the district of Aleppo and of Damascus are not included in it. The state of Aleppo, comprising the independent sandjak of Alexandretta had 604,000 inhabitants. This number was made up as follows: 502,000 Sunnīs, 30,000 'Alawīs, 52,000 Christians of diverse denominations, 7,000 Jews, 3,000 foreigners. The state of Damascus contains 595,000 inhabitants, of which 447,000 were Sunnīs, 8,000 Isma'īlīs, 5,000 'Alawīs, 4,000 Druses, 9,000 Mutawālīs, 67,000 Christians of different denominations, 6,000 Jews, 49,000 foreigners. In the state of the 'Alawīs, there were 60,000 Sunnīs, 153,000 'Alawīs, 3,000 Isma'īlīs and 42,000 Christians of different denominations, in all 261,000 inhabitants. The state of Ḥawrān was remarkable for the homogeneity of its population. There were 43,000 Druses against 700 Sunnīs, and about 7,000 Greek, Catholic, or orthodox Christians. For the population of Grand-Liban, see the article LUBNĀN.

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SHAMAN (P.), an idolater. The word belongs to the poetical language, and is at present obsolete. In Asadi's *Lughat al-Furs* (ed. Horn, p. 104), it is explained: "butparast", while quoting the following verse of Rudaki:

"butparasti girifta im hama,
in dīhān tūn but ast u mā shaman im"

[„We have all adopted idolatry; this world is like the idol, and we are idolater(s)", or: „because this world is the idol, etc."].

The same explanation is given in the *Farhang-i Shu'uri* (ii., fol. 132 verso) where besides the verse just mentioned (here reproduced in a somewhat altered, seemingly corrupt, form), quotations are given from Sanā'i, Shams-i Fakhri, and Amīr Mu'izzī; by Shams-i Fakhri (*Lexicon Persicum*, ed. Salemann, p. 105); by 'Abd al-Kādir of Baghdād (*Lexicon Shāhnāmianum*, ed. Salemann, p. 143). The last named author cites *Shāhnāma*, 1074, 155 (Vullers), with which verse may be compared Minūchiri, *Divān* (ed. Kazimirski), ii. 2 sq., and Kazimirski's note, p. 320, where two passages from Sanā'i's poetry are cited, one of which is also given in *Shu'uri*.

In all these passages, shaman signifies nothing but „idolater", and a term, expressing the idea „idol" (*ṣanam*, *but*, *waṭṭan*) always occurs in the verse also. *Shu'uri*, *i. e.*, besides the signification „idolater" gives that of „idol" (*but*) too. It is, however, not probable, that these two ideas would be expressed by the same word; moreover, an instance for this signification: „idol" seems to be

wanting. This second explanation, then, may be due to a mistake.

Respecting the etymology of the word, the derivation from Sanskrit *gramaṇa*, a Buddhist monk, seems to be very probable. Words, denoting a religious person of some foreign sect, after passing into Persian, more than once acquired a less definite sense, for instance the word *nighūshā*, which, while originally denoting the „auditor" of the Manichees, in Persian poetry signifies simply: „an infidel". As to the medium, through which the term *shaman* has been derived, we must look to the East-Iranian countries, where Buddhism once flourished. In Sakian as well as in Soghdian we find resp. the forms *šaman(a)* and *šmn* (to be pronounced *shaman*), reflecting the Indian *gramaṇa*. Most likely, then, the word entered the Persian from the Soghdian. The question, whether the East-Middle-Iranian word came directly from the Sanskrit or from some popular dialect, is of minor importance. The Pāli form *samaṇo* does not come into consideration, as the East-Iranian Buddhism belonged to the Northern form of that religion; besides, the initial *s* of the Pāli word could scarcely have been represented by Soghdian *sh* or Sakian *š*. A derivation direct from the Sanskrit seems probable for the Soghdian word (comp. R. Gauthiot, *Essai de grammaire soghdienne*, 1914—1923, i., § 177), and for the Sakian one also, for in all Prakrits, except Māgadhī and one minor dialect, Skt. *ś* becomes *s*. Moreover, a word like *gramaṇa* would rather be taken from the scriptural language of the religion, in this case Sanskrit.

A second question refers to the relation between the Persian word and the modern European term Eng. *shaman*, German *Schamane*, Russian *shaman*, etc., which designs the sorcerer-priest of the North-Asiatic and some North-American peoples. First, we must state, that the Persian *shaman* has no connection with any priestly function, but simply signifies an idolater. Kazimirski, who, in his edition of Minūchiri's poems, translates the word by „bonze" seems to be led to this interpretation by his supposition, that the Persian *shaman* and the Siberian *shaman* were originally the same; cf. his note p. 320. Now, the European word occurs, so far I can see, for the first time in Brand's relation of Eberhard Isbrand's embassy to China, by order of the Russian government, in the years 1693—1695. The passage runs in the original (A. Brand, *Beschreibung der Chinesischen Reise, welche . . . a° 1693, 94 und 95 . . . verrichtet worden*, Hamburg 1698, p. 80): „wo fünf oder sechs Tungusen bey einander wohnen . . . halten sie einen Schaman, welche auf ihre Art einen Pfaffen oder Zauberer bedeutet". The European term, therefore, originally designates the sorcerer of the Tunguses. And, indeed, only the Tungusian dialects (as well those of Siberia as the Mandju) call the sorcerer *saman* (cf. M. A. Castrén, *Grundzüge einer Tungusischen Sprachlehre*, St. Petersburg 1856, p. 7, 91; A. Rudnew, *Nowyya dannyya po žiwjoj Mandžurskoj rěči i šamanstvu*, St. Petersburg 1912, p. 9). It is not quite certain, if this word *saman* is originally Tungus; W. Schott (*Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1842, p. 462) is inclined, though hesitatingly, to derive it from a Tungus root; a different etymology, but also from the same language, is proposed by C. de Harlez (*La religion nationale des Tartares Orientaux*,

Brussels 1887, p. 28 *sq.*). On the other hand, however, it is difficult to assume an Indian (or Irānian) origin for the Tungus word, as the other North-Asiatic idioms designate the sorcerer in a different manner. If Buddhist influence had been at work here, the term might have spread over a wider area. The derivation of the Tungus word from a Chinese one, which itself might be taken from the Indian (though representing rather *Śākya* than *śramaṇa*) seems also to be excluded (cf. Schott, p. 463). The form *Shaman* in the German work of 1698 presents an irregular *sch* in stead of *s*; we may, however, be sure, that the traveller acquired the word through a Russian medium, and therefore the difficulty lies in the Russian *shaman*, having *sh* instead of the Tung. *s*; de Harlez (*op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 1), thinks that this fact may be due to Chinese influence.

The European „shaman” therefore, seems to be independent of the Persian *shaman*, which latter has nothing to do with any definite branch of religion. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHAMDİNÂN¹⁾, known also under the Kurdish name of NĀW ČĪA (between mountains), *kaḏā* of the sandjak of Ḥakkāri, in the wilāyet of Wān, is one of the least explored regions of Central Kurdistān. Its boundaries are: — on the north, the *kaḏā* of Guiawar; on the south, Barādest and Barzān (maḥall of Rawāndiz); on the west, Oramār (nāḥiya of the sandjak of Guiawar); on the east, the Persian districts, dependencies of Urmiya: Desht, Merguiawar and Ushnū. Situated between 37° and 38° N. and 44° and 45° E. (Greenwich), Shamdinān is divided into three nāḥiya: (1) Zerkān with Nehri, the administrative centre and seat of a *Qā'immaḥmūd*; (2) Humārū, with the seat of a *mudīr* at Benbō or Surunīs; (3) Guirdi Herikī (Herki), *mudīr* at Bitkār. Guirdi is divided into three parts: (a) Guirdiye Baroḏa (against the sun); (b) Guirdiye Nāwpār (middle); (c) Guirdiye Bīn Čia (under the mountain). The greater part of the population is Kurd with a small Christian (Nestorian) minority. In 1914 there were about 13,000 Kurds and 2,000 Christians. The Kurd tribes of Shamdinān are the Herki, Guirdi and Shamdinān. This last tribe is divided into Zerkā and Humārū. Every tribe recognizes the authority of its chief and all obey the power of the powerful family of *Shaikhs* of Nehri (Sadāte Nehri) [see below]. There are in all 126 villages in Shamdinān. In view of the importance of Kurdish toponymy, it may be useful to give here the names of the principal groups: viz. Nāḥiya Humārū: Nehri, Benbō, Surunīs, Bāi, Deimān Sufā, Melaiane Humārū, Begirdi, Awliān; Nāḥiya Zerkā: Gāre, Masirū, Helāna, Nowshahr (Benārwe), Hezna, Serārū, Ribunīs; Nāḥiya Guirdi: G. Baroḏa, Nehāwa, Isian, Berūh; G. Nāwpār: Biskān, Zet, Mawān; G. Bīn Čia: Sūne, Shepatāne Guirdiān, Besūsīn, Zewia Rezi, Begūr, Sherwenān, Keled; Nāḥiya Herki: Bitkār, Nefsi Herki (which includes three villages under the common name of *Shiwa Herki*: Gunde Zheri, Kerespāni, Zizāni), Bedāw, Stūni, Dīri, Bēgālte, Sate.

A few observations are suggested by the above names. On the subject of the name of Nehri a suggestion has been made (Minorsky, *Zap. Vost.*

Otd., xxiv., 1917, p. 157) connecting it with that of *Nairi*. This name, according to him, may have been brought here at a later date by the Christians. Delattre (*Esquisse de géographie assyrienne*, in *La Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, July, 1883) expounds at length the controversy on the subject of the site of Nairi, “which matter is of capital importance in the study of Assyrian geography.” He is against the application of the names of Upper Sea of Nairi and Lower Sea of Nairi to the Lakes of Wān and of Urmiya respectively. Note, however, his remark that the name in question is rendered Nairi, Nahri or Nahiri, according to the different ways of writing it. He also says: “What must above all be noted is that Samsiraman locates the country of Nairi to the east of the Great Zāb, on the frontiers of Media.” On the other hand, according to Thureau-Dangin (*Une relation de la 8ème campagne de Sargon*, Paris, 1912), there is every sign that Na’iri or Hubūshkia is the valley of the Bohtān-Su. It is that part of the ancient region of Natri which remained independent of the kings of Urartu (*op. cit.*, p. x., xi.). According to the same authority, “the Guiawar probably forms the centre of the country of Muṣasir. This localisation is confirmed by the itinerary of the thirty-first campaign of Salmanasar. ... Up to this time the site of the country of Muṣasir was placed further south, in the district of the steles of Kelichin and of Topzawa...” If this is so, Shamdinān must have formerly formed part of the country of Muṣasir. Mention should also be made of the opinion of Th. Reinach (*Un peuple oublié: les Matienes*, in *Revue des Études grecques*, vii., 1894): “the territory of the Matienes of Herodotus corresponded in the main to the greater part of the present Turkish wilāyets of Hakkari and of Moṣul... it is, in a word, the Turkish Kurdistan of to-day.” Besides Nehri, other names seem to suggest certain links with this ancient epoch. We refer particularly to Bitkār (cf. *Bit - Ka - ri*, page 222, M. Streck, *Glossen zu O. A. Toffteen's Geographical List to R. F. Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, vols. I—VIII in *Amer. J. of Sem. Lang. and Liter.*, vol. xxii., No. 3, 1906) and some names in *-is* (Surunīs, Ribunīs) or *-ang* (village of nāḥiya Humārū; the mountain Baski Gazang, between Helāna et Kātūna Yukhāri). Dr. W. Belck (*Beiträge zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens*, Leipzig 1901, i. 46—47) points to the importance of such names, saying: “I have discovered a whole series of ancient Chaldaean names among those ending in *-is* or *isch*”. It is well to point out, however, in regard to the name Shepatān, that it might perhaps be connected with Sciabatan mentioned by Assemani (*Salmasa.... sub Abdjesu Patriarcha Anno 1554 subjectas ecclesias habebat.... Sciabatam....*). May there be some connection between Gulnica (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, iii., p. i.) and Gulang, mentioned above?

As regards Kurdish orography of Shamdinān the following names are most mentioning: Shehidān (Kur Shehidān), on the frontier of Desht; Seri Gāwlekān, above Nehri; Kūri Mizgewtān, above Awliyān (Kur means a separate summit); Čiāye Keleshine, above Geleshim; Māye Helāna, at Helāna; Seri Salārān at Salārān; Čiāye Resh (ou Resh Ruiyān), at Benawūk; Čar Čel, nāḥiya Herki; Taste, at Bedāw; Gerasūr, at Ardwel, Čiāye Huḏuli, between the nāḥiya of Guirdi and Herki; Mengure, nāḥiya Guirdi Baroḏa; Seri Sūlu,

¹⁾ The editors have not attempted to bring the Kurd names in this article into uniformity with the transcription adopted for the *Encyclopaedia*.

near Besūsīn and Begor; Dola Mehendi, Gewerūk, Gilhebaī and Čiāye Spī Rezi — on the frontier of Guaiwar.

The principal passes leading into Merguiawar are: (1) the pass of Keleshin, very difficult, which must not be confused with the pass of the same name to the south of Ushnu, famous on account of the celebrated stele which was found there; (2) the much easier pass, rendered passable even by vehicular traffic during the war, which is known by three names: Ziniya Sorik, Ziniya Pirgoule, Berd Hishtr. Mention must be made also of the pass of Guirve Tabūtān between Kātūna Yukhārī (nāhiya Zerzan) and Djerma (Desht). Finally the road from Nehri to Mosul (telegraph line) passes by Beguirdi (ancient bridge) Ruwān (pass Ziniya Beri) and Shepātān. The principal water-course is given by the Turks the name *Shamdīnān* Su, but amongst the Kurds it is known by the name Rubārī Beguirdi in its higher regions, and Rubārī Shīn in its lower regions. It is a tributary of the Great Zāb into which it flows at the spot called Tengui Bīlinda, in the neighbourhood of the village of Suriya, in the district of 'Amādiya. Its source is near the pass of Ziniya Sorik. Its principal tributaries are on the right: — Humārū (upper course called Dura), Nagailān, Herki, Rubārī Shīn (or Oramār Su), Awī Marik; on the left: — Sherwanān (Hunudel), Mawān, Begizhne.

Holy places. Amongst the places which are venerated by the Kurds mention must be made of the numerous places of sepulture. There is the cemetery of Čel Shehidān on the mountain of the same name, where it is popularly believed that the remains of the companions of the Prophet are buried. At Melāiāne Humārū there is the tomb of Molla Hādīdji, the founder of the family of the *Sheikhs* of Nehri. At Nehri itself, there are the tombs of the sayyid 'Abdullāh, the disciple of Mawlānā Khālīd, the propagator of the Nakshbandiya doctrine, of the sayyid Tā and of the *sheikh* Šālīh. These three tombs are found in a family vault called *Maḥbarē Shutukha* in the northern part of the village. Other tombs venerated are those of Pir Rashīdān at Rashīdān; Pir Abū Bakr at Gawlekān; Pir Wesān, at Basiyān. The gift of telepathy is attributed to the latter two saints. Having married one another's sisters, they were able to communicate with one another at a great distance. The tomb of Shaikh Farakh or Farkho at Nehāwa possesses a special virtue in gaining the acceptance of prayers that are offered there. There is also an ancient tomb which is not attributed to any one person, but bears the name of *rim kesk* (green lance). He who is buried here, the Kurds say, is continuing in the other world with this lance the fight against the infidels. In the village of Belūtīān there is a tomb called *marḡade Sheikh Behal*. This *sheikh*, at the invitation of the angels who appeared to him, is said to have been transported from Guaiwar, where he lived, to Belūtīān, on a praying carpet, in order to build a mosque there. There is still shown on a stone of the gate of this mosque the imprint of the *sheikh's* foot. In order to correct the work of the masons he pushed with his foot and set in line the layer of stones, although other stones had already been placed above it. Under a cupola, at the side of his master, is interred the *Sheikh's* favourite cat. He always sent him with his little caravan to superintend the muleteers.

Besides the tombs there are other *ziyāret gāh*, in the veneration of which we see signs of the ancient cult of the spirits of the mountains. Thus on the mountain of Seri Sāte the place called *Marum* is venerated without distinction by Muslims and Christians. This sanctuary is always guarded by a Christian of the village of Sāte, who is exempt from taxes and treated with esteem by the Kurds. We must remember in this connection, with B. Dickson, that on this mountain there are "the remains of Urartic construction." On the other hand, the summits of Kūri Mizgewtān at Awliyān and of Čiāye Resh at Benawūk (a place called *Meṭā Sharāni*) are also considered holy places.

The ruins which have associations of a more or less historical nature, ought next to be mentioned. Near the road between Benārwe and Nehri, on the hill of Kemi Tūwān, is the *Kāl'a* Guzel Ahmed. Its site is very spacious and the remains of a fountain, to which the water was lead from Dera Resh are found. Guzel Ahmed is said to have risen in revolt against the Persians, the masters of *Shamdīnān* at this period, to have been besieged in this fortress and to have perished with all the garrison after having thrown the women from the walls; feminine ornaments have frequently been discovered at the foot of the hill.

It is difficult to pronounce with certainty regarding the exact period of Persian domination in these districts. Did *Shamdīnān* share the destinies of the district of Moşul or on the other hand did it go rather with the district of Hakkāri? In regard to this question, no direct evidence is given in history, but it is just this vague frontier zone whose possession was in dispute between Turkey and Persia. Under the Šafawids *Shamdīnān* belonged to Persia. It passed to the Turks after the victory of Sulṭān Selim, but returned to Persia under Nādir, etc. All these frontier districts, *Shamdīnān* as well as Merguiawar, Terguiawar, Barādost-Somāi, Ushnū and Lahidjān, were known at first among the Turks by the name of *Mutanazawn fihī*, then by that of *Nawāhiye Sharḡiye*. The final delimitation, with Anglo-Russian assistance, took place exactly on the eve of the outbreak of the war. It must be added that in all this district on this side of the Grand Zāb, Persian is the language employed by the Kurds.

At Shiwa Herki, on an isolated rock, the ruins called *Kishki-Kelāti* should be noted (*kishk* = little mountain in the Herki dialect). This fortress is attributed to a certain Mīr Dā'ūd and it is believed that it was razed to the ground at the Arab conquest. We read in the *Sheref-Nāme* (i, 177), "... A great river passes under the bridge of stone in front of the Chateau of the Emir Dāwūd." The reference here is to a castle in the neighbourhood of Guaiwar, while the one which concerns us, is in the middle of *Shamdīnān*. Moreover, the name Dā'ūd is very frequently applied to the remains of the past in this part of Asia. (Cf. for example the grotto Dukāni Dā'ūd near Sarī Pūl [q. v.]; cf. G. Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Völker in Der Alte Orient*, iii., iv., Leipzig 1908).

In the district round the village of Begālta on the peak of Begālta (Kela Begālta) are the ruins called *Kelāta Timūr Leng*, very difficult of access. It is known that the Mongol warriors overran Central Kurdistan in many directions (cf. Hammer,

Geschichte der Ilchane). According to a tradition, which is quoted by G. Soane (*To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*), after the conquest of Diyarbakr by Tīmūr, an Emir ʿĀra Usmān is said to have been nominated governor of Ḥakkāri and to have married a Kurd lady of noble birth, which marriage contributed to the rise of the family of Ḥakkāri. Now the family of Ḥakkāri, as is shown below, seems to have been very intimately connected with the history of the governors of Shamdīnān. Moreover, a historical example of these conjugal alliances between the Mongols and the Kurds is known, namely that of Nas Khatun (cf. Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii. 289): "Nas Chatun was the daughter of the lord of Kurdistan, which Čoban's father, Melik, son of Turan Behadir, conquered in the time of Hulagu and took the lady Nas prisoner." Emir Čoban is said to have seized certain lands at Kaẓwīn, Shārkān and Hamadān under the pretext that they formerly belonged to Nas Khatun. In a valley of the same peak of Begāltā, at a place called Tuyā Deri, the remains of an important construction are to be seen. On the other side of the peak Kela Begāltā, at the village of Basiyān, are found the remains of an aqueduct which are connected with the ruins of Tuyā Deri. Names formed with *deri*, *dera* (church — the Syriac *dair(a)*, convent; cf. also the Armenian village of Deir near Bash Kāl'a with the convent of St. Bartholomew), such as Dera Baniye, Dera Barozha, Dera Resh, etc., indicate a certain connection with Christian tradition. The history of the Nestorian church in fact shows us that from the fifth century Christianity was more prevalent in these districts than it is at present. There are grounds for surmising that Shamdīnān formed part of the ecclesiastical province of Hadyab (Adiabene). "The Syrians understood by this name the district stretching between the Great and the Little Zāb" (cf. J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou recueil de Synodes nestoriens*, Paris 1902, p. 673, 617). F. N. Heazell (*Kurds and Christians*, London 1911, p. 64) thinks one can say of Shamdīnān: "The ancient name of this region was Rustaka (that is to say black mountains), which described in a picturesque fashion the beautiful mountains covered with dark forests". This statement seems difficult to reconcile with what one knows about the name of Rustaka from other sources: Rustak, town in Fārs (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionn. Géogr. de la Perse*); and in the *Sheref-Nāme* (i. 226): "The name of Restak, read Rustak, is given to the towns of Mawerannehr... the name is also given to the small towns of Khuzistan". Whatever may be the actual location of modern Shamdīnān in the framework of the ancient Nestorian administration of this country, before the last *dihād* passed over it, the principal church was situated at Dera Resh, the residence of the Metropolitan Nestorian, Mar Ḥanānīshō. The right of sanctuary which was attached to this spot was respected by the Kurds. They had also churches at Shepātāne Zerzān and Guirdī, Betiwū, Dera Bāniye, Sate and Zerīn. Christian tradition supports the view that the Kaṣr at Kātūna was built on the ruins of a very ancient church. Mention must be made finally of certain ruins, which are not named, but which are very extensive, between the villages of Heran and Nani (nāhiya Guirdi) and that on the hill between Begor and Sherwinān there are also ruins, which are not named.

Genealogy. The Kurd tradition traces the origin of the name of Shamdīnān to that of Shaikh Shams al-Dīn, the founder of the very noble and ancient local line of Bekzāde 'Abbāsī. It is said to have belonged to an Arab tribe (the Kurds usually show a marked preference for Arab pedigrees) between Moṣul and Baghdād. Defeated by Shammar [q. v.], he is said to have taken shelter in the mountains of Shamdīnān, where his first residence was at Stūnī, in the nāhiya of Herki. His son, 'Izz al-Dīn, extended his power over the districts of Mergiawar, Tergiawar, Guirdī, Baradost, Duskāni, Oramār and Rekān. Six or seven generations of this family resided at Stūnī, which was at last abandoned for Bitkār in the time of Mīr Zain al-Dīn whose name a mosque at Nehri bears. After three or four generations the capital, in the reign of Mīr Zain al-Dīn, was transferred from Bitkār to Harūnān in the nāhiya of Humārū. The remains of the fortress which he erected at that spot are visible to the present time. One of his sons, 'Imād al-Dīn, left his father after a quarrel and migrated to the district of Urmiya, where the beglerbegui Afshār gave him Berde Šūr and Tergiawar as a fief. From him sprang the family of the Bekzāde of Desht. The second son, who succeeded his father, was the first to take the name of Mīr of Shamdīnān. For two or three generations the Mīrs remained at Harūnān and thereafter they established themselves at Nehri, where they exercised their power until the time of the Shaikh 'Ubaid Allāh (1870—1883), who imposed his rule not only on Shamdīnān, but on many other Kurd districts, even in Persia.

The Kurd oral tradition, which has only recently been written down, offers only rather uncertain chronological data. Only one reference to Berde Šūr is said to be known. It is given in Minorsky (*Matériał po izučēniu Vostoka, publ. secr. du Minist. des Aff. Etr.*, St. Petersburg 1915, p. 473), who in speaking of the Bekzāde of Desht points out that at first this region was governed by a branch of the Mīrs Ḥasanwaihi. The line of the latter having for a long time been extinct at Tergiawar, their place was taken by the Bekzāde of Desht, who trace their origin to the three 'Abbāsīd brothers of Bohtan: Rashīd Beg, who died at Džulāmerk, Musā Beg, who died at Shamdīnān, and Qalandar Beg at Berde Šūr. The fortress which was erected there in 970 (1562) is still visible. These indications allow us perhaps to assign to the reign of the Shāh 'Abbās the period at which the separation into two lines of the 'Abbāsī Bekzāde took place, for it was not till then that the Afshārs who accepted 'Imād al-Dīn, established themselves firmly at Urmiya and began to exercise authority over the neighbouring Kurds.

On the other hand, v. Hammer (*op. cit.*, i. 55) speaks of the presence at the Kurultāi of Gujuk (August 1246) of "the two rulers of Kurdistan, Shemseddin and Schihabeddin", while according to one story (*Sheref-Nāme*, ii/i. 67), "the Hakkery princes, who are descended from Chemsuddin, are called Chemmo" (a regular Kurd etymology; cf. 'Izz al-Dīn = Izo, etc.). A confirmation of this is offered by G. B. Margaroli (*Dizionario Geografico storico del' Impero Ottomano*, Milan, 1829), who is relying probably on the authority of Pere Garzoni, "the father of Kurdology". (He refers to his name in the second volume under the name Kurgestan, ... "secondo Garzoni"...). Margaroli says

on the subject of the *Djulamerk* (ii. 3): "... Its inhabitants call themselves *Sciambo*, according to others they have still the name of *Hakiari*, which is perhaps that of the principal family reigning in that place". *Djulamerk* on the *Grand Zāb* is not far from *Shamdinān*. These concordances — *Shams al-Din*, *Shamdinān*, *Shembo*, *Sciambo*, *Hakkāri* — seem to establish a certain connection between *Shams al-Din* and the powerful tribe of *Hakkāri*, which is well-known in *Kurd annals*. It should be recalled that, if on the one hand a *Kurd* (*Hakkāri*?) prince *Shams al-Din*, was present at the *Kurultāi* of *Gujuk* along with other *Mongol* vassals; on the other hand at a later date in 1286, under *Arghūn* (cf. *Hammer, op. cit.*, i. 314), a revolt of *Hakkāri* took place, "after which 16,000 horsemen, commanded by the *Amir Masuk Kuschdschi* and the *Djalair Nurinaga*, were sent against the *Hakari Kurds* and their rising put down". This rather scanty documentary evidence does not permit any definite conclusion to be made, and we are content to note the references.

The Power of the 'Abbāsi Begzāde, which we have seen to have been very great, had to bow before the family of *Nehri Sadāte*. The genealogy of this family traces its origin to the person of the *Shaikh* 'Abd al-Qādir Gilāni (or *Djili*; cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 81, N^o. 1; contrary to the belief of Nicholson, we are here concerned with the locality called *Gilān* in southern *Kurdistan* and not with the province to the south of the *Caspian*). One of the sons of this promoter of the *Qādiriya* doctrine, *Shaikh* 'Abd al-'Aziz, is said to have established himself at *Akrā* (to the north of *Moşul*), where his tomb is still venerated. His son, *Shaikh* Abū Bakr, proceeded to establish himself in the district of *Herkī* at the village of *Sūnī*, which had been the capital of *Shams al-Din*. Of the descendants of the *Shaikh* Abū Bakr, *Shaikh* Haidar and three or four generations resided at *Sūnī*, then afterwards in the time of *Molla Hādjdji* they moved, some to *Melaiān*, some to *Demāne Sufā* in the *Humārū*, until the time of *Mollā Šāliḥ*. Of the two sons of this latter, *Saiyid* 'Abd Allāh and *Saiyid Aḥmad*, the first was the disciple and successor of *Mawlānā Khālīd*. After having studied *Naqshbandiya* doctrine under him, he chose *Nehri* as his domicile which became from that time the residence of this family. At first it was content with purely spiritual influence, but in time it seized upon temporal authority also, which reached its apogee under *Shaikh* 'Ubaid Allāh. The ambitions of this great *Kurd* chief, who invaded the *Ādharbāidjān* about the year 1883 and who was overcome only by the joint efforts of *Persia* and of *Turkey*, are well-known (cf. S. E. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1895. See also in the *English Blue-Book*, Correspondence respecting the *Kurdish Invasion* of *Persia*, *Turkey*, 1881, N^o. 5). *Saiyid Tā II* and *Shaikh* 'Abd Allāh II, grandsons of the *Shaikh* 'Ubaid Allāh, are the present representatives of this family.

Besides these two principal families which disputed for primacy in the *Shamdinān*, we may mention amongst the lords of less importance the *Aghawāte Zerkān*. This tribe is divided into two branches, one at *Ushnu* in *Persia* and the other in the district called by its name in *Shamdinān*. Both of them trace their common origin to *Khālīd Ibn al-Walīd* (v. b. another *Arab* descent!). In re-

gard to *Guirdi*, the family of the *Mirs* divided in time into two branches, *Zerīn Begzāde* and *Bīn Čiā Begzāde*. For about a century, power belonged to the former. At *Guirdi* as at *Zerkān* besides the *Mirs*, there were *pashmirs*. The *Taifei pashmiri* family of *Zerkān* is extinct; that of *Guirdi*, known as *Kuče Begān*, has pretensions to a more ancient nobility than that of the *Mirs*. In the *Guirdi Baroza*, the *Mir Leshkeri* family is well known. Lastly amongst the *Herkī*, the most ancient family is that of *Mālā Shabe Aghā* at *Shiwa Herkī*. It no longer possessed influence nor wealth, but the prestige which it had formerly won, still remains; in all the assemblies of the *Herkī Kurds* the first place is reserved for it. The *Herkī* tribe has many branches. The settled part, *Herkī Benedji* (1,000 hearths), constitutes the population of the district of this name in *Shamdinān*; the nomad part (6,000 tents) passes the winter between *Rawandiz* and *Erbil* (*Hawler* in *Kurd*), the *Sidān* and *Serhātī* and at *Akrā*, the *Mindān* and in the summer at *Terguiawar* and *Merguiawar* in *Persia*. The common ancestor of the *Aghas* of *Herkī* was a certain *Abū Bakr*, a dangerous rival of *Zain al-Din*, *Mir* of *Shamdinān*, who ended by getting rid of him. *Abū Bakr* had four sons: *Mendo*, *Sido*, *Serhat* and *Mam Shaikh*, from which are derived the names of the nomad *Herkī* clans. *Jaba* in his *Recueil* wrongly places a part of the tribe of *Herkī* in *Kirmānshāh* [q. v.].

Amongst clerical families the following enjoy a certain renown: in the *Zerkā*, *Shaikh* *Djamāl*, at *Sūri*; in the *Guirdi*, the family of *Shaikh* *Isā*, that of *Mollā Nabī* of *Kelit* and that of *Shaikh* *Farakh* at *Nehāwa*. It should be mentioned that the evil spirits, *djinn*, recognize the authority of the families of *Shaikh* *Djamāl*, of *Mollā Nabī* and of *Shaikh* *Babk Pirāni* (in the 'ashiret of *Shirwāni*, which adjoins *Shamdinān*).

Bibliography. As has been indicated at the beginning of this article, *Shamdinān* is a *Kurd* country very little studied. Apart from certain vague references in the books of the *American missionaries* of the *Presbyterian mission* of *Urmiya*, e.g. Dr. A. Grant, *Ten Lost Tribes*, New York, 1841, there is a comparatively full description only in the works of B. Dickson, *Journeys in Kurdistan* in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1910. One can consult also W. A. Wigram and Edgar T. A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind* (*Life in E. Kurdistan*), London, 1914, ch. viii.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, ii. 717 sqq.

The author of the present article is believed to be the first to publish details of the geography and history of *Shamdinān*, which he has been able to bring together during his sojourn at *Urmiya* and his expeditions to *Kurdistan*. Cf. also his publications, B. Nikitine and E. B. Soane, *The Tale of Suto and Tato: Kurdish text with translation and notes in Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii. 1 and *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme in R. H. R.*, 1922; *Les Kurdes racontés par eux-mêmes in As. Fr. B.*, No. 231, May 1925; *Vue d'ensemble sur le théâtre de la grande guerre dans le N. O. de la Perse*, *ibid.*, No. 224. (B. NIKITINE)

SHAMIL, a popular leader in *Dāghestān*, head of the dervish order of *Naqshbandiya*, the last and most successful leader of the rising against

Russian rule (cf. above, i., p. 890). Like his predecessors he belonged to the people of the Avars. Born in the last years of the xviiith century in the village of Gimri where the family estate was, he distinguished himself for the first time in 1830 in the unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Khūnzāq. After the murder of his predecessor Ḥamza Beg (1834), he was chosen by the rebels as their leader. In 1837 he was defeated and forced to surrender; he was able to regain his power next year and extend his rule over a great part of Dāghestān and over the land of the Čečentzen west of it. His institutions (*niḡām*) were based on the religious law (*shari'a*) so that his rule was later known in Dāghestān as the "period of the Shari'a". His territory was divided into 32 districts, with a *nāib* at the head of each and a *mufti* for judicial matters under whom were four *kādīs* appointed by him. Shāmīl's armed force amounted to 60,000 men. The mountains of Dāghestān and the still less accessible forests of the Čečentzen formed the bulwark of his rule; in it was the fortress of Wedeno, Shāmīl's residence from 1845 till the Russian conquest (April 1/13, 1859).

After several unsuccessful attempts to put down the rising by the superiority of military force, there began in 1845 a slow penetration of the mountains and clearings of the forests. Shāmīl's attempts, especially during the Crimean War, to get help from the Turks were unavailing. After the fall of Wedeno the struggle was decided. Shāmīl was forced to surrender in his last mountain fastness Gunib on Aug. 25 (Sept. 6) 1859. After being received by the Tsar Alexander II in St. Petersburg, the town of Kaluga was allotted to him and his immediate relations as a residence. There by his own request he and his sons in 1866, took the oath of allegiance to the Tsar. In Feb. 1869 he was allowed to go to Mecca; he died in Medina in March in 1871. Before his death his oldest son Ghāzī Muḥammad (local pronunciation in Russian transliteration = Kaḡl Magoma) received permission to visit his sick father; later he entered the Turkish service and took part in the war of 1877 and in the efforts to stir up the people of Dāghestān. He died in Mecca in 1903. Shāmīl's second son, Muḥammad Shafi', entered Russian service and ultimately settled in Kazan with the rank of Major-General.

Bibliography: A survey of the numerous Russian writers about Shāmīl is given by M. Miansarow: *Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874—1876, i., p. 798 sqq., No. 4781—4840. Notes on this by E. Kozubskiy, *Pamyatnaya Knizka Dagestanskoi oblasti*, 1898 and especially *Dagestanskii Sbornik*, 1904, ii., p. 209, 213—243. — Mirzā Hasan Efendi, *Athār-i, Dāghistān* (cf. above, i. 928), p. 194 sq., 202 sqq. A work on Shāmīl and his imprisonment was written in Arabic by his nephew 'Abd al-Rahmān in Kaluga. The MS. is now in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. A Russian translation by A. Runowskiy appeared in Tiflis in 1862 (first in the newspaper *Kawkaz*, No. 72—76). Cf. also E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kawkazu*, Tiflis 1888, p. 164—200.

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-SHAMMĀKHĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. ABU 'UTHMĀN SA'ID B. 'ABD AL-WĀḤID, a learned jurisconsult and Abādī biographer, died in Djumādā 928 (= March 29—April 28—May 26,

1522) in one of the villages of the oasis of the Ifren of the Djabal Nafūsa, in Tripolitania. Among his pupils was Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā' b. Ibrāhīm al-Hawwārī.

He was the author of the following works: 1. A commentary on the *Aḡida*, a short treatise on theology by Abū Ḥafṣ Omar b. Djamī' al-Nafūsi; 2. A commentary on his synopsis of the *K. al-'adl wa 'l-inṣāf* on the sources of law by Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī; 3. *K. al-siyar*, a biographical collection, spiced with anecdotes and a few historical events, of the principal Abādī personages. A few extracts transl. into French have been published by Masqueray in his *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1879, p. 325 sqq.; the Arabic text was lithographed at Cairo in 1301.

Bibliography: Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab in Bull. de Correspond. afric.*, 1885, i., ii. p. 47—70; do., *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, p. 90, note 1; al-Shammākhi, *K. al-siyar*, p. 562; Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Yūsuf Aṭṭiyash al-Djazarī, *al-Dī'āya ilā sabīl al-mu'minin*, Cairo 1342/1923, p. 28, note 1.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-SHAMMĀKHĪ, ABU SĀKIN 'ĀMIR B. 'ALĪ B. 'ĀMIR B. ISFĀW, Abādī jurisconsult, died at a great age in 792 (= December 20, 1389—December 8, 1390) in one of the villages of the Ifren of the Djabal Nafūsa, in Tripolitania.

After studying with Abū Mūsā 'Isā b. 'Isā al-Shammākhi, he attached himself to Abū 'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm b. Abū Yaḥyā. On the conclusion of his studies, he settled at Metiwen where he devoted himself to teaching for thirteen years. He then settled in the oasis of Ifren in 756 (= January 16 1355—January 4, 1356).

His pupils were: his son Abū 'Imrān Mūsā, his grandson Sulaimān, Abū 'l-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Miṣbāḥ, etc.

He composed the following works: 1. a *Dīwān*, which remained unfinished in four great volumes which has become the fundamental lawbook of the people of the Djabal Nafūsa; 2. *Aḡida*, a theological treatise dedicated to Nuḥ b. Ḥāzim; 3. *Qaḡida fi 'l-azmīna*.

Bibliography: al-Shammākhi, *K. al-siyar*, Cairo 1301, p. 559; Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab in Bull. de Correspond. afric.*, 1885, i., ii., p. 44.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

SHAMMAR, (a) the plateau containing the parallel ranges of Djabal Adja' and Djabal Salmā, "the two mountains of Tay'i". In extent it stretches southward from the Nafūd to the Wādī 'l-Rumma and includes Irnau, Misma, Hubrān and Rummān which shelter Shammar tribesmen. Politically the term is inconstant. Thus, when the Amir of Ḥā'il [q. v.] was at the height of his power Djawf and Riyād were included to Shammar. Inasmuch as the tribe gave its name in the district, like its predecessors, the Tay'i, it is best to confine the name to the Djabal where the tribe is paramount. The capital is cut off from the outside world by its mountain barriers, fair access only being possible from the direction of Taima by the Ri' al-Salf which pierces the mountain to the S. W. of Ḥā'il and by a pass through the Djabal Salmā. Between the ranges water is plentiful; but outside the fertile fringe wells are few. The climate is bracing and healthy and epidemics like those recorded by Doughty (i. 296) are doubtless of external origin. In the

oases water is near the surface and cultivation correspondingly easy.

(b) The confederation of tribes in this region and in al-Djazīra. Local traditions as to the origin vary. It is claimed that the Shammar are of Northern stock in the lines of Rabīʿa and Muḍar. Wallin (*J.R.G.S.*, xx, 331) reported that they differ considerably from Syrian Arabs in racial characteristics and resemble in features the Yamanis, and that their tradition is that they were the last to migrate from southern Arabia. The ruling clan, the Djaʿfar, is a sub-tribe of the ʿAbda of ʿAbida, descent from Kaḥṭān, so that they may be Yamanis. They certainly hold that they displaced and in part absorbed the Tayʿi. Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 233, merely says that the Banū Shammar are *min Tayʿi*. Doughty, ii, 41, reports that Najdian opinion favours a mixed ancestry. There is no good clue as to the date of the Shammar irruption. At the beginning of Islām the Tayʿi were in the Shammar lands and probably their expropriation was gradual. Al-Kalkashandī mentions the Shammar merely as Arabs inhabiting the Tayʿi mountains. He does not connect them with any known stem.

Their hereditary foes are the ʿAnaza; Beduwin war has gone on for at least a century and a half. About a hundred years ago, the ʿAnaza succeeded in dividing the Shammar. They forced a large section of them to cross the Euphrates and occupied the intervening *dīra*. By this time the two groups of Shammar are politically distinct, the Mesopotamian section following Ibn Djerba. Nevertheless the blood tie is still honoured in that the pasture land of the Djabal is open to any of the Djerba Shammar. The Shammar *dīra* extends almost to Najaf, though the assaults of the ʿAnaza, the Dhafir and recently the Amir of Riyāḍ tend to confine them to the Nafūd.

The Djazīra Shammar are practically all nomads, their range being between Tigris and Euphrates. They come as far south as Baghdād and Zubār. A rendez-vous is Dair al-Zōr and they move up the *Khābūr* [q.v.] towards Nişibin. In the absence of an official estimate their numbers may be said to be 10,000.

The Amir, who takes the name of his house and is known as Ibn Rashīd, is not only the paramount *shaikh* of the Shammar tribes: he is also the ruler of the settled population in the line of oases between the ranges of Adjaʿ and Salmā, and outlying settlements like Mustadjidda. Hāʾil [q.v.] and Faid (population about 1,000), Kafar, Akda, Muḥaḥ and Samira deserve mention.

The renowned Tamīm still form a considerable proportion of the settled population, though they incline to Ibn Saʿūd of Riyāḍ. The townspeople are regarded as superior to the Beduin brethren in courage and military skill. They form the backbone of the army: each man is compelled to furnish his own camel or horse, weapons, ammunition and equipment, and afterwards a summons is sent to the nomads, who, though they turn out in great numbers, are merely regarded as auxiliaries. The great strength of the Shammar in the past has lain in their discipline and they may yet again assert their strength under a capable Amir.

Wallin noted that apart from the Khaṭīb and Qādī, men with any knowledge of Arabic literature were extremely rare; and the former knew little but the Qurʾān, the Hanbali traditions and the

specific tenets of the Wahhābī faith. The Shammar have been some of the most devoted champions of Wahhābī doctrines and they have done much to propagate it throughout western Arabia. Latterly they have revolted against the excessive austerity of the sect, and tobacco and silk are not taboo as in Najd. Doubtless up-to-date information of the effect of Ibn Saʿūd's régime in Hāʾil would lead to a modification of some statements made above.

I refrain deliberately from noticing the work of William Gifford Palgrave, as Philby (ii, 117—156) has shown that he was a liar.

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(A. GUILLAUME)

AL-SHAMS (A.), the sun. As in Greek astronomy, whose conception of the cosmos the Arabs had taken over, they made the sun go round the earth from east to west in a true (tropic) year. The centre of the sun's orbit (epicycle = *ṣalak al-tadwīr*) did not coincide with the earth's centre but was eccentric to it (*al-khāridj al-markaz*) to account for the inequality of the seasons which had already been established by Hipparchus. The sun itself was a ball-shaped solid body sunk into the so-called eccentric sphere of the sun (*ṣalak al-shams*) in such a way that the ball of the sun nowhere protruded beyond the surface of the sphere. (A pictorial illustration of this idea is given in Rudloff and Hochheim, *Die Astronomie des Gāgmīnī*, Leipzig 1893, p. 13). If we put the radius of the sun's orbit at 60 $\frac{1}{2}$, then according to Hipparchus the distance of its centre from the centre of the earth = approximately 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 30' = $\frac{1}{4}$ of this radius, according to al-Battānī = 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ', while the calculations of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī result in an eccentricity, the magnitude of which has been variously estimated from 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 10' to 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 20' (cf. H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914, p. 45). The two directions at which one looks at the sun from the two centres mentioned thus form an angle calculated by Hipparchus as = \pm 2° 13' as a maximum (by al-Ma'mūn's astronomers at 1° 59', by Battānī at 1° 58'). This magnitude is called the equation (*ta'dīl al-hāṣṣa wa 'l-markaz*). In consequence of the eccentric sun's orbit which (in modern language) is simply the elliptic path of the earth round the sun projected on the sphere of the heavens, there were two outstanding points for the motion of the sun; that at which it is nearest the earth (*perigee*, *perigaeum*, *ḥaḍīd*, *bu'd aḥṣab*), and that of its greatest distance from

the earth (*apogee*, *apogaem*, *awḍī*, *bu'd ab'ad*). It is one of al-Battānī's most important contributions to knowledge, that he discovered the turning movement of the apogee which we can now prove to be a necessary result of the disturbance of the earth's path by the attraction of the moon (three body problem). Al-Battānī found it amounted to 21" in a year, according to the results of modern astronomy it is about 11" 50 (cf. e.g. Israel-Holtzwardt, *Die Elemente der theoretischen Astronomie*, i., Wiesbaden 1885, p. 17). This movement of the apogee has nothing to do with that which is produced by the precession of the equinoxes and is added in the same direction to the former. While Hipparchus and Ptolemy estimated its annual amount at 36", al-Battānī came much nearer with 54" — 55", while Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī about 1260 calculated it at 51" which is practically correct. Whether now the introduction of trepidation into this movement of precession in the zodiacal circle, i.e. the assumption of an inequality in it in the form of a see-saw movement (*harakat al-iḥbāl wa 'l-idbār*) is due to lack of agreement in calculations or, as S. Günther thinks, was learned by the Arabs from the Hindus (cf. his *Studien zur Geschichte der mathemat. und physikal. Geographie*, ii., Halle 1877, p. 78), need not be discussed here. It will be sufficient to refer to the work of Thābit b. Qurra (826—901) which was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona with the title *Liber Thebit de motu accessionis et recessionis* (cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, p. 37). Both texts, Arabic and Latin, are in MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Delambre has investigated the Latin MS. He quotes it as *Thebit ben Chorath: de motu octavae sphaerae* and finds that Thābit introduces a second movable ecliptic, which rises and falls alternately above and below the fixed ecliptic. The equinoctial points at the same time advance or retire as much as 10° 45" (cf. J. B. Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie du moyen âge*, Paris 1819, p. 74).

The divisions of time are caused by two kinds of solar motion. The first is that which is completed within a tropic year along the eccentric solar sphere, during which time the sun traverses the twelve constellations of the zodiac (ecliptic = *ḥalak al-burūdī*) to return again to its starting point (beginning of spring = *nuḡat al-ʿiṭidāl*). The duration of the tropic year was calculated by al-Battānī at 365^d 5^h 46' 24" (actually it is 365^d 5^h 48' 47"), i.e. much more accurately than by Ptolemy who puts it as 365^d 5^h 55' 12". Secondly, the sun as a result of the revolution of the globe of heaven around the earth performs its daily round in the heavens from east to west. The Arabs understood by natural day (*yawm*), the day of sunlight and night combined. Muslim religious ceremonies are closely connected with the different stages of daylight: Dawn and twilight (*ḥaḍir*, *ḥaḥaḥ* q.v.) are periods for prayer and it was necessary to define them astronomically. In the meridian or at midday (*niṣf al-naḥār*), the sun attains its greatest height (*ghāyat al-irtifāʿ*) and then begins to sink (*sawāl*). The *suhr* is the period of prayer immediately after noon. The distance of the sun from the meridian is called *faḍl al-dāʾir*. The position of the sun in the heavens was usually obtained from the length and direction of the shadow of the *mikyās*. The Ḥākimī

astronomer Ibn Yūnus (1009) called attention to the half-shadow which is a result of the flatness of the sun's disc. The shadow instruments of the Arabs i.e. their sundials were of varied kinds. At the moment when the afternoon shadow on the *baṣīṭa* (horizontal sundial) exceeded the midday shadow by the length of the *mikyās* (*ḥaḥḥ*), the time of *ʿaṣr* began (afternoon prayer). The hours (*al-sāʿāt* see *sāʿa*) were either equal (*al-sāʿāt al-mutaʿdila*) or unequal i.e. temporal (*al-sāʿāt al-samāniya*). Later the equal hours were also marked on the sundial.

The procedure for ascertaining the beginning and magnitude of the eclipse of the sun (*kuṣūf al-shams*) among the Arabs is based on the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. As regards accuracy in calculating the beginning of and observing an eclipse of the sun, the same holds as for the moon (cf. *AL-QAMAR*). In such questions as solar parallaxes, apparent size of the sun, its distance from the earth etc., the Arabs also closely followed the Greeks. Ibn al-Haiṭham notes that in solar eclipses a similar reddish black is seen on the sun's disc as on the moon, at the time of its total eclipse. He recommends the observation of a solar eclipse in its reflection in a vessel filled with water, in view of the too fierce light, especially in partial eclipses.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī sive Al-batenii Opus astronomicum*, Milan 1899—1907, i. 41, 43, 71, 104, 135, and the corresponding Annotations, Vol. ii. with the plates of the sun; R. Wolf, *Geschichte der Astronomie*, Munich 1877, p. 47, 160, 173. On Ibn Yūnus's proof that the shadow (*al-ḡill*) of a *mikyās* gives the height of the upper rim of the sun and not that of its centre, cf. C. Schoy, *Über eine arabische Methode, die geographische Breite aus der Höhe der Sonne im ersten Vertikal (Höhe ohne Azimut) zu bestimmen* (*Annalen d. Hydrographie u. maritimen Meteorologie*, 1921, p. 131). On sundials, the division of the days and hours: C. Schoy, *Gnomonik der Araber*, Berlin 1923 and do., *Sonnenuhren der spätarabischen Astronomie*, *Isis*, vi., No. 18, 1924, p. 332—361. On the greatest declination of the sun or sphere of the ecliptic (*ghāyat al-mail*, *al-mail al-aʿṣam*), cf. the article *AL-SARATĀN*. Ibn al-Haiṭham's note on the observation of the eclipse of the sun is in his: *Fi Maʿyāt al-Aṭṭar alladhī fī Waḍiḥ al-Kamar* (*Madjlis baladīy in Alexandria*). (C. SCHOY)

SHAMS AL-DAWLA, ABŪ ṬĀHIR B. FAKHR AL-DAWLA, a Būyid. After the death of Fakhr al-Dawla [q.v.] the amirs proclaimed as his successor his four-year-old son Maḍjīd al-Dawla under the guardianship of his mother Saiyida and gave the governorship of Hamadhān and Kirmānshāhān to Shams al-Dawla who was also a minor. When Maḍjīd al-Dawla grew up, he sought to overthrow his mother and with this object made an arrangement with the vizier al-Khaṭir Abū ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. al-Kāsim in 397 (1006/1007). But when they sought assistance from the Kurd chief Badr b. Ḥasanawaih, the latter set out for al-Raiy with Shams al-Dawla and took Maḍjīd al-Dawla prisoner. The government was then given to Shams al-Dawla but as he was not so pliant as Maḍjīd al-Dawla, the latter was released from his prison after a year and again proclaimed ruler, while Shams al-Dawla returned to Hamadhān. After Badr had been murdered by the soldiers in 405 (1014/1015), Shams al-Dawla

seized a portion of his territory and when the grandson of the dead man, Tāhīr b. Hilāl b. Badr, wished to dispute the possession of it, he was defeated and thrown into prison. His father Hilāl b. Badr had already been imprisoned by Sulṭān al-Dawla [q. v.]; but the latter released him and sent him with an army to regain the lands occupied by Shams al-Dawla. In Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 405 (April/May 1015), he came upon the enemy but the battle resulted in Hilāl's defeat and death. After this victory Shams al-Dawla seized the town of al-Raiy; Majd al-Dawla and his mother took to flight, but when Shams al-Dawla wished to pursue them, his troops mutinied and forced him to return to Hamadhān, whereupon Majd al-Dawla and his mother returned to al-Raiy. In 411 (1020/1021) the Turks rose in Hamadhān; Shams al-Dawla appealed to Abū Dja'far b. Kākawaih, governor of Iṣfahan, and with his help succeeded in driving the mutinous element out of the town. About 412 (1021/1022), Shams al-Dawla was succeeded by his son Samā' al-Dawla but within two years (414 = 1023/1024), Hamadhān fell into the hands of the Kākōyids [q. v.] (Kākawaihids).

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SHAMS AL-DĪN. [See DJUWAINĪ, i. 1070^a, IL-DEĞİZ, İLTUTMİŞ, PEHLEWÂN, TIBRİZİ].

SHAMS AL-DĪN, IBN 'ABD AL-LĀH AL-SAMATRĀNĪ (the *nisba* is variously given, as the pronunciation of the name of the country varies), = belonging to Samatrā < Samudra, a district in North Sumatra which in those days formed a part of the kingdom of Pasei; cf. the art. SUMATRA), a Malay mystic author, who was born probably before 1575 and died in 1630 (Radjab 12, 1039 A. H., as we know from Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī's *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*; the part in question has been edited by G. K. Niemann, under the title *Hikāyat Nagari Atjeh*, in *Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften*, the Hague 1907, ii. 4 127). On his personality al-Rānirī says: "This Shaikh was learned in all branches of learning; especially his knowledge in the field of the 'ilm taṣawwuf was well known; a number of books have been written by him". He is often mentioned along with his contemporary Ḥamza al-Fanṣūrī (= belonging to Baros, on the West coast of Sumatra; cf. the art. ḤAMZA AL-FANŠŪRĪ in the Supplement), whose importance is, however, much greater. Whether Shams al-Dīn was Ḥamza's pupil, as H. Kraemer suggests (*Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw*, diss. Leiden 1921, p. 28), seems to be not quite certain.

After the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese (1511), the importance of Aceh as a centre of Muslim economic and religious life had increased. Especially during the reign of Iskandar Muda (= Makūta 'Ālam) (1607—1636), who extended his sway over parts of the Malay peninsula, religious life in Northern Sumatra was very intensive. Our sources speak of a struggle between the radical mysticism of Ḥamza and Shams al-Dīn and their

adherents, and the more orthodox Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī; as Shams al-Dīn was granted the favours of Iskandar Muda, al-Rānirī left Aceh for some time, but later on, during the reign of Iskandar II, he succeeded in securing the assistance of the public authorities and, by a *fatwā*, caused the books of his opponents to be burnt publicly (H. Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 30; do., *Noord-Sumatraansche invloeden op de Javaansche mystiek*, in *Djawa*, 1924, iv. 30; cf. also H. N. v. d. Tuuk, *Kort Verslag der Mal. Handschr. etc.*, in *B.T.L.V.*, 1866, Series 3, vol. i. 463, where Muqul Ma'ājat Sjah is another name for Iskandar II).

Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 30 sqq., mentions the following works of Shams al-Dīn:

1) *Mir'āt al-Mu'min*, "Mirror of the Believer", deals with dogmatics in an orthodox manner, written in 1009 (1601). Cod. Or. Leiden N^o. 1700 (H. H. Juynboll, *Cat. Mal. . . . Handschr. Leidsche Univ. Bibl.*, Leiden 1899, p. 256—257) and N^o. 1952 (Kraemer, p. 30) contain parts of it; the former is provided with a Dutch MS. translation by P. v. d. Vorm (d. 1731), and is therefore the same MS. as has already been described by G. H. Werndl; the complete work contained 211 questions and answers on religious subjects (G. H. Werndl, *Maleische Boekzaal*, Amsterdam 1736, p. 354—355; the author also says that this work was very popular in his days and cites [Introduction, p. I—III] the beginning sentences, according to which Shams al-Dīn wrote this book for those who were not acquainted with the Arab and Persian languages). 2) *Mir'āt al-Muḥaḳḳiqin*, "Mirror of those who have acquired a deep mystic knowledge", mentioned by al-Rānirī, seems to be lost. V. d. Tuuk's identification of this work with Cod. Or. Leiden N^o. 1332 is, according to Kraemer, p. 31, wrong. 3) *Sharḥ Rubā'i Ḥamzat al-Fanṣūrī* (written in 1611), perhaps a commentary on Ḥamza's *Rubā' al-Muḥaḳḳiqin* (Kraemer, p. 29 and note 3), which has not survived to us. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 289, supposes that Cod. Or. Leiden, N^o. 1983 (2) contains this commentary.

Excerpts of works by Shams al-Dīn are mentioned by Kraemer on p. 31; on p. 32 we find a list of works which are only known by name (cf. also p. 30 above). As it is not always certain that Shams al-Dīn is the real author, and our knowledge of their contents is still very limited, it seems not to be necessary to enumerate them all here. Only scanty notice of Shams al-Dīn's teachings can be gathered from the fragments preserved to us; even Codex Leiden, coll. Sn. H., N^o. 30, described by Prof. Ph. S. van Ronkel (*Suppl. Cat. Mal. . . . Handschr. Leidsche Univ. Bibl.*, Leiden 1921, p. 145, N^o. 341) as a résumé of Shams al-Dīn's teachings, has only the character of a collection of annotations which presuppose a fuller account or oral explanation.

Al-Rānirī mentions Shams al-Dīn (Kraemer, p. 28) as a representative of the Wudjūdīya [q. v.], and from the information on his teachings given by Kraemer (p. 46—48) we may conclude that there is no essential deviation from the general Muslim mystic conceptions of his days. On the other hand he has exercised a considerable influence on the peculiar Javanese mystic literature, which is, however, not yet fully investigated (cf. the art. SULUK). Continued researches will perhaps solve the question whether Indonesian elements, which are so well represented in Ja-

vanese mystic treatises, are already to be found in the literary inheritance of Shams al-Dīn and his contemporaries.

According to v. d. Tuuk (*op. cit.*, p. 463-464), al-Rāniri's [q. v.] *Nubdhā fī Da'wā al-Zill* and his *Tabyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān* are especially intended as polemics against Shams al-Dīn (cf. also Kraemer, p. 32-33).

Bibliography: H. N. v. d. Tuuk, *Kort Verslag etc.*, B.T.L.V., Series 3, vol. i. 462-466; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Leiden 1906, ii. 12-13; H. Djajadiningrat, *Critisch Overzicht . . . van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh*, in B.T.L.V., 1911, lxx. 178, 182, 183, 186, 213; H. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw*, Leiden 1921, Cap. I-III passim; do., *Noord-Sumatraansche invloeden op de Javaansche mystiek*, in *Djawa*, 1924, iv. 29-33; and the other literature mentioned in the text. (C. C. BERG)

SHAMS AL-MA'ĀLĪ. [See KĀBŪS.]

SHAMSIYA, order of derwishes called after Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Thaṇā' Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Barakāt Muhammad Siwāsī or Siwāsī-zāde, also called Kara Shams al-Dīn and Shamsī (d. 1009 = 1600-1601). He is mentioned by the historians Na'imā (Constantinople 1281, i. 372) and Pečewī (Constantinople 1283, ii. 290) among the saints of the reign of Muḥammad III, and they state (probably on the authority of this sovereign, whose letter is cited by von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 286) that he fought at the taking of Erlau (1005 = 1596). He was the author of numerous works in Turkish, enumerated by Ḥājjdī Khalīfa, who, however, confuses him with other persons; of one called *Manāzil al-ʿArifin* there is a copy in the British Museum, and another called *Gulshanābād* is preserved in the Vienna Library. Notices of this order in European works are mainly derived from d'Ohsson, who mentions it in his list (*Tableau*, iv. 625), whence von Hammer obtains his information in the *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, iv. 236, adding that the founder lived and died at Medina in the odour of sanctity. In his later work on Ottoman Poetry, *loc. cit.*, he states that this person was head of the Khalwatī order in Siwās; and in the *Kāmūs al-A'lām* he is called the restorer of the Khalwatī order. In a pedigree of orders made by a Naḡshabandī and cited by Le Châtelier, *Confréries*, p. 50, the Shamsiya is represented as a branch of the Khalwatīya and appears to be confined to Siwās. It does not figure in the list of *tekye* at Siwās drawn up by Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 666), whence it was probably a local name for the Khalwatī order which speedily became obsolete. Le Châtelier, *loc. cit.*, p. 179, mentions an order of this name as a branch of the Badawīyah in Egypt.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

AL-SHANFARĀ was a poet of the time before Islām and is reckoned by the Arabs as one of the great racers, along with others like Ta'abbata Sharran, and also as one of the ravens (*aghriba*) on account of his black skin. The genealogists know his complete genealogy, but as the various sources consulted are not even unanimous as to his name and that of his immediate ancestors, it is hazardous to attach great credence to the chain of his forebears named. There is, however, perfect agreement that he belonged to

the South-Arabian clan of the Banu 'l-Iwās b. al-Ḥidjr b. al-Hanw b. al-Azd and consequently he is one of the very few South-Arabian pre-Islamic poets of whom poems are preserved. As a boy he was captured by the tribe Shabāba b. Fahm, a clan of Kais 'Alān, and he remained a prisoner among them till he was exchanged for a man of the Banū Shabāba, whom the Banū Salamān b. Mufarridj, a clan of al-Azd, had captured. He remained among the latter as one of their tribe till he began to make love with a girl of the Banū Salamān who resented his wooing, and when he was insulted by the father of the girl he ran away to his first captors. When he learned from them his real descent he swore that he would take vengeance upon the clan of Salamān by killing a hundred of their men. He succeeded in this in so far that he killed actually 99 of them. The small tribe of Fahm were noted robbers; associated with Ta'abbata Sharran he was for a long time a terror to tribes which often lived very long distances from the home of the clan of Fahm. It is reported that he, like his companion, made all his raids on foot, crossing large stretches of desert, through which he made his retreat sure by burying ostrich-eggs filled with water in the sand. As soon as he had made his murderous attack he would, upon being pursued, race back into the wilderness, where his pursuers were compelled to give up their chase for fear of dying of thirst.

When his murderous career against the Banū Salamān had assumed the dimensions indicated, three men of the clan Ghāmid waylaid him in the night when he was going to a lonely well at al-Nāṣif near Abīda and though he wounded two of them by shooting at them as he espied their form in the dark, they overpowered him and after cutting one of his hands off brought him to their camp, where they killed him. It is stated that on this occasion he uttered the defiant verses telling them not to bury his body but to leave it to the hyenas, which are found in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammam and have several times been translated into European languages. Al-ʿAīnī in his commentary on the verses of the *Alfiya* (iv. 596, 10) mentions his *Diwān* among the books which he has consulted, but this book is now probably lost.

We have, however, two celebrated poems of some length attributed to him, one found in the collection of ancient odes entitled *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (ed. Lyall, No. 20; ed. Thorbecke, No. 18) in which he celebrates his murder of Ḥarām b. Djābir, a man of the Banū Salamān, but the chief beauty of this poem lies perhaps in the *nasīb* or amatory introduction. This poem is accessible to European readers in the excellent rendering of Lyall. Greater celebrity, however, is enjoyed by his other poem which is generally known under the title of the *Lāmīyat al-ʿArab*, a poem full of defiance and manliness, which since it was made accessible to Western readers by Sylvestre de Sacy has been acknowledged as one of the finest products of Arabic poetry. It has been translated into several Western languages, even Polish. It was also appreciated by Arabic scholars and we possess an early commentary which is attributed in the printed editions (Constantinople 1300 etc.) to al-Mubarrad; this is, however, an error as the commentator himself mentions that he derived his text from Abū 'l-Abbās in more than one place and once

(p. 26) from Ahmad b. Yahyā i. e. the Kūfī grammarian Tha'lab who died in 291 (903). Printed with the same commentary is another commentary, more extensive, by al-Zamakhsarī who died in 538 (1143/1144).

While the poem in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* is considered the undisputed work of al-Shanfarā, this is not the case with the *Lāmiyat al-ʿArab*. The earliest scholars appear to have no knowledge of the poem at all; it is not mentioned by Ibn Kutaiba in his book on poets, nor is there any reference to this poem in the fairly long account of the poet in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (xxi. 134–143). Though al-Kālī (died 358 = 969) quotes the poem at length in the appendix of his *Amālī* (iii. 208–212) he informs us in an earlier part of his work (i. 157) that the poem, though generally attributed to al-Shanfarā, is in reality the work of Abū Muḥriz i. e. the Baṣrian philologist Khalaf al-Aḥmar. Al-Kālī, who derives about two thirds of his book from Ibn Duraid, has received this information also from him and probably from this source it is repeated in later literature. Ibn Duraid was well informed about the activities of the scholars of the Baṣrian school and only two generations separated him from Khalaf al-Aḥmar, his information being as a rule derived from pupils of al-Aṣmaʿī from Khalaf. We are consequently compelled to attach some weight to his statement, which is largely corroborated by the internal evidence of the poem itself. The entire lack of names of places and personal names, except such as cannot easily be identified, is so unusual in early poems that it must give rise to suspicion, for we have not a fragment, but a harmonious complete poem. To this must be added that in its diction occur words and phrases which cannot easily be confirmed from poems which are acknowledged as originating from poets who lived contemporary or near the time of al-Shanfarā and we must come to the conclusion that Khalaf inspired by the fragment found in the *Ḥamāsa* composed his masterpiece, which truly represented the defiant nature of the wild robber and murderer.

Added to this comes the remarkable fact that another poem of equally wild nature and attributed in the *Ḥamāsa* to Taʿabbata Sharran, the companion of al-Shanfarā, is also attributed to al-Shanfarā, but by critics vindicated as a forgery of the same Khalaf al-Aḥmar (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 382 = ed. Būlak, ii. 160). Besides these poems the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* cites a fragment of a longer poem, and in several early works are quoted fragments of four other poems, which probably are not remnants of longer *qaṣida*'s.

Bibliography: The whole subject is most exhaustively dealt with by G. Jacob in his *Shanfara Studien*, Munich 1914–1915, from which it is evident that the poems of al-Shanfarā have attracted greater attention in European literature than any other Arabic poet, and to the works cited there I can only add an édition-de-luxe of the *Lāmiya* in German translation, Hanover 1923. Scattered verses by al-Shanfarā are found in several other older works besides those used by Jacob, but they add nothing to our knowledge. (F. KREMKOW)

SHANT YAKUB (Yakū, in Abū l-Fidāʾ), Arab transcription of the Spanish Santiago, in French St. Jacques de Compostelle, is the most celebrated place of pilgrimage in Christian Spain, the former

capital of the kingdom of Galicia, situated 760 feet above sea-level, between Vigo and La Coruña, to the east of Cape Finisterre. It is there that according to the legend are the relics of the apostle St. James the Greater, the patron-saint of Spain, who landed on the coast near Santiago to convert the peninsula. There was, before the eleventh century, a celebrated church dedicated to St. James Compostelle, with which the Arab authors deal with full details. It was for the Christians, says the author of *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, what the Ka'ba is for the Muslims.

In 387 (997), the *ḥadji* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir directed an important expedition from Cordova against Santiago, of which Dozy has given a detailed account from the chronicler Ibn al-Idhārī. On Sha'bān 2 (10th August), the town, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, was taken by the Arab army and burned to the ground; only the tomb of the saint was respected. The king of Galicia, Bermudo II, recaptured Santiago from the Muslims at the end of the eleventh century and restored all its traditional splendour to the place of pilgrimage. The building of the present cathedral on the foundations of the sanctuary destroyed by al-Manṣūr, was undertaken in the reign of Alphonso VI in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

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SHĀPŪR (P.), Arabic Šābūr (the form *Shāhafūr* in a verse of A'shā quoted in Tha'alibi, *Hist. des rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 493 is nearer the Pahlavi *Shāhpūhr*), the name of several members of the Sāsānid dynasty. The three Persian kings of this name have associations with Muslim tradition.

SHĀPŪR I B. ARDASHĪR called Sābūr al-Djunūd by the Arabs, the Sapor I of the classical historians (241–272 A.D.) who waged war with the Romans for the greater part of his reign, for he continued the offensive which had been begun by his father Artaxerxes. He succeeded in capturing important towns like Nisibis (which were however lost again after his defeat at Resaina in 243). Later (256?) he took Antioch and in 260 he even took the Emperor Valerian a prisoner. The Roman wars, waged with varying fortune, thus seemed to have ended in the definite victory of Sapor, when he discovered an enemy in the king of Palmyra, Odenathus, who forced him to evacuate the conquered territory. Odenathus remained the enemy of the Persians till his death; it was only his successor Zenobia that concluded a treaty with Sapor. On this and other historical facts which cannot be gone into here, see Pauly-Wissowa, ii., *Realens.* 2 ii., col. 2325 sqq.; here we are only concerned with the Muslim tradition based on an older Persian tradition, which can on the whole claim little real

historical value, although it will not be disputed that it has preserved many historical, important and valuable details, otherwise unknown. The facts of the legendary biography of Shāpūr I as contained in Muslim sources are in the main as follows:

Youth. Ardāshīr, Shāpūr's father, had married a daughter of the Arsakid Ardawān, whom he had dethroned and slain. The princess attempted to poison Ardāshīr but the plot was discovered and the king ordered a trusted court official to put her to death. When the latter saw that she was pregnant, he spared her life and when she gave birth to a boy, he called him Shāpūr, i.e. "king's son". Shāpūr grew up in concealment. Ardāshīr was lamenting that he would leave no heir to succeed him at his death; the courtier thereupon revealed the secret and brought the son to his delighted father.

This story is already found in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmak*. Muslim tradition agrees with it in the main, although all the sources do not have the same details. Firdawsī gives two details, which are lacking in the *Kārnāmak* but can be shown from the rest of the story to be old; in order not to run any danger should the fact of Shāpūr's birth become known, the official entrusted with the execution of the Arsakid princess acts exactly like the Lycian Combabos; the second is that Shāpūr is recognised as a real prince by the fact that he dares, while playing, to pick up the ball near Ardāshīr who is looking on, without showing any awe at the king. Al-Ṭabarī knows this story also, but says nothing of a poison-plot. In his story Ardāshīr is bound by an oath to destroy all Arsakids but does not know that his wife belongs to this family; so also al-Dīnawarī, only he makes the princess a niece of the Arsakid Farrukhān.

The legend next deals with the story of Shāpūr's wooing and the birth of his son Hurmizd; it is practically a repetition of the preceding. An Indian sage has predicted to Ardāshīr that the throne will be inherited by the family of the Mihrak dynasty overthrown by Ardāshīr, therefore the king has all the descendants of Mihrak put to death; only a daughter escapes; Shāpūr meets her while out hunting and brings her home without Ardāshīr's knowledge. When her son, later Hurmizd I, is grown up, Ardāshīr recognises royal blood in the boy, who is without fear in the presence of the king (the same motif as in the story of Shāpūr); everything then ends happily. This is the story of the *Kārnāmak* and Firdawsī and al-Ṭabarī agrees. The other sources do not give this story, but Ḥamza al-Isfahānī says (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 49) that there was a well-known story about the mother of Hurmizd I, whom he calls Gurdzād.

The legend preserved by Ṭabarī tells that Shāpūr, before his accession, took an active part in a fight between Ardāshīr and Ardawān; Shāpūr killed the *dabir* of the Parthian king. Shāpūr succeeded Ardāshīr on the latter's death; the statement in Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 160) that Ardāshīr resigned the throne in favour of his son and henceforth devoted his life to religion, does not seem to belong to the old tradition.

Hatra. The conquest of Hatra is ascribed by al-Ṭabarī and Tha'libī to Shāpūr I, by Ibn Kūtaiba and Eutychius to Ardāshīr, and by Firdawsī and al-Dīnawarī to Shāpūr II. The story is as follows:

The Persian king was unsuccessful in taking the

stronghold of Hatra, the residence of the prince Sātirūn (according to others: Daizan) until the latter's daughter Naḍīra fell in love with him and put the town in his hands by making her father and his soldiers intoxicated, or by betraying to the enemy the talisman on which the ownership of the fortress depended. The Persian king married Naḍīra as he had promised, but afterwards had her executed, in disgust at her ingratitude to her father.

Our authorities quote Arabic poems in this connection, which are, of course, of much later date and are of as little value as sources as the stories of the historians. They are evidence, however, that the Arabs also had the tradition that the warlike Sābūr once besieged Hatra. Whether the king who took Hatra was Ardāshīr or Shāpūr I, cannot be certainly ascertained. We know from a really reliable source (Dio Cassius) of only one siege of Hatra by a Sāsānid, namely Ardāshīr, and this siege was unsuccessful. It is assumed by many, what is not in itself improbable, that either Ardāshīr himself after an unsuccessful attempt, or Shāpūr I soon after his accession took Hatra. But we have no reliable historical information; what we have is a version of the widespread Scylla (Komaithō) story. There may be an echo of history in the name of the king Sātirūn; he must have been a Syrian with an originally Parthian name (Sanatrūk?). The name Daizan is an intrusion from another context (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 35). The version which places the taking of Hatra in the reign of Shāpūr II, makes the Arab prince Daizan (in Firdawsī: Ṭā'ir) carry off a Persian princess; his daughter by her is the traitress (so in Firdawsī). Here we find the better known Shāpūr II in this story in place of his earlier namesake and the treachery of the king's daughter at Hatra excused to some extent because she is of Sāsānid descent on her mother's side. Firdawsī further knows nothing of her execution, which al-Dīnawarī inserts from another, apparently older, version of the story (cf. the article HATRA in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realens.*², vii., col. 2516 sqq.).

War with the Romans. Persian tradition preserves a memory of the capture of Valerian and the taking of Nisibis and other towns of the Roman empire. From the old, not quite coherent and often not quite clear tradition, it seems that Sapor I took Nisibis twice; according to the western accounts the Romans retook the town after the battle of Resaina and it was later taken by Odenathus from the Persians (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realens.*², ii., Reihe i., col. 2328 and 2331; cf. also Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 31, note 3). Firdawsī makes the Romans the attackers, because they hoped to profit from a possible weakness in the Persian empire as a result of the change of ruler (a similar idea is found in the history of Shāpūr II). The Roman general Bazānūsh (a corrupt form which goes back to Valerianus) is defeated and taken prisoner. He only regains his freedom by planning the dam of Shāghatar for Shāpūr. Practically the same story is found in the other sources, only that al-Ṭabarī more correctly calls Valerian a king (*malik*). The Persian version of al-Ṭabarī (transl. Zotenberg, ii. 79 sq.) is somewhat fuller than the original text. There were also stories, as Ṭabarī points out, according to which Shāpūr had the Roman's nose cut off and even put him to death. Here we cannot tell how far we have to deal

with native tradition or a non-Persian version. Tha'alibi calls the Roman emperor in question Constantine. His source, therefore, does not seem to have contained the correct name. Eutychius, whose synchronisms between the Roman emperor and the Sāsānids are wrong, puts the capture and death of Valerian (who appears here as an unnamed son of Gallienus, while in reality their relationships were the reverse) in the reign of Bahrām II (Eutychius, ed. Cheikho, p. 113). That, according to al-Ṭabarī, Valerian was besieged in Antioch by Shāpūr is a reminiscence of the taking of this city by the Persians under Sapor I (the year is not certain; indeed Antioch seems to have been taken twice: Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, cols. 2327 and 2329). The name Cappadocia, which occurs several times in the Persian tradition (cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 2) is likewise an echo of the events of 258 A.D. and the following years, namely the capture of the Cappadocian capital Caesarea by Sapor I (c. 260). There is a wonderful story associated with the fall of Nisibis. Shāpūr is said to have invested the town in the eleventh year of his reign, then to have raised the siege because his presence was required in Khorāsān. Later he laid siege to the city a second time and succeeded in taking it because the walls split open by a miracle. The story is found in Ṭabarī and more fully in Eutychius; the interruption of the siege and the splitting of the walls reflect events of the reign of Shāpūr II. According to Tha'alibi Shāpūr I also took Tarsus; there is also a historical basis for this in the taking of this city by one of Sapor's generals (c. 260 A.D., cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2331 supra).

City-Foundations: Miscellaneous. The oriental writers ascribe to Shāpūr I the foundation of the following cities: Shādh-Shāpūr (in Kashkar), Djundai-Shāpūr (in Ahwāz) near Shushtar (with an absurd story that the king settled the Romans taken in Antioch here). Firdawsī's Shāpūrgird is probably the same town; Hamza further mentions the towns of Bishāpūr (in Fārs), Shāpūr Khwāsh and Balāsh Shāpūr which cannot be exactly located, and wrongly (they are foundations of Shāpūr II) Nishāpūr (also attributed to Shāpūr I by Firdawsī) and Frūz-Shāpūr (al-Anbār). Ibn Kūtaiba says that Shāpūr settled his prisoners of war in three cities: Djundai-Shāpūr, Sābūr in Fārs (probably Hamza's Bishāpūr) and Tustar in Ahwāz (cf. also Tha'alibi, p. 494).

Some historians like Ṭabarī and Dinawarī, place the first appearance of Mānī in the reign of Shāpūr I; but the catastrophe did not occur till the reign of a later king (Hurmizd I or Bahrām II). Firdawsī, who wrongly places the event in the reign of Shāpūr II, alone makes a continuous story of it: the painter Mānī from Cīn appeared before Shāpūr as a prophet and the founder of a sect, but he was refuted by the Mobeds and executed by the king's orders. Tha'alibi (p. 501) has a similar story: in the reign of Bahrām I, Mānī had a disputation with the chief mobed, was worsted and flayed. According to Mas'ūdi (*Murūdj*, ii. 164), Shāpūr I was a Manichaean for a time; this can hardly be historical; perhaps we have had a reminiscence of the later king Kawādī and his inclination to Mazdakism. Shāpūr I died, according to the Muslim tradition, after a reign of thirty years, after giving the usual exhortations to his son and successor Hurmizd.

SHĀPŪR II B. HURMIZD, called Dhu 'l-Aktāf (because he had the shoulders of Arab prisoners dislocated or pierced), is the Sapor II of history (310–379 A.D.), throughout whose long reign wars were waged with Rome. Persian arms were not successful against Constantine and under Julian the Roman offensive threatened to be dangerous to the Sāsānid empire. The death of the gifted emperor (363) was the reason that the treaty of peace which his successor Jovian made with Sapor was as advantageous for Persia as it was shameful for Rome. In the reign of the Emperor Valens, also the war with Persia continued; within this period falls the capture of Arsakes of Armenia by Sapor and following this the intervention of Rome in favour of Pap, son and successor of Arsakes. These wars, which were interrupted from time to time by negotiations, dragged on and had not yet brought about any important decisions when Sapor died in 379. For all details and references to original sources see the Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2334 *sqq.* Here we are only concerned with the oriental traditions. It must be remembered that in Persian tradition, although on the whole it has kept distinct the figures of Shāpūr I and II, details originally referring to one have been transferred to the other. Incidents from the Julian story, which has of course nothing to do with Persian tradition, have penetrated some of the sources.

Youth and Arab wars: All sources agree that Shāpūr was not yet born when his father Hurmizd II died; but in case his mother should give birth to a son, the throne was set aside for the latter, so that Shāpūr was born a king. All this must be legend; the older western sources suggest that Sapor II only ascended the throne as a young man (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2334; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, p. 51, note 3). Ādharnarsai must also have reigned between Hurmizd II and Sapor II.

During the time that Shāpūr's youth rendered him incapable of ruling in person, the kingdom was attacked on all sides (say the oriental sources) by enemies, particularly by the Arabs. Among the tribes mentioned are the 'Abd al-Kais, the inhabitants of Bahrain and Kāzima (Ṭabarī, Ibn Kūtaiba), the Ghassānids (al-Dinawarī, who also mentions Bahrain and Kāzima), and the Banū Iyād (Mas'ūdi, Tha'alibi). The young king early gave an indication of his foresight by ordering a second bridge to be built beside the bridge over the Tigris at Ctesiphon, so that traffic between the two banks of the river could develop unhindered. When sixteen years of age (according to some fifteen), Shāpūr led an army against the Arabs. Here Firdawsī and al-Dinawarī place the Hatra episode which belongs to the reign of Shāpūr I. The fairly full details of these Arab wars, probably in part at least, became incorporated in the old Persian tradition in the post-Sāsānid period. That the king dislocated or pierced the shoulders of the prisoners (in Eutychius, the captured kings) seems to be based on quite an early tradition: Hamza (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 51) gives the Persian equivalent of the epithet

Dhu 'l-Aktāf as ذُوَيْبِ (? *sunbā*). On the whole the account of these wars is unhistorical. Shāpūr certainly never advanced so far as some writers say. He is said to have not only conquered Bahrain and Yamāma, but even to have reached Medina. The story of Shāpūr's encounter with 'Amr b.

Tamīm b. Murra in Bahrain (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 176 sqq.; a connected story in Tha'libī, ed. Zotenberg, p. 520 sq.) is an invention of Arab fancy. How far these stories reflect historical happenings, it is difficult to decide; nor can we say whether tradition has here kept Shāpūr II and I quite distinct [of the latter a war of destruction against the Kudā'a and the Banū Hūlwān is reported, cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, p. 38. (The Kudā'a here appear as allies of Daizan of Hatra)]. The Arabic verses quoted in Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 176 sq.) which are referred to Shāpūr II's campaign against the Banū Iyād, are of course, of a much later date and seem to have had nothing at all to do with Sāsānid history. If the other verses quoted there (ii. 178) really date from the time of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, this would be the oldest Arab reference to these events. But all these stories must have some historical background; it is known that Shāpūr II had dealings with the Arabs; the Emperor Constantine negotiated in 338 with Arab tribes and urged them to conduct raids into Persian territory. Julian also had Saracen chiefs as allies in the war against Sapor II. That the Persian king took steps to protect his frontier against the Arabs is very probable (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 57, note 1).

Shāpūr and the Romans. In the tradition the account of the Roman wars is introduced by the well known motif of the king who visits an enemy country in disguise. This is found, for example, in the Greek Alexander romance (Pseudo-Callisthenes, ed. Müller, ii. 14 sq., iii. 19—22; cf. Malalas, ed. Bonn, p. 194, 19); in Sāsānian legend a similar story is told of Bahrām Gūr. Firdawsi reports the story as follows: The astronomers prophesied misfortune to Shāpūr; nevertheless he decided to risk entering the enemy land of Rūm in disguise. He appeared before the emperor as a Persian merchant, but was recognised by a Persian staying at the court, sewn up by the Emperor's orders in an ass's skin and put in prison. A young woman whose duty it was to keep the keys of his prison was herself of Persian descent and aided him to liberty by softening the ass's skin with hot milk. When a great feast was being celebrated and the imperial palace was empty, the two fled to Irān. On their way they stopped at the house of a gardener, who told the king, whom he did not know, that the Emperor of Rūm had invaded Persia and laid it waste in dreadful fashion in the absence of the legitimate king. Shāpūr then ordered the man to take his (Shāpūr's) signet-impression to the chief mobed. The latter saw that the king had returned. An army was soon collected with which the king attacked the Romans in the night, wrought great slaughter and took the emperor himself prisoner. The Romans found in the Persian empire were massacred everywhere. Shāpūr levied a heavy indemnity on the Emperor, but did not release him; on the contrary he had him mutilated and put into prison. The Persian king then carried fire and sword into Rūm, defeated the Emperor's brother and slew many Christians. The Romans then chose a certain Bazānūsh as Emperor; the latter sought for peace which Shāpūr granted on condition that the Roman Emperor rebuilt the destroyed Persian towns; paid a yearly tribute of 600,000 dinārs and surrendered Nisibis. This was done, but the people of Nisibis resisted Shāpūr as they would not serve a fire-worshipper. The king subdued them by force of

arms. He then rewarded the young woman who had liberated him and the gardener; he sent to Rūm the body of the previous emperor who had died in prison. He settled the Roman prisoners-of-war in towns specially built for the purpose (Khuramābād, Pīrūzshāpūr, Kunām-i Asīrān).

This story is for the most part fictitious. The beginning (the prophecy of the astrologer) also forms the introduction to another story which develops differently, but is no doubt connected, and which is related in mediaeval oriental sources of Shāpūr II b. Ardāshīr; the latter king is foretold that he is doomed to be unfortunate for some years. He therefore goes voluntarily into banishment (cf. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 544, note 6). We have already called attention to the occurrence of the motif of the unknown king, afterwards discovered. Shāpūr's flight with the young woman recalls the story of Ardāshīr's flight before Ardawān, which is already in the *Karnāmak*. It is quite in the style of Irānian story-telling that the Emperor of Rūm in his request for peace mentions incidents like Mīnūčīhr's revenge for Iradj. It should further be observed that the representation of military events agrees in some respects better with the deeds of Shāpūr I; the capture of the emperor (which here appears as a kind of revenge for Shāpūr's imprisonment in Rūm) and his death without regaining his liberty, recall the historical facts of Sapor's war with Valerian. Even the name Bazānūsh occurs again although in a somewhat different connection. The imposition of indemnities was also found in the story of Shāpūr I. On the other hand, as we saw above, the account of the (historically true) capture of Nisibis by Shāpūr I, has features which belong to the vain siege of this town by the historical Sapor II in 350 (fall of a part of the wall, withdrawal of the king as a result of an invasion of Persia by nomads). The following elements in Firdawsi's narrative may be considered historical; Shāpūr's hostility to the Christians (Sapor II began a great persecution of Christians in 339 A.D.), the ravaging by the Romans of the Persian kingdom (Julian plundered and burned a great part of it) (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2347), the cession of Nisibis (by the peace of 363 ceded by Jovian to the Persians) and the disinclination of the Nisibenes for Persian rule (Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2351).

The other sources (apart from the fact that Tabari and Dinawari also contain elements of the Julian romance with which we are not concerned here) differ mainly in the fact that they make the Emperor take Shāpūr with him sewn up in a skin on his campaign. At the siege of Djundai-Shāpūr the king is released by Persian prisoners of war and taken into the town by the garrison. This causes the defeat and capture of the emperor who has to make good the damage done and is sent back mutilated to his kingdom. This version of the story is also found in the poem quoted by Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 185, echoes of the phraseology of which seem to be found in Tha'libī (cf. Tha'libī, p. 525: *farātanahum Sābūr* with Mas'ūdī *op. cit.*: *farāfāna 'l-Fursā*; Tha'libī, p. 527: *waghriṣ makāna kulli naḥhlātin ḥaṭa'tahā saitūnatan* with Mas'ūdī *op. cit.*: *idh yaghriṣūna min al-saitūni mā 'aḥarū min al-naḥhlī*).

City-Foundations and Miscellaneous. Shāpūr II, according to tradition renewed the walls of the city of Djundai-Shāpūr. According to Ḥamza,

p. 52, he lived in this city till his thirtieth year and then moved to Ctesiphon, a statement which does not agree with the story of his building the bridge while still young. The new foundations are: Buzurg-Shāpur ('Ukbarā), Firūz-Shāpur (Anbār), Irān-Khurra-Shāpur, with which Sūs is mentioned; he probably restored the latter town under the name Irān-Khurra-Shāpur (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers.*, p. 58, note 1). Roman prisoners were settled there. Nishāpur also was one of this king's foundations; Tabari also mentions a town which cannot be accurately identified with a fire-temple Sarūsh-Ādharān. The rebuilding of Djundai-Shāpur formed part of the reparations the Emperor had to make; besides in the stories of these feats, there are confusions between Shāpur I and Shāpur II (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 66, note 2). The king is said to have sent for an Indian physician and given him a dwelling in Sūs; from him the people of Sūs learned the art of healing, in which they afterwards excelled all other Persians. Hamza says finally that Ādharbād (quite well known from Pahlawi literature) lived under Shāpur II. There are no legends associated with Shāpur's death.

SHĀPUR III, the historical Sapor III (probably 383—387 A.D.). On the historical events of his reign, his relations with Armenia and Rome, see Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col. 2355. Oriental tradition deals chiefly with his accession and his death. Shāpur III was a son of Shāpur II. According to Firdawsi, the latter at the end of his reign handed on the government to his brother Ardāshir, who had to bind himself to give it to the young Shāpur when he came of age. This he did as promised. More in keeping with historical truth, Tabari says that Shāpur III followed his predecessor Ardāshir when the latter was overthrown by the nobles. Al-Dinawari quite wrongly makes Shāpur III succeed Shāpur II directly. Mas'ūdi knows of a war of Shāpur III against the Banū Iyād and other Arab tribes. The death of this king is ascribed to the collapse of his tent, caused by a storm, (Firdawsi, *Tha'libi*) or by a plot of the nobles (Tabari); the latter is probably nearer the truth. That Eutychius makes this king wage war on Julian is due to the fact that his synchronisms between the Sāsānids and the Roman Emperor are wrong.

Bibliography: See the article SĀSĀNIDS.

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHĀPUR (1) Name of the river of the district of Shāpur Khūra in Fārs; also called Bishāwur (in Thevenot: Suite du Voyage de Levant, Paris 1674, p. 295: Bouschavir; p. 296: Boschavir), and river of Tawwadj. It must be identical with the antique Granis, mentioned by Arrian, *Indica*, 39; Pliny: *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 99. The lower course, the proper river of Tawwadj, is formed by the junction of two streams, the Shāpur and the Dalaki-Rūd, rising both on the S. W. border-mountains of the Irān-plateau, which extend along the Persian Gulf. The upper course is called by the Arab geographers Nahr Ratīn: this name is, very likely, found in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 111, where *Dratinus* (with v.l. *Ratinus*) must, however, mean the river down to its mouth. (This statement must be due to another source than Iuba, on whose authority the Granis was mentioned in vi. 99). In his *Nushat al-Kulūb*, Mustawfi al-Ḳazwīnī seems to indicate, that the Ratīn, whose source is, according to him as well as to al-Iṣṭakhri, in the Upper Humāyidjān (Iṣṭakhri:

Khumāyidjān) district, is a tributary to the Shāpur Rūd (Gibb Mem.-Ser. xxiii., ii. 217: "It is a great stream, and it flows into the Shāpur river, its length, till it joins the Shāpur river being 10 leagues"). By this way of putting things, he can but mean, that the river of Tawwadj originates from two different streams, one of which is the Ratīn. This, then, must be the older name for either the Shāpur or the Dalaki-Rūd. Al-Iṣṭakhri (ed. de Goeje, p. 120) represents these facts in the same manner; there is said, that the Ratīn flows through the district of al-Ziriyān (with v.l.) before joining the Shāpur.

The other rivers of the system are the Djirra (or Djarshik), which joins the Shāpur on the left, below Khisht, and the Ikhsšin. The name of the latter (it signifies "blue") can have originated from the colouring property of its waters, mentioned by the medieval geographers. Djarshik is the older name of the Djirra river, although in the *Nushat Djarshik* and Djirra are erroneously described as two different streams. The account which the latter work gives of the Djirra is for the most part copied from Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārsnāma*. This states (Gibb Mem. Ser., New Series, i. 151) that the Nahr Djirra, rising in the Māsaram-district, waters the lands of Musdjān and Djirra, and part of Ghundidjān, after which it joins the Shāpur. In addition, al-Iṣṭakhri mentions the bridge of Sabūk, under which the river Djarshik flows before entering the *rustāk* of Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhī's Djirra; on the reading *Khurra* in the text of al-Iṣṭakhri, cf. P. Schwarz: *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 35, ann. 4); after Khurra the stream passes into Dādhin, where it unites with the Ikhsšin. The *Nushat* makes the Djirra join the Shāpur and the Djarshik the Ikhsšin: as its author erroneously splits up the one river Djarshik-Djirra into two, his account is here worthless.

The Ikhsšin, according to al-Iṣṭakhri and Mustawfi, rises in the Dādhin-hills, and unites with the Shāpur at al-Djūnkān. The *Nushat* calls it a great stream; now at day, it is identified with a little water course to the S. W. of the lake of Kāzerūn. There appears, then, to be a difference as to the question, whether the Djarshik and the Ikhsšin first join each other, and then unite with the river of Tawwadj, or flow into that stream each apart.

Concerning the Shāpur itself, the *Fārsnāma* (p. 152) says, that it rises in the mountain region (*Kuhistān*) of the Bishāpur district, which it waters, as also Khisht and Dih Mālik. It flows in the sea (Persian Gulf) between Djanābi and Māndistān. This account is repeated in the *Nushat*, which only adds: "its length is 9 leagues". In *Fārsnāma*, p. 142, the Bishāpur district is said to have its water from "a great river, called Rūd-i Bishāpur". Owing to rice-plantations being there, its water is unwholesome (*wakhīm u nāguwār*). A short description of the river in modern times is given in J. Morier's *Second Journey through Persia... between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, p. 49: "a river which... having pierced into the plain of the Dashtistan, at length falls into the sea at Rohilla. It takes its source near the site of Shapour, and when it begins to flow is fresh. But when it reaches the mountains it passes through a salt soil, and then its waters... become brackish. A lesser stream of the same river branches off before it reaches the salt soil, and flows pure to the sea".

The mouth of the river is at a short distance to the North of Bushīr, near the frontier of the district Arradjān. Opposite to it lies the island Khāriḳ, in the shipping-route from Baṣra to India. The name Māndistān in the Persian geographers is connected by Tomaschek (*"Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrt Nearchs"* in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, cxxi. 65) with the *Deximontani* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 99 (The edition of Jan-Mayhoff reads *Dexi montani*, in two words). According to Pliny, the river (Granis) is navigable for small vessels. Now at day, the principal mouth presents difficulties to navigation because of its shallows: two minor mouths can be navigated up to some distance. On the present conditions, the delta, and the bitumen wells on the left bank of the river, S. of Dalakī, Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, may be compared.

In antiquity, there was on the Granis a royal residence, Taoke, 200 stadia from the sea. This must be the same as the medieval Tawwadj (or. Tawwaz), from which place the Shāpūr is named river of Tawwadj. In early Muḥammadan times it was an important trade-city, which also had a considerable textile industry: the stuffs named *tawwaziya* were well-known. This town belonged to the district of Ardāshīr Khūra (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, p. 114). During the viii/xii century, the place had already declined; in Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī's time (viii/xiv century) it was totally ruined. Its site can not exactly be determined; nowadays the coast-district of the Shāpūr river is called Tawwadj. Le Strange (Gibb Mem. Ser. xxxiii., ii. 115, ann. 2) thinks, that the site of the town may be identified with the present Dih Kuhna, "the chief town of the (modern) Shabānkāra sub-district of the Dashtistān district".

On another Shāpūr (Shāwūr), a tributary of the Dizful-Rūd, comp. the article KĀRŪN (ii. 833).

(2) Name of the ancient capital of the district Shāpūr Khūra of Fārs; according to Mukaddasī, it was also called *Shahrastān*; its older name is Bishāpūr (from Pahlawī *Weh-Shāhpuhr*). A naive etymology is found in the *Nuzhat*, whose author, Mustawfī, says, that the word Bishāpūr is a contraction of binā-i Shāpūr, building of Shāpūr. Ibn al-Balkhī on the other hand states, that the first syllable of the original Bishāpūr (with a long i) may disappear by way of *takhfif*.

Shāpūr-Khūra, the area, watered by the system of the Shāpūr-Ratin, the smallest of the five provinces of Fārs, contained besides the town of Shāpūr some other important localities, e.g. Kāzerūn [q. v.], which was regarded as its chief town after Shāpūr had fallen into ruins, moreover Nūbandadjān and Djirra.

The old town of Shāpūr was situated on the Shāpūr Rūd, at the road from Shirāz to the sea, to the north of Kāzerūn. Mustawfī gives its situation as long. 86° 15', lat. 20°. Its climate belongs to the *garmsir*, but its atmosphere was considered not to be healthy, because the territory of the city was shut up by the mountains from the northern side. The environs were fruitful: they produced, besides many kinds of fruits and flowers also silk, the mulberry-tree being frequent in that region. Honey and wax also came from its territory. The town was founded by the Sāsānian king Shāpūr I. It was one of the three cities, where he colonized his captives of war. It has been supposed, with much reason, that the king made use

of the skill of these Roman captives in the construction of his buildings, and also in the execution of his famous reliefs, that have been found in the ruins. These reliefs relate to the campaigns of Shāpūr against the Romans. Three later kings, Bahrām II, Narsai and Khusrāw II have also added each a relief of themselves.

These works of art, who are already described in detail by Morier, have also been noticed by the Oriental geographers of the Middle-ages: at least, they mention a great statue, standing in a cavern, which European travellers could identify.

The Orientals have excogitated a mythical history of the city from before the times of its Sāsānian founder. It was, according to these traditions, originally built by Tahmūrath, at a time, when there existed in Fārs no other town besides Ištākhr. Later on, it was laid waste by Alexander, to be only renovated by Shāpūr I. The name of Tahmūrath's foundation had been دین دلا (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, p. 63, 142).¹

The Muslims subdued Shāpūr Khūra in 16 (637), after the conquest of Tawwadj and the battle of Rishahr. Bishāpūr is mentioned on the occasion of the disturbances which ensued at the beginning of the khalifate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; the insurrection in Fārs (25 = 645/646) against the Arabs seems to have been directed for some time from Bishāpūr by a brother of Shahrak, the governor of Fārs, who had fallen in the battle of Rishahr. After the submission of the rebels, the inhabitants of Bishāpūr once more broke the treaty; in consequence thereof it was reduced by Abu 'l-Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Uthmān b. Abī 'l-'Ās.

In the time of the geographer Mukaddasī (end of the ivth/xth century), the town of Shahrastān or Shāpūr was already decaying, its outskirts being ruined; the environs however were well cultivated. He notices the four city-gates and the ditch, also the *masjdīd al-djāmī*, outside of the city. Perhaps this may be the *masjdīd-i djāmī* mentioned by Ibn al-Balkhī, whose words seem to imply, that it still existed when he wrote (beginning of the viii/xii century). In the end of the Būyid rule, the Shabānkāra chieftain Abū Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. Mamā destroyed Shāpūr, but, as Ibn al-Balkhī remarks, in his time the (Saldjūk) government tried to restore the damage. These endeavours may have had effect as regards the district as a whole, but the city of Shāpūr never has been raised from its ruins. As Morier visited the site (1809), he found only a poor village, Daris, in the neighbourhood of the remains. The opinion of this traveller, that the town may have existed till the xvi century of the Christian aera, because its name occurs in a table of latitudes and longitudes in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, carries no weight, for such a table may have been composed from older sources.

On the other foundations of Shāpūr I, which were called after his name, comp. the article on that king, in addition to which it may be remarked, that the town of Shāpūr Khwāst, according to the *Fārsnāma* (p. 63), was situated in Khūzistān, near al-Ashṭar.

Bibliography: (Besides the authorities quoted in the article): The articles Dratinus and Granis in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2 (v. 1668; vii. 1815); Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 259—263, 267; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire... de la Perse*, p. 142 sq.;

P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 7 sq., 30 sqq.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii., p. 827 sqq.; J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor ... in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, p. 85 sqq., 375 sqq.; C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, 1845, i. 206 sqq.; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851: *Relation du Voyage*, ii. 248 sqq.; M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, v. 119 sq., Pl. xviii—xxi.; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p. 213 sqq.; Pl. xl.—xlvii

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHAR'. [See SHARĪ'A.]

SHARĀB (A., plur. *Ashriba*), beverage. The collections of traditions deal with two subjects in the chapter on *Ashriba*: beverages and the laws to be observed in drinking. Here we only deal with the latter as the former has been dealt with in the article **KHAMR**.

Blessings should be uttered before and after drinking (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 21; Dārimī, *Aḥima*, bāb 3; Ibn Ḥanbal i. 225, 284; iii. 100, 117). The cup should be held in the right, not the left hand. The Prophet of God said: "When one of you eats, let him eat with the right hand and if he drinks, he should drink with the right for Satan eats and drinks with the left hand" (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 105; cf. 106).

Opinions differ on the question whether it is permitted to drink standing. On the one hand there are a large number of utterances which represent this attitude in drinking as forbidden (e.g. Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 112—116).

On the other hand Ibn 'Abbās says that he gave the Prophet Zemzem water and that he drank it standing (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 117—120). 'Alī abolished any misgivings on this point by saying that he had seen Muḥammad drink standing (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, i. 101 sq.).

It is further considered forbidden to drink out of the mouth of the water-skin (cf. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 14) or to bend the latter inwards to drink (Ibn Māḍja, *Ashriba*, bāb 20); but this is also allowed (Tirmidhī, *Ashriba*, bāb 18).

In drinking one should not lap like a dog (Ibn Māḍja, *Ashriba*, bāb 25) or blow or snort on the drink (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 121; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 16, 20); on the other hand one should inhale and exhale the breath (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 10; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, i/ii. 103) and not drink the whole at one draught (Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭuhāra*, bāb 18). If one is drinking in company the cup should be passed to the right (Bukhārī, *Sharb*, bāb 1).

The knowledge of these matters distinguishes the believer from the infidel. The latter "drinks in seven stomachs, the former in one" (Mālik, *Muwatta'a*, *Ṣifat al-Nabi*, bāb 10).

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SHARAF AL-DĪN, 'ALĪ YAZDĪ, Persian poet and historian, born at Yazd, was the companion of Shāh Rukh and more particularly of his son, Mirzā Ibrāhīm Sultān (d. 838 = 1434/1435). In 846 (1442) Mirzā Sultān Muḥammad, appointed governor of Irāk 'Adjamī, summoned him to Kūmm and treated him as one of his councillors. This prince having rebelled in 850 (1446—1447), Sharaf al-Dīn, suspected of being involved in the plot, was saved from execution, ordered by Shāh Rukh, through the intervention of Mirzā 'Abd al-Latif, son of Ulugh Beg, who brought

him to Samarḳand. Sultān Muḥammad, who became lord of Khurāsān after the death of Shāh Rukh, allowed him to return to Yazd (853 = 1449—1450), where he died in 858 (1454). He was buried in the Sharafiya madrasa, which he had built in the village of Taft.

In 828 (1424/1425) he wrote the history of Timūr under the title *Zafar-Nāme*, in a vigorous style, on materials apparently taken from an unpublished work with the same title written by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī by Timūr's orders in 804—806 (1401—1403), of which there is a unique M.S. in the British Museum. This history was translated into French by Pétis de la Croix (1722) and from French into English by J. Darby (1723). The text has been published without the preface in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1887—1888). He also composed under the *takhalluṣ* of Sharab a treatise on enigmas, another on magic squares, a commentary on the *burda* of Būṣīrī and various poems.

Bibliography: Khondemir, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* III/iii, 148; Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 378—381; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte d. schön. Redek. Pers.*, p. 284; Rieu, *Pers. Catal. Brit. Mus.*, p. 173—175; E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Liter. under Tartar dominion*, p. 183, 362—365. (CL. HUART)

AL-SHA'RĀNĪ, a *nisba*, by which several individuals are known; it is usually derived from *sha'r* "hair" and is applied to any one with a strong growth of hair or with long hair (cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, G.M.S., fol. 334b, 2; Wright, *Arabic Grammar*³, i. 164c); in the case of the best known bearer of the name, it is a *nisba* from a place like the form also found, indeed more frequently, **AL-SHA'RĀWĪ** (which has however a different origin: Vollers, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1890, p. 390 sq.) but came to be interpreted as above.

1. **ABU 'L-MAWĀHIB** (ideal *kunya*, also **ABU 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN** from his son; his family still existed in modern times) 'ABDALWAHHĀB B. AḤMAD (d. 907) B. ALĪ B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUSA B. MAWLĀY B. 'ABD-ALLĀH AL-ZUGHĀLĪ (Sultān of Tilimsān) B. 'ALĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-SHĀFĪ' AL-MIṢRĪ: a famous Ṣūfī, born 897, lived in Cairo from his early youth and died there in 973 (other dates given are wrong). Since 1188 his favourite mosque beside which he is buried, has borne his name. He earned his living as a weaver. He belonged to the *ṭarīqa* founded by 'Alī al-Shādhilī (d. 656: Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 449, N^o. 29, and the article **AL-SHĀDHILĪ**) and himself founded *al-Ṭarīqa al-Shā'rāwīya* (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1899, p. 252; but not mentioned in Kahle, *Islam*, vi., p. 154). Among his Ṣūfī teachers the most important was 'Alī al-Khawwās (d. after 941), whose *maḍjālis* he attended for ten years. A number of other teachers are mentioned by him in various works, e.g. in *al-Baḥr al-mawrūd*, *al-Djawhar al-maṣūn wa 'l-Sirr al-marḳūm* and in the *Laṭā'if al-Minan*; a full list of the *shaiḫs* whom he knew and whose lectures he had attended is given at the end of his *Ṭabaqāt*. Like many Ṣūfis he had to endure persecution but was successfully in overcoming all hostility.

His literary activity was mainly concerned with mysticism, but he also dealt with learning, generally Kuranic sciences, dogmatics, *fiqh*, grammar, and medicine; further we may mention his *Ṭabaqāt* of the Ṣūfis and an autobiography (*Laṭā'if al-*

Minan). A list of his writings is given in Brockelmann, ii. 336 *sqq.* (and supplement, p. 711); on that list the following corrections and additions are now made: 7a and b) *al-Mizān al-Sha'rānīya* and *al-Mizān al-kubrā* are identical, also printed Cairo 1276, while *al-Mizān al-Khidriya* is a synopsis of the other work; 8) in the title also *fi Mukhtaṣar al-Futūḥāt al-makkiya*, a synopsis of this entitled: *Mukhtaṣar Lawāḥiqh al-Anwār*, prepared in 1166 by Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Padghuridjawi (Berlin, No. 3046); 11) printed Cairo 1306 on the margin of 2); 12) full title *Tanbih al-Mugharrin fi 'l-Karn al-ashir 'alā mā khālafu fih Salafahum al-tāhir*; 13) in the title also *Ma'rifat* in place of *Bayān*, add Berlin, No. 3101; 14) read *al-Anwār al-kudsiya*, in place of *Lawāḥiqh al-Anwār al-kudsiya fi [Bayān] al-Uhūa al-Muḥammadiya*, printed Cairo 1311 on the margin of 44); 18) also a *Wird al-Rasūl*, Berlin, No. 3780; 21) also printed Cairo 1332; 22) in the title in place of *alā Fatāwā* also *fi Manāḥib*, the marginal edition Cairo 1304 rather has 23); 35) read *fi 'Ilm Kitāb Allāh*; 37) read *al-Talabbus*, printed Cairo 1279; 40) lithographed Cairo 1276; 43) in the title also *al-Sādāt al-Akhyār*, also called *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, also printed Cairo 1299, while the marginal edition Cairo 1311 rather has 14); 44) also printed Cairo 1321; 47) *Waṣāyā al-ʿArifin* (cf. Berlin, No. 3183); 48) *Mufakkkhim al-Akkād fi Bayān Mawādd al-Idjithād*; 49) *Lawāḥiqh al-Khadhlān 'alā kull man lam ya'mal bi 'l-Kur'an*; 50) *Hadd al-Ḥusām 'alā man awḍab al-ʿAmal bi 'l-Ilhām*; 51) *al-Tatabbu' wa 'l-Faḥṣ 'alā Ḥukm al-Ilhām idhā khālaf al-Naṣṣ*; 52) *al-Burūḳ al-khawāṭif li 'l-Baṣar fi 'Amal al-Hawāṭif*; 53) *Tanbih al-Aghbiyā 'alā Kaṭra min Baḥr 'Uṣm al-Awliyā*; 54) *al-Durr al-naẓim fi 'Uṣm al-Kur'an al-ʿaẓim*; 55) *al-Manḥadj al-mubin fi Bayān Adillat al-Muḍtāhidin*, supplement to 21); 56) *Kitāb al-Iktibās fi 'Ilm al-Kiyās*; 57) *Mukhtaṣar Kawā'id al-Zarkashī*, extract from the work of al-Zarkashī (d. 794) quoted in Brockelmann, ii. 91, No. 18, 2; 58) *Minḥadj al-Wuṣūl ilā 'Ilm al-Uṣūl*, a compilation from the Commentary of al-Maḥallī (d. 791: Brockelmann, ii. 114, No. 23) on the *Djām al-Djawāmi' fi 'l-Uṣūl* of al-Subkī (d. 771: Brockelmann, ii. 89, No. 14, 1 and c) and the glosses of Kamāl al-Dīn b. 'Alī Sharif (d. 906: *ibid.* a) on this commentary.

Al-Sha'rānī was a comprehensive and honest scholar of wide education but uncritical and highly superstitious. His tremendous exaggeration of his own value is an unpleasant feature in him; he usually boasts of his own works that they were pioneers and nothing similar existed on the particular subject. In his autobiography (no. 44), which he significantly calls *Manāḥib nafsīhi*, under a pretence of being humbly grateful to God for having endowed him with wonderful gifts of mind and holiness, he tells us the most remarkable things about his wonderful qualities, his intercourse with God, the angels and the prophets, his ability to work miracles, to ascertain the secrets of the world, etc. But the honesty, uprightness and enthusiasm of his character, his championship of justice, humanity and toleration, his sincerity and the frankness with which he holds up the modesty of the Christians and Jews as a pattern for the 'Ulamā', and finally his high respect for the dignity of womanhood all make an exceedingly favourable impression.

Besides his intellectual importance, which must not however be over-estimated, he owes his far-reaching influence on the Muslim world to his extremely prolific pen, writing in an easily intelligible form, which has contributed to the popularity of his works. His books were already popular in his life-time and are still very highly esteemed as may be seen from their numerous reprints. In spite of his insistence to the contrary there is hardly any originality in them; in mysticism especially he simply repeats the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī [q. v.]. No. 8, for example, is a synopsis of his *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiya*, No. 11 a synopsis of 8, with reference to passages from the *Futūḥāt* itself. No. 9 an explanation of the verses of the *Futūḥāt*, No. 10 a defence of Ibn al-ʿArabī; he tells us for example in No. 2, that he has used the terms used by Ibn al-ʿArabī and not those of other Ṣūfis. Al-Sha'rānī endeavoured to bring about a synthesis of Ṣūfism and Fiqh in his person and was therefore in no wise hostile to the *Sharī'a*. Several of his writings show this, notably, No. 7, 21; 28, 48—51, 55—58.

Cf. Brockelmann, ii. 335 *sqq.* (where further literature is given) and Haji Khalfā, ed. Flügel, Index (Vol. vii.), p. 1145, No. 5446. Edition of No. 2) by Flügel in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1866, p. 1 *sqq.*, of No. 16) by Kremer in *J.A.*, 6, xi., 1868, p. 253 *sqq.*, of No. 43) by Horten, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, 1915, p. 64 *sqq.* (cf. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, p. 393, No. 19); brief synopsis of No. 44) by Flügel in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1867, p. 271 *sqq.* Biography in the *Tarāḍjīm* of his pupil 'Abd al-Ra'ūf b. Tādj al-ʿArifin al-Munāwī (d. 1031: Brockelmann, ii. 306, No. 13).

2) ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-FADL B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUSA'IB B. ZUHAIR B. YAẒĪD B. KAISĀN B. BADHĀN (the Persian governor in Yaman in the time of Muḥammad): a traditionist who travelled widely to collect traditions; he also studied with the Kūfa grammarian Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 231: Brockelmann, i. 116, No. 6); learned *Kur'an* reading with Khālaf (d. 229: Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, p. 291, No. 9; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/ii. 87; al-Sam'ānī, fol. 77b, 30) and heard the lectures of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241; q. v.); he did not however obtain general recognition and died in 282. His epithet which he received from his habit of wearing his hair long, was transferred to his descendants, his son ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD AL-BAIHAQĪ and his sons ABU 'L-ḤASAN ISMĀ'ĪL (d. 347) and ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD AL-TŪSĪ. Al-Sam'ānī, fol. 334b, 2—12 and 101b, 12.

3) ABU 'L-ABBĀS AḤMAD B. DJAFAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. MARZŪQ B. BUSTĀN (this should perhaps be the reading of a meaningless word in al-Sam'ānī; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 74) B. FARRŪKH AL-AZDĪ AL-DJURDJĀNĪ: Traditionist, who studied under Shu'aib b. al-Ḥabḥāb (died before the middle of ii/viii century: Ibn Sa'd, vii/ii. 18) and others. Al-Sam'ānī, fol. 334b, 14—16.

4) Thirteen further individuals with the same *nisba* will be found dealt with in the following passages: *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 7, 19; al-Sam'ānī, fol. 334b, 12 *sq.*; *Fihrist*, p. 314, 23; al-Sam'ānī, fol. 334b, 13 *sq.* (cf. Ibn Sa'd, vii/ii. 51, 78); *ibid.* 28 *sq.*; Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, p. 80, 735; *ibid.* p. 333; al-Sam'ānī, fol. 334b, 17—23; *ibid.* 23—28 (read 371 for 372); *ibid.* 16 *sq.*; (cf. Brockelmann, i. 334); al-Djāmī (cf. i., p. 1055), *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, No. 298 (Calcutta 1859, p. 265; turkish

Constantinople 1270, p. 181); Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften Berlin*, x. s. v. al-Sharānī. (J. SCHACHT)

AL-SHĀRĀT, from the Latin *serra* through the Spanish *sierra*, is the term applied by certain geographers of Muslim Spain to the mountains which stretch from the east to west in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. The best definition is given by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Umarī. According to this author, the mountain range called al-Shārāt stretches from the country behind Madinat Sālim (Medinaceli) to Coimbra. This term therefore describes the mountains now known under the names of Sierra de Guadarrama (Ar. Wādī 'l-rāmla?), Sierra de Gredos and Sierra de Gata in Spain and Serra de Estrella in Portugal. In the time of al-Idrīsī, however, it was applied only to the Sierra de Guadarrama, to the north of Madrid. The geographer Abu 'l-Fidā', quoting Ibn Sa'īd, described the mountain system of the centre of al-Andalus under the name of Djabal al-Shāra. According to him, it divided the peninsula into two well marked divisions, the north and the south.

Al-Idrīsī, in his description of al-Andalus, gives the name of al-Shārāt to one of the twenty-six climes of this country, the twenty-second in his classification; this region, which embraced all the Sierra de Guadarrama, included the towns of Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, Madrid, al-Fahmīn, Guadalajara, Ucles and Huete.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, Register; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, p. 66 and 167; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Alger 1924, p. 93 and index sub ach-Chārāt; E. Saavedra, *La Geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, p. 48; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La Geografía de la Península Ibérica en los escritores árabes*, ds. la *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, vol. X, Granada 1920, p. 3—4. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHARDJĀ, name of three places in Arabia: 1. Shardjat al-Qarīs, a port on the coast of the Yaman, where there were storehouses for the *durra* which was shipped to 'Aden; the native town of Sirādj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Zabīdī, the famous grammarian who taught in Cairo and died in 802 A.H. (1399—1400).

2. A place near Mekka.

3. A port on the Pirate Coast, on the Persian Gulf between 'Omān and Bahrain.

Bibliography: Ibn Hawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 19; al-Mukaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 53, 69, 86, 92; Ibn Khurdaḍbeh, *B.G.A.*, vi. 143; al-Ya'qūbī, *B.G.A.*, vii. 317, 319; Yaḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; *Taḍj al-arūs*, s. v. (G. S. COLIN)

SHARḤ (A.), opening, commentary; *sharḥa* means to enlarge, expand, open, then to explain, comment upon; *taṣṭriḥ*, dissection of bodies, anatomy.

1. The word *sharḥ* was taken as the title of Sūra xciv. of the Qur'ān, as the first verse is: "Have we not opened, expanded your heart?" A legend has grown up round this verse. Muḥammad, while still in the arms of his nurse, had his chest opened by two angels, who took out his heart and replaced it after washing it. This is why it is called the "opening of the heart".

2. *Sharḥ*, commentary on a work which is being studied in different branches of knowledge; next

come the glosses, *hāshiya*. The greater part of the famous treatises or poems in Arabic and Persian literature have had commentaries written on them; e.g. commentary on the *Mu'allakāt* (Arabic poetry); on the *Mathnawī* (Persian poetry); on the *Mowaffā* (law); on the *Alfiya* (grammar); on Ḥarīrī, philology; on astronomical treatises; the great, middle, and little commentaries on Aristotle by Averroes. For the commentaries on the Qur'ān, a special word is used, *tafsīr* [q.v.]. (CARRA DE VAUX)

SHARĪ'A (A.) also **SHAR'** (originally infinitive), the road to the watering place, the clear path to be followed, the path which the believer has to tread, the religion of Islām, as a technical term, the canon law of Islām, the totality of Allāh's commandments (also used as the term for a single commandment = *ḥukm*, the plural *sharā'ī'* = *ahkām*, which is also used as identical with *sharī'a*); *shir'a*, which was also used for custom and later became obsolete, is synonymous. *Sharī'* is also used as a technical term for the Prophet as the preacher of the *sharī'a*, but more frequently it is applied to Allāh as the law-giver. *Maṣṭur'* is what is laid down in the *sharī'a*. Anything connected with the canon law, or anything in keeping with it, or legal is called *shar'ī*. *Shar'ī* is also used in opposition to *ḥissī* ("purely sensible"); the former means the outward perceptible actions, which come under the cognisance of the law; the latter, all those in which this is not the case and so they have no significance in the *sharī'a* (offer and acceptance are, for example, in concluding a bargain, *shar'ī*, in other circumstances *ḥissī*). Similarly *shar'* and *ḥukm* are in contrast to *ḥaqīqa*, the actual relations, from which those created by the law may be divergent.

The technical use goes back to some passages in the Qur'ān: xlv. 17 (of the last Mekkan period; on the dating cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, i. 58 sqq., and Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii. 24 sqq.): "Then we gave them a *sharī'a* (a path to be followed) in religion; follow it and not the wishes of those who have no knowledge"; xlii. 11 (the same period, perhaps somewhat later): "To you he hath prescribed the religion (*shar'a*), which", etc.; ibid. 20: "... gods, who have prescribed a religion for them (*shar'a*"), which Allāh hath not approved"; v. 52 (Medina, perhaps of the first Medina period): "To every one (people) of you, we have given a *shir'a* (a path to be followed) and a *minḥādī* (a clear path)." Here *sharī'a* and *shir'a* are not yet technical terms.

An old definition of *sharī'a* is given by Ṭabari on Qur'ān, xlv. 17: the *sharī'a* comprises the law of inheritance (*farā'id*), the *ḥadd*-punishments, commandments and prohibitions. In the later system by *sharī'a* and *shar'* are understood Allāh's commandments relating to the activities of man, of which those that relate to ethics are taken out and classed together as *ādāb* (cf. ADAB, AKHLĀK). *Fīkh* (along with the sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* and the ancillary sciences) is the science of the *sharī'a* or the *sharā'ī'* (cf. FĪKH) and can sometimes be used as synonymous with it, and the *uṣūl al-fīkh* are also called *uṣūl al-shar'*. According to the orthodox view, the *sharī'a* is the basis (*manṣha'*) for the judgment of actions as good or bad, which accordingly can only come from Allāh, while according to the Mu'tazila [q.v.], it only confirms the verdict of the intelligence which has preceded it.

The *sharī'a* (as *forum externum*) regulates only the external relations of the subject to Allāh and his fellow-men and entirely ignores his inner consciousness, his attitude to the *forum internum*. Even the *niya* (intention) which is required, for example in many religious exercises, implies no impulse from the heart. The *sharī'a* demands and is only concerned with the fulfilment of the prescribed outward forms. The *sharī'a*, the legal judgment of actions based on it (*hukm*) and the judicial verdict (*ḥaḍā*) which is only concerned with the external circumstances, are in contrast to the conscience and religious feeling of responsibility (*diyāna*, *tanazzuh*) of the individual and his inner relation to Allāh (*mā bainahū wabaina'llāh*). Religious minds like al-Ghazālī therefore protested against the over-estimation of the legal point of view and the *faḳīh*'s themselves say that it is not sufficient simply to fulfil all the commandments of the *sharī'a*. With this is connected the position of the *sharī'a* among the Sūfis [q. v.], for which cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* 2, 165 sqq. and R. Hartmann, *al-Kuschairis Darstellung des Sūfismus*, 72, 102 sq. The law is a starting-point on the path of the Sūfi; on the one hand, it can serve as an indispensable basis for the further religious life, which the fulfilment of the law has to intensify (*sharī'a* = *amr bi'l-iṭlāz* *al-rubūbiya* = "commands to follow the path of recognition", and *ḥaḳīka* = *mushāhadat al-rubūbiya*, "direct vision of the divine" form a correlated pair), on the other hand, only as a symbolical parable and allegory, finally even as superfluous and even dangerous forms which one has to cast off entirely (cf. MALĀMATIYA).

The knowledge of the *sharī'a* was originally obtained directly from the *Qur'ān* and Tradition (hence, as already mentioned, the sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* belong to the *Fikḥ*); but later among the Sunnis (in contrast to some Hanbalis, the Wahhābīs and the Shī'īs) no one was considered qualified to investigate these sources independently (cf. INTIHĀD, TAQLID). The knowledge of the *Sharī'a* is authoritatively communicated to later generations through the system of *Fikḥ*, which has been worked out to the most trifling details, and the authority of which is ultimately based on the infallible *idjmā'*. No orthodox Muslim can escape it, while for example the Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad did so (cf. *Islam*, xiv. 271, 275) and modernism does (cf. e.g. for Turkey: A. Fischer, *Übersetzung una Texte aus der neuosmanischen Literatur*; do., *Aus der religiösen Reformbewegung in der Türkei*; A. Muhiddin, *Die Kulturbewegung im modernen Türkentum*; for Egypt: 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāzīk, *al-Islām wa-Uṣūl al-Hukm*, Kairo 1344; for India: Syed Ameer Ali, *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed*; do., *The Spirit of Islām*; M. Barakatullah, *The Khilafat*).

A result of the development of the *Fikḥ* has been that there is no codification of the law in the modern sense nor can there ever be one (cf. especially: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/ii. 260 sqq.). At the same time the *Fikḥ* books, especially those of later date and recognised as authoritative in wide circles (by *idjmā'*), are practically "law books" for the orthodox Muslim; in them he finds Allāh's *sharī'a* expounded in the way in which it is binding on him, and according to the particular *madhhab* which he follows while the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth* may have no more value

for him than edifying literature. But it is not everyone who is able himself to ascertain from the *fikḥ* books with sufficient technical knowledge how the law affects particular cases; the laity rather require instruction from experts. This is done through *fatwā*'s (legal opinions) and a scholar who gives *fatwā*'s is therefore called *muftī*.

Allāh's law is not to be completely grasped by the intelligence, it is *ta'abbudī*, i.e. man has to accept it without criticism, with its contradictions and its incomprehensible decrees, as wisdom into which it is impossible to enquire. We must not look in it for causes in our sense, nor for principles; it is based on the will of Allāh which is bound by no principles, therefore evasions are considered as a permissible use of means put at one's disposal by Allāh himself. Muslim law which has come into being in the course of time through the interworking of many factors, which can hardly be exactly appreciated (cf. Bergsträsser, *Islam*, xiv. 76, sqq.), has always been presented to its followers as something elevated, high above human wisdom, and with justice in so far as human logic or systematic has little share in it. A modest enquiry into the meaning of the divine laws so far as Allāh himself has indicated the path of enquiry is also not prohibited. There is therefore frequent reference to the deeper meaning and suitability (*ḥikma*) of a law. But one must always guard against placing too much stress on such theoretical considerations.

For this very reason the *sharī'a* is not "law" in the modern sense of the word any more than it is on account of its subject matter. It comprises as an infallible doctrine of ethics the whole religious, political, social, domestic and private life of those who profess Islām, to the fullest extent without limitation and that of the tolerated members of other faiths in so far as their activities are not inimical to Islām. Only one who has attained years of discretion (*bāligh*) and is in full possession of his mental powers (*ākil*) is bound to obey the ritual law (*mukallaf*). The prescriptions of the *sharī'a* may be classed in two main groups according to their subject: (1) Regulations relating to worship and ritual duties; (2) regulations of a juridical and political nature. These are absolutely similar from the Muslim point of view (although it is of course felt that the former, the so-called *ibādāt*, are more closely connected with Allāh), and this is also true of the numerous regulations scattered everywhere through the *Fikḥ* books regarding the most varied matters, which can hardly be brought under the heads of the two main groups, e.g. permitted and forbidden musical instruments, the use of gold and silver vessels, the relations of the sexes, racing and shooting for wagers, the copying of living things, clothing and ornaments for men and women, etc. The fundamental tendency in the growth of the *Sharī'a* was the religious evaluation of all affairs of life and legal considerations were only secondary (cf. Bergsträsser, *l.c.*). A systematic division of the *Shurī'a* was never reached. The Sunnis sometimes classify it quite formally into *ibādāt* (obligations regarding worship), *mu'āmalāt* (civil and legal matters) and *uḳūbāt* (punishments), without any special stress being laid on this. We find more systematically worked out among the Shī'ī Twelver Imāms an equally formal division and one not logically carried through to its con-

clusion into *'ibādāt*, *'uḥūd* (legal matters affecting two parties), *iḳā'āt* (legal matters affecting one party), *aḥkām* (the remaining laws).

Among the early generations of Muslims, no unanimity prevailed as to what were the main duties of Muslims. Muḥammad himself had laid special weight on the *ṣalāt* (ritual worship), *zakāt* (charity) and *ṣawm* (fasting). Many further regarded participation in the *djihād* (war for the faith) as one of the first duties of a Muslim, a view still held among the *Khāridjīs*. The Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad also adopted the *djihād* as one of the main duties as revised by him (cf. *Islam*, xiv. 285). [The *Shī'īs* regard recognition of the *ināmat* as one of the main duties]. But according to the view that has come to prevail among the Sunnis, *Islām* is based on five pillars (*arkān*, sg. *rukṇ*): *shahāda* (the profession of faith), *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ḥaǧǧ* (pilgrimage to Mekka), *ṣawm* (fasting in the month of Ramaḍān). The profession of faith is not dealt with in the *Fīḫ* books. Questions connected with the creed were so numerous that the teaching of the first pillar soon became a special branch of study, the science of *kalām*. The other four *arkān* are sometimes classed together with *ṭahāra* (ritual purification) as the five *'ibādāt*. In the traditional arrangement of the *fīḫ* books, which is already the basis of the oldest books that have survived to us, but regarding whose origin, which must be earlier than the formation of the modern *madhhab*'s and probably belong to the second century, nothing is definitely known, the first five chapters are always devoted to these five *'ibādāt*, usually followed by the following subjects in succession: contracts, inheritance, marriage and family law, criminal law, war against unbelievers and attitude to unbelievers generally, laws regarding food, sacrifice and killing of animals, oaths and vows, judicial procedure and evidence, liberation of slaves.

All the prescriptions of the *sharī'a* are not to be taken as absolute commands or prohibitions. In many cases it is regarded, from the religious point of view, only as desirable or undesirable to do or permit something. Finally the law also regulates actions which it neither recommends nor condemns, but regards with indifference. In keeping with this, the following five legal categories (*al-aḥkām al-khamsa*) are distinguished: (1) "duty" (*fard*) or "necessary" (*wāǧib*; cf. below), i.e. prescribed actions, the performance of which is obligatory, whose performance is rewarded and omission punished; of the further divisions of *fard* (*wāǧib*), the most important is that into *fard 'aln* and *fard kifāya* (cf. *FARD*), a similar division being made in the following category; (2) meritorious (*mandūb* "recommended", *sunna* "ordained custom"; [*sunna* in this meaning is not to be confounded with the "*sunna* of the Prophet", one of the *uṣūl al-fīḫ*], although these two senses are connected; sometimes, however, the meaning of *sunna* as quality of an action did not remain uninfluenced by the other one], *muṣtaḥabb* "desirable", *nafl* or *nāfla* "voluntary meritorious action"; the performance of such is called *tafawwū'*, i.e. actions the neglect of which is not punished, but the performance of which is rewarded; (3) permitted or indifferent (*mubāḥ*; rarely *djā'iz*; cf. below), i.e. actions the performance or neglect of which the law leaves quite open and for which neither reward nor punishment is to be expected; (4) reprehensible (*makrūh*), i.e. actions which although not punish-

able are disapproved of from the legal point of view; the later *Shāfī's* further distinguish a milder form of *makrūh*, the *khilāf al-awḫā*, "diverging from the path that is nearest"; correspondingly there is also an *awḫā*, "that which lies nearer" which lies between what is permitted and what is meritorious; (5) forbidden (*ḥarām*, also *maḥẓūr*), i.e. actions punishable by Allāh. Something the law approves of is called *maf-lūb*; this may be *fard*, *sunna* or *awḫā*; the term is sometimes used for "permitted", so as to include "the reprehensible", i.e. what is not definitely forbidden. There are still further subdivisions and grades in the categories mentioned (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, Register, s.v. *Kategorien*; Tj. de Boer, *De Wijsbegeerte in den Islam*, Haarlem 1921, 33 sq. and the works on the *Uṣūl*, cf. the art. *UṢŪL*).

The reasons which lead to an action being classed under one of these categories may be of the most varied kind and here there is a wide field for difference of opinion (*ikhtilāf*) among jurists. What one party considers absolutely forbidden or an absolute duty, the others often regard as reprehensible or meritorious or even indifferent. Here, however, the catholic tendency of *Islām* makes itself felt. Thus it may happen that something is considered *sunna* by one *madhhab* simply because the latter is unwilling to differ too much from the view of another school of *fīḫ*, which considers it a duty. That the same action according to circumstances can be sometimes forbidden, sometimes reprehensible, sometimes permitted, sometimes meritorious, sometimes a duty is generally recognised.

At the same time actions from the point of view of their legal significance in civil life are classed as: *ṣaḥīḥ*, "valid, right", opposite *bāṭil*, "invalid", and *fāsid*, "wrong"; *djā'iz*, "valid, permitted" (to be strictly distinguished from the meaning of *djā'iz* given above); but both meanings have the same root and the former is the older; cf. Bergsträsser, *loc. cit.*, opposite *ghair 'djā'iz*, "invalid, not permitted"; *nāfiḍh* "legally valid", opposite *ghair nāfiḍh*; *lāzim*, *wāǧib* "binding" (also in *wāǧib* the two meanings are to be distinguished; as to the sense, the above mentioned is more original; whether this is the same case in the application of the word as *terminus technicus* may be doubtful), opposite *ghair lāzim*, or *wāǧib*, etc., divisions which are not mutually exclusive and whose historical relations and the relations of the concepts behind them to one another and to the five categories still require explanation.

In the first thirty years of *Islām* the same individuals may be said to have possessed the knowledge of the legal prescriptions to be enforced and authority in the guidance of the community, namely the companions of Muḥammad; there was therefore little danger of utterly impractical ideas forcing their way in. After the coming of the Omayyads, however, the representatives of the religious and juridical ideals lost their position of authority, and this continued to be the case — the early 'Abbāsids being to some extent an exception. They then began — being no longer so bound by realities — to take a pleasure in developing their doctrine of duties in an ideal direction in a way which became more and more irreconcilable with practical life. They were particularly ardent in constitutional law against any abuses, without

regard to persons; but they also showed a rabbinical turn for dialectic in continual new deductions and in stating cases. Thus a mere learned body developed the school out of the council of the first Caliphs. It was only after many fruitless attempts to regain power that the pious became resigned and concluded a kind of truce with the temporal powers, a truce which is not laid down in any document, the terms of which are nowhere expressly formulated, but which was observed by both sides under the pressure of circumstances; they obeyed it in practice, retaining full liberty to censure theoretically, and thus we find everywhere laments about "the present age" and warnings against "the princes of this world". The latter in their turn recognised the law in theory and did not claim for themselves the right of legislation in the field of *shar'ā*, but when they thought fit, put the latter practically out of action by regulations in a contrary sense (*kānūn*; cf. below). This did not prevent them when they wished to be considered particularly pious, from sometimes — usually at some one else's expense — enforcing one or another regulation of the *shar'ā*, especially penal laws, but without themselves fulfilling the demands of the *shar'ā* or being able to do so. One must not imagine too sharp a line drawn between the influence of the schools and the power of the state. This is particularly evident in the office of *kāḍī*, the religious judge who is at the same time a state official (cf. e.g. Amedroz, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 1138; 1910, p. 761; 1911, p. 635; 1913, p. 823; Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1914, p. 395; Margoliouth, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 307). Finally there was only left to him public worship, the law of marriage, family and inheritance, vows, in part also pious foundations (*wakf*), all fields which in the popular mind are more or less closely connected with religion, and in which the *shar'ā* always prevailed. So far as circumstances permitted, sins in the proper sense did not so much come under his consideration, as for example, invalidity of contracts, yet the religious character of the separate sections of the *shar'ā* was variously emphasised from the first (cf. Bergsträsser, *Islam*, loc. cit.). In the field of commercial law, practice therefore went its course unencumbered; only the *shar'ā* never really prevailed. Constitutional and criminal law, law relating to war and taxation and all the more important suits regarding property were more and more appropriated by the temporal power and cases were settled by a mixture of arbitrariness, local custom (*āda*; cf. below) and a feeling of equity, and latterly also according to laws on the European model. Thus everywhere in Islām, quite independent of western influence, a twofold legal practice has grown up, which may be called the religious and the temporal. It is true that with the coming of the Ottomans a new wave of appreciation of the *shar'ā* even in practice sets in, which found expression, for example, in the office of *Shāikh al-Islām* [q. v.] and ultimately in the codification of the *medjelle* [q. v.]; but even here we do not have an actual enforcement of the *shar'ā*: according to the *shar'ā* even the *medjelle* is illegal and the temporal jurisdiction continued to exist in this case also. This period is not only long past (cf. the words quoted above on Turkish modernism), but an attempt is being made to drive the *shar'ā* entirely out of public life even out of the spheres

reserved to it hitherto and European codes have been bodily adopted (cf. the articles in the *Oriente Moderno* and in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*).

Of the impossibility of enforcing the *shar'ā* under prevailing conditions the *faḳīh*'s themselves were quite aware under the pressure of the facts. Even their truce with the temporal power was based on a recognition of this. To brand almost all Muslims as sinners or heretics, because they had continually to break the law, if they were not prepared to withdraw from the world entirely, was not feasible; on the contrary, these things had rather to be taken as arranged and even willed by Allāh. Thus the *shar'ā* was rendered actually powerless in so far as it could not be enforced in practice; the way was even pointed out to evade its rules; appeal was made to the principle that necessity breaks the laws; it was emphasised that one does not become an infidel by breaking the law, but only by doubting its eternal validity. The conviction that the Muslim community would steadily become corrupted till the coming of the Mahdī and that the breaches of Allāh's commands, which had been deduced in the course of development, would still increase, were expressed in traditions which were invented and even put in the mouth of the Prophet as prophecies; these conditions were thus sanctioned as a fulfilment of his prophecy. To sum up, the law in the convinced opinion of the *faḳīh*'s themselves is intended only for the ideal community of the early decades of Islām and for the time of the Mahdī; this was a confession of the impotence of the pious in face of the circumstances of the age. The *shar'ā*, essentially academic in character, has at the same time always been a considerable educational force and is still ardently studied; in spite of al-Ghazālī's advice to the contrary, it is still regarded in wide circles of Islām as the only subject of true learning. But as it was held up as an unattainable ideal and because the doctrine of the infallibility of the *idmā'* together with the conviction of cessation of the *idjtihād* forbade any divergence from what had been formerly customary, it has become quite rigid: the jurists are opponents of all progress; even yet many prescriptions are still emphasised which only referred to the early Arabs and can have no longer any practical significance even for the most orthodox Muslim of to-day.

The heads of the law which are of practical importance for the Muslim (not regarding the later developments in Turkey) have already been mentioned; the following notes are now added and it should always be remembered that there may be considerable differences in detail in different periods and countries and that strictness and slackness in following the prescriptions of the *shar'ā* have nothing to do with the degree of intolerance. Even in ritual and the religious duties in the narrower sense, which mean most to Muslims, ignorance and gross neglect is never general, but nevertheless throughout the whole Muslim world there is perceptible a striving to perform some at least of the main obligations as closely as possible. The usages especially, by which Muslims are externally distinguished from members of other creeds, are in general very closely observed and considered very important even if they are not quite in accordance with the letter of the law, while, on the other hand, many religious obligations imperative

in theory are generally quite neglected. In the law relating to marriage, families and inheritance, which usually can be quite closely followed in practice, we have already the limitations enforced by 'āda [q. v.] or 'urf, the local customary law that has existed from time immemorial in the different Muslim lands. The other parts of the law have no practical significance although everywhere and in every period we find conscientious, pious men who endeavour to take account as far as possible of the teaching of the *sharīʿa* even in commercial affairs; but here the 'āda everywhere outweighs the rules of the *sharīʿa*, although according to the *fiqh* books the former only has binding force in cases where the law definitely refers to it. But this low estimation is not quite in keeping with the position which the 'āda had in the history of the *sharīʿa*. Muḥammad himself allowed the Arab 'āda's to remain, so long as no uniform regulation was necessary or the 'āda's did not conflict with his principles. He only laid down a few rules and the 'āda was to be in no wise deposed, although of course he did not lay down this as a principle. Islām then carried the Arab 'āda's into foreign lands and even foreign 'āda's were at first partially recognised to a far-reaching extent; later this doctrine was given up in theory, although the 'āda always retained great influence, as the *faḥih's* have continually lamented; even the recognition of the 'āda as the fifth of the *uṣūl al-fikh* was rejected. But public opinion knows only the 'āda; even the obligations of the law, which are actually observed, are observed simply because they belong to use and wont, and in the Dutch East Indies, for example (apart from the theologians proper), the 'āda is recognised among authoritative Muslim circles as being even in theory equal in every way to the *sharīʿa*.

The position of the *Ḳānūn* [q. v.] with regard to the *sharīʿa* is similar to that of the 'āda. The word is sometimes used in the sense of 'āda; generally, however, it is applied to the (in part based on the 'āda) regulations laid down by temporal princes of Islām; in this way *ḳānūnī* is the opposite of *sharīʿī*. The best known are the *Ḳānūn-nāme's* of the Ottoman Sultāns (cf. *ḲĀNŪNNĀME*; *ḲATL* at the end; to the literature given there add: *Djiride-i 'adīye*, N^o. 156, p. 463 sqq.; N^o. 158, p. 669 sqq.; N^o. 163—167, p. 1196 sqq.).

The collections of *fatwā's* from the *Fiqh* literature along with other sources for 'āda and *ḳānūn* are important for ascertaining the actual practice; from the questions of those who seek *fatwā's* we see in what parts of the law the people of a country are most interested, what heresies and abuses are most prevalent and what conditions arouse misgivings regarding their legality among pious laymen. At the same time the *ḥiyal* (stratagem) literature has to be considered, which describes evasions of the law (cf. above) and deals fully with the actual practice; finally the documents, original documents as well as collections of forms and precedents (*Shurūf* books, cf. *SHARṬ*), because in them more notice is taken than elsewhere of actual practice.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.; *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans*, ed. under the superintendence of A. Sprenger (Bibliotheca Indica, Old Series), i. 759 sqq.; al-Ṭabarī on *Ḳur'ān*, v. 52; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des*

islāmischen Gesetzes, § 15—17; do., *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche Wet*², § 16 sq.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, esp. vol. ii. and iv. 1, 2; do., *Der Islam* in A. Bertholet—E. Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*⁴, 648 sqq. (695 sqq. *Das Gesetz*); I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², 30 sqq.; Art.: LAW in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islām*. Also in the works on the *Uṣūl* [q. v.]. — Add to the literature of 'ĀDA: E. Ubach and E. Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika* (Quellen zur ethnologischen Rechtsforschung i., suppl.-vol. to *Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissensch.*, xl.) and the pertinent works in the bibliography *Isl.*, xiii. p. 349 sqq.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SHARĪF (A.) (plur. *ashraf*, *shurafā'*) "noble, exalted", the root of which expresses the idea of elevation and prominence, means primarily a free man, who can claim a distinguished position because of his descent from illustrious ancestors (cf. *Lis. 'Ar.*, xi. 70 sq.). It is of course assumed here that the meritorious qualities of the fathers are transmitted to their descendants. The possession of several illustrious ancestors is the requisite condition for a *sharaf* (also *ḥasab*) *dakhm*, a "solid" nobility. (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, Halle a. S., 1898—1899, i. 41 sq.; Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p. 289 sqq.). Although in Islām the doctrine — based on *Ḳur'ān* xlix, 13 "Verily the noblest among you in the eyes of God is he that fears God most" — of the equality of all Arabs and ultimately of all believers grew up (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i. 50 sqq., 69 sqq.), it never quite displaced the old reverence for a distinguished genealogy.

The *ashraf* were the heads of the prominent families, to whom were entrusted the administration of the affairs of the tribe or alliance of towns; cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 237 l. 2.; 295, 17; al-Ṭabarī, *Akhbār al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, ed. Leiden, i. 1191; the *Ashraf* of al-Hira, *ibid.*, i. 2017; the *Ashraf* of *Ḳabā'il*, *ibid.*, ii. 541, 17; the *Ashraf* in *Kūfa*, *ibid.*, ii. 631 sqq. passim; the *Ashraf* of *Ḳhurāsān*, *ibid.*, iii. 714, 1; the *Ashraf* al-*A'āḍim*, al-Ya'kūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 176, 8. The *ashraf* regarded themselves as the aristocrats (*Ahl al-faql*) with whom were contrasted the rude and untutored masses (*arādhil, sufahā', akhissā'*) (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 631, 7). *Sharīf* also means a person of importance in contrast to one of low social status (*da'if, waḍī'*; al-Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Waḥy* b. 6, al-Hudūd, b. 11, 12). In this sense the word is frequently found in the older literature of Islām, e. g. in the very title of al-Balādhuri's history, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* and in chapter-headings, for example in Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Af'al min Af'al al-Sāda wa'l-Ashraf* (*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, i., Cairo 1343, p. 332), in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (*al-Ikd al-farid*, Būlak 1293, ii. 29: *Marāthi 'l-Ashraf*, 207: *Ashraf Kutūb al-Nabī*, iii. 311: *Nawka 'l-Ashraf*, iii. 406: *man ḥudda min al-Ashraf*) and in al-Thā'libī (*Shinā'at al-Ashraf*, *Latā'if al-Ma'arīf*, ed. de Jong, Leiden 1867, p. 77); cf. also L. Massignon, *La Passion d'di-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, i. 230, note 6.

In Islām under the influence of Shī'a views and the increasing veneration for the Prophet, membership of the house of Muḥammad became a mark of special distinction. The expression *Ahl*

al-Bait comes from Qur'an xxxiii. 33b: "God will remove the stains from you, O people of the house and purify you completely" which the Shi'is applied to 'Ali and Fāṭima and their sons (cf. already al-Kumait *al-Hāshimiyāt*, ed. Horovitz, Leiden 1904, text, p. 38, verse 30, cf. p. 92, verse 67) by interpreting it through the well known tradition of the mantle (*ḥadiṭh al-kisā*, *h. al-'abā'*) also adopted in orthodox tradition. The explanation of the phrase as referring to the "women", which is more in keeping with the context, said to have been put forward by Ibn 'Abbās and 'Ikrima is found in some versions of this tradition, in which Umm Salama is recognised by the Prophet as belonging to the *Ahl al-Bait*. The current orthodox view is based on the harmonising opinion, according to which the term *Ahl al-Bait* includes the *Ahl al-'Abā'*, i.e. the Prophet, 'Ali, Fāṭima, al-Hasan and al-Husain as well as the women of the Prophet. But even the 'Abbāsids relied on the verse of purification and therefore we have the counterpart of the *ḥadiṭh al-kisā* which includes al-'Abbās and his sons in the *Ahl al-Bait*.

Ahl al-Bait is given a still wider interpretation in a version of the so-called *ḥadiṭh al-thaqalayn*, where the term is referred to those to whom the sharing in *ṣadaqa* is forbidden; among such are definitely mentioned the Āl 'Ali, the Āl 'Aqīl, the Āl Dīfār and the Āl al-'Abbās. According to this, the *Ahl al-Bait* includes the Ṭālibids and 'Abbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim. Cf. the article AHL AL-BAIT and in the traditions just mentioned al-Makrizī, *Ma'rifa*, f. 103b sqq.; al-Ṣabbān, *Is'āf*, p. 96 sqq.; al-Nabhānī, *Sharaf*, 6 sqq.; Lammens, *Fāṭima*, Rome 1912, p. 95 sqq.; Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, p. 19 sq.; van Arendonk, *De Ophomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden, p. 65 sqq.; see also the articles ĀL and 'TRA.

The clan of the Banū Hāshim was put in the forefront by the editors of the *Sira* of the Prophet. God's deliberate choice after a gradual process of elimination of families finally selected the Hāshim as the family to produce the Prophet. A tradition which occurs in several versions runs as follows: The Prophet of Allāh said: "Allāh chose Ismā'il from the sons of Ibrāhīm and from the sons of Ismā'il the Banū Kināna and from the Banū Kināna the Quraysh and from the Quraysh the Banū Hāshim" (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, i. 1, 2). One of these versions concludes with the words: "consequently I (i.e. Muḥammad) am the best of you as regards family and the best of you as regards genealogy" (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 247). Cf. also al-Khafādī, *Nasim al-Riyāq fi Sharḥ Shifā' al-Kāfi 'Iyād*, Cairo 1325—1327, i. 429 sqq.; chap. on the *Sharaf* of the Prophet; al-Nabhānī, p. 37—39.

To al-Kumait who lauded the noble blood of the Prophet in exuberant language (*op. cit.*, text, p. 14, l. 45 sqq.) the Banū Hāshim are "the peaks of splendid nobility" (*ibid.*, p. 5, l. 14), who are granted "a pre-eminence over all men" (p. 58, l. 87). To be able to show kinship with the Prophet was thus an important claim to *sharaf* (cf. also al-Baihaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn wa 'l-Masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, p. 95 sqq.); al-Hasan and al-Husain were regarded as the noblest by birth (al-Tha'libī, *op. cit.*, p. 51 sqq.).

This special position of the Banū Hāshim, among whom the Ṭālibids are already celebrated by al-Kumait as *ashraf* and *sāda* (*op. cit.*, text, p. 10, l. 29, p. 56, l. 80), led in the later 'Abbāsīd period (about the 10th/11th century) to a limitation of the title of honour *al-sharif*, which is also said to have been a *laqab* of 'Ali (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāq al-naḍira*, Cairo, 1327, ii. 155, 18) to the descendants of al-'Abbās and Abū Ṭālib. al-Ṭabarī (iii. 635, 6) also mentions the *ashraf* as a special group alongside of the Banū Hāshim.

In al-Māwardī (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniya*, ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 165, 7) the *ashraf* are divided into Ṭālibiyyūn and 'Abbāsiyyūn. From the literary history of the second half of the 10th (11th) century we know of the two brothers al-Sharīf al-Riḍā and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 82). According to al-Suyūṭī, *Ris. al-Sulṭā al-Zainabiya*, f. 4a sq. (= al-Ṣabbān, p. 112 sq.) the name al-Sharīf was used in the earlier period (*al-ṣadr al-awwal*) of all who belonged to the *Ahl al-Bait*, whether a Ḥasanī, Ḥusainī or 'Alawī, i.e. a descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya or of another of 'Alī's sons, or a Dīfārī, 'Aqīlī or 'Abbāsi. He points out that in the chronicle of al-Dhahabī [q. v.] we often meet with titles like al-Sharīf al-'Abbāsi, al-Sharīf al-'Aqīlī, al-Sharīf al-Dīfārī, al-Sharīf al-Zainabī, which however proves very little for the older period. The Fāṭimids however, as he observes, restricted the name al-Sharīf to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain and this had remained the custom in Egypt down to his time. Although this does not seem quite to agree with the very brief note that he quotes from the *Kitāb al-Alkūb* of Ibn Ḥadjar (al-'Asḥkalānī) according to which al-sharīf was used in Baghdad as a *laqab* of every 'Abbāsi and in Egypt of every 'Alawī, we may assume that the word al-sharīf in the strict sense was at that time applied only to a Ḥasanī or Ḥusainī. For, as al-Suyūṭī notes in another connection (p. 6a/b, al-Ṣabbān, p. 190 sq., similarly Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwī al-ḥadithiyya*, p. 124 sqq.), a *waḳf* or a testamentary deposition in favour of the *ashraf* is only awarded to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain for such depositions are decided by local usage ('urf) and according to the usage in Egypt, dating from the Fāṭimid period, this term was applied only to the Ḥasanids and Ḥusainids. In conclusion al-Suyūṭī observes that according to the linguistic usage of Egypt the noble blood (*sharaf*) was divided into different classes, namely a grade which included the whole of the *Ahl al-Bait*, another which contained only the *Dhurriya*, i.e. the descendants of 'Alī which included the Zainabīs, the descendants of Zainab bint 'Alī and also all sons of 'Alī's daughters, and finally a still smaller class the *sharaf al-nisba* which only admitted the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain.

Among the historians the title *sharif* is first used for the 'Alids in the period of the dissolution of the 'Abbāsīd empire, when the 'Alids were rebelling everywhere and attaining power in Ṭabaristān and Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 56 sq.).

The case of *saiyid* "lord" was similar to that of *sharif*. *Saiyid* means the master in contrast to the slave (cf. e.g. al-Bukhārī, *al-Aḥkām*, b. 1, etc.; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Birr*, b. 53), and the husband as opposed to the wife (e.g. Qur'an, xii. 25). *Saiyid* was also the usual name for the head of a tribe or clan (cf. Qur'an xxxiii. 67; Ibn Hishām, p.

295, 17), whose authority was based mainly on personal qualities like discretion (*ḥilm*), liberality and command of language (cf. Ibn Kūtaiba, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, i. 223 sqq.; G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, 2 ed., Berlin 1897, p. 223 sq.; Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 206 sqq.). Certain physical qualities are also said to mark a man as a *saiyid* (Ibn Kūtaiba, *loc. cit.*; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 144). The Qurʾān praises the prophet Yahyā as a *saiyid* (iii. 34). *Saiyid* may have become particularly used as a title for ʿAlids and Ṭālibids at about the same time as *sharīf*. This development was probably not unaffected by traditions which describe al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain and their parents as *saiyid(a)*. The Prophet is recorded to have said of al-Ḥasan, "this my son is a *saiyid* and perhaps Allāh will bring about reconciliation between the two parties of Muslims through him" (al-Bukhārī, *al-Fitan*, b. 20, No. 2, *Faḍʾil al-Shaḥāba*, b. 22; al-Tirmidhī, *Manāqib al-Ḥasan wa ʿl-Ḥusain*, b. 30). Al-Ḥusain appears in the Ḥadīth as *Saiyid Shabāb Ahl al-Djanna*, "lord of young men among the inhabitants of Paradise" (al-Nabhānī, p. 64, 17 sqq.) and along with his brother he is celebrated as *Saiyidā Shabāb* etc. "the two lords of the young men" etc. (al-Tirmidhī, *op. cit.*; al-Nasāʾī, *Khaṣāʾis Amīr al-Muʾminin ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, Cairo 1308, p. 24, 26), while their mother Fāṭima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of my (this) community" or "mistress of the women of the worlds", "mistress of the women of the dwellers in Paradise" (*Saiyidat Nisāʾ Ummatī*, and *hādhihi ʿl-Umma*, S. N. al-ʿĀlamīn, S. N. Ahl-Djanna, cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, viii. 17, 7 sqq.; al-Bukhārī, *Faḍʾil al-Shaḥāba*, b. 29; al-Nasāʾī, *op. cit.*, 23 sq.; al-Nabhānī, p. 54, 3 sqq.). The Prophet is said to have called ʿAlī *Saiyid al-ʿArab* and *Saiyid al-Muslimīn* and to have once said to him "Thou art a *saiyid* in this world and a *saiyid* in the next" (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ii. 177). In a verse in al-Baiḥaqī, *op. cit.*, p. 96, 10, ʿAlī is described as *saiyid al-nās*, but as a rule such expressions are only applied to the Prophet (*Saiyid Wald ʿĀdam*, Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, i/i. 1 and 3, 15; *Saiyid al-Bashar*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīh, *op. cit.*, ii. 246, 17).

In the beginning the term *saiyid* may have been first applied to those who possessed some authority in their own sphere. In the genealogical work of the Ḥasanid Ibn Muḥannā, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb ʿAlī Abī Ṭālib*, individual ʿAlids are often described as *saiyid* (Bombay edition 1318, e.g. p. 51, 16, 52, 21, 41, 54, 10, 59, 21, 6, 9, 16, 65, 15, 17, 117 ult., 142, 7, 149, 9). Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrikh al-Islām*, MS. Leyden, 1721, f. 65a gives this title to the Twelver Imām ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. We also find the combination *al-Saiyid al-Sharīf* or vice versa (al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1342, ii., p. 277, 12; al-Khazradjī, *al-ʿUkūd al-Luʾluʾiyya*, i., Gibb Mem. Ser., iii. 4, Leyden—London 1913, p. 314, 12). The word *saiyid*, also came to be applied to Ṣūfī authorities, saints and notable theologians, e.g. *al-Sāda (al-Ṣūfiyya)*, *al-Sādāt al-Awliyyā* (al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ*, Cairo 1321, p. 2, 9, 3, 1, 195, 3); *al-Sāda al-ʿĀlām* (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwī al-ḥadīthiyya*, p. 124, 4 v. u.). The term *Saiyidī* or *Sidī* (frequently in al-Sharʿanī, *Lawaḥiḥ al-Anwār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Akḥyār*, Cairo 1315), became very popular for persons regarded as holy, and is the expression used by the slave in addressing his master.

Like *al-sharīf*, *al-saiyid* came in many Muslim lands to be applied only to Ḥasanids and Ḥusainids. Thus in Ḥaḍramawt their usual title is *saiyid* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii. 163). To judge from al-Khazradjī (*op. cit.*, i. 315 sqq. passim) *sharīf* was in his day the usual name for them, now according to Amin al-Raiḥānī (*Mulūk al-ʿArab*, Bairūt 1924, i. 92, note 1) it is *saiyid*. In the Ḥidjāz it was the custom to call *sharīf* only those Ḥasanids whose ancestors had lived in Mecca and to give the name *saiyid* only to the Ḥusainids. But the Meccan talks of the Grand Sharīf as *saiyidanū* and the latter gives the members of his family the title *saiyid* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 57; do., *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii. 163, v. 31, 40; al-Nabhānī, p. 41). The names *saiyid* and *mir (amīr)* used in Persia were also current in Turkey and India (Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, v. 290; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1786—1820, i. 70; J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung u. Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 398; Jaʿfar Sharīf-Herklots, *Islām in India or the Qānūn-i-Islām*, new ed. by W. Crooke, London 1921, p. 26—28). Along with the title *saiyid* usual in the Malay Archipelago we also find in Atjeh the honorific *ḥabīb* (beloved) also used in Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 155).

In the ʿAbbāsīd period, the *Ashrāf*, ʿAbbāsīds and Ṭālibids, were usually under the authority of a *naḳīb* "marshal of nobility" chosen by them. The history of this office has so far been little investigated. That it already existed under the Umayyads as von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte d. Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875, i. 449, note 1) supposes from Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, Bulāḳ 1284, ii. 134, 5 from below, is very doubtful as the passage quoted is probably corrupt (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii. 16, ult., 17, 1). The two branches of the Banū Hāshim were from the first probably under a marshal as was the case about 301 (913/914). (ʿArib, ed. de Goeje, p. 47, 10). Yet we find mentioned in al-Ṭabarī (iii. 1516, 5) in the year 250 (864) as administrator of the affairs of the Ṭālibids (*yatawallā amr al-Ṭ*). ʿUmar b. Farajī (al-Rukh-khādji) who apparently was not a Hāshimī. The ʿAlid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Ḥimmānī who died in 260 (873/874) was *naḳīb* in Kūfa (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—1877, vii. 338). Perhaps at this date there were in the larger towns as at a later date, marshals of the nobles, who were under a grand marshal (*naḳīb al-nuḳabā*). In general theory it was the duty of the *naḳīb* who had to possess a good knowledge of genealogical matters, to keep a register of nobility, enter births and deaths in it and to examine the validity of alleged ʿAlid genealogies (cf. thereon, ʿArib, p. 49 sq., 167). He had to keep a watch on the behaviour of the *ashrāf*, to restrain them from excesses, to remind them to do their duty and avoid anything which might injure their prestige. He had also to urge their claims, especially those on the treasury, to endeavour to prevent the women of noble blood from making mésalliances and to see that the waḳf's of the *ashrāf* were properly administered. The chief *naḳīb* had other special duties, including certain judicial powers. Cf. al-Mawardī, *op. cit.*, p. 164 sqq.; von Kremer, *op. cit.*, i. 448 sq.; Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 145, see also the article NAḲĪB.

The green turban which became usual as a mark of the *ashraf*, especially in Egypt, owes its origin to an edict of Sultān al-Ashraf Shābān (764—778 = 1363—1376) who ordered in 773 (1371/1372) that the *Ashraf* should wear a green badge (*shuffa*) fastened to their turbans to distinguish them from other people and as an honour for their rank (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhār*, Cairo 1311, i. 227; 'Ali Dede, *Muḥāḍarat al-Awāʾil wa-Musāmamat al-Awāḥkhir*, Būlak 1300, p. 85; Dozy, *Dict. des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam 1845, p. 308; Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 59). This edict which is commemorated by the poets of the time recalls that of al-Ma'mūn which replaced in Ramaḍān 201 (817) the black colour of his house by green, when he designated the Ḥusainid 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā as his successor (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1012 sq.). The Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Kattānī in his treatise on the turban (*al-Difāma li-ma'rifat aḥkām sunnat al-imāma*, Damascus 1342, p. 97 sq.) supposes that the descendants of 'Alī and Fātima henceforth retained green as their colour, but confined themselves in practice to wearing a piece of green material on the turban. This, he thinks, fell into disuse in time, until Sultān Shābān revived it by his edict. According to the work *Durar al-aṣḍāf* which is quoted by al-Kattānī, the wearing of an entirely green turban dates from an edict of the Pasha of Egypt al-Saiyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf (cf. in al-Ishāqī, *Aḥkām al-Uwal fi-man taṣarrafa fi Miṣr min Arab al-Duwal*, Cairo 1311, p. 164 infra) of the year 1004 (1596): when he had the *kiswa* for the Ka'ba exhibited, he ordered the *ashraf* to come before him, every one wearing a green turban. Al-Suyūṭī observes that the wearing of this badge is a permissible innovation (*bid'a mubāḥa*) which no one, whether a *sharif* or not a *sharif* can be prevented from following, if he wishes to do so, and which cannot be forced upon any one who wishes to omit it, as it cannot be deduced from the law. At most it can be said that the badge was introduced as a distinction for the *ashraf*: it is therefore equally permissible to limit it to the Ḥasanids and Ḥusainids or to allow it to the Zainabiya also and to the still wider circle of the remaining 'Alids and the Ṭālibids. An endeavour is made to connect this custom with Qur'an xxxiii. 59 in which some scholars see a suggestion that learned men should be distinguished by their dress, for example, by wearing long sleeves or by the winding of the *ṭailasān*, so that they may be readily recognised and honoured for the sake of learning (al-Suyūṭī, f. 5a—6a, complete in al-Ṣabbān, p. 189 sq., abbreviated in Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthiyya*, p. 124 and al-Nabhānī, p. 41 sq.). With regard to the Qur'anic verse above mentioned, it should, according to al-Ṣabbān (p. 191), be held that the wearing of the green badge or green turban is recommended for the *ashraf*; and blameworthy for others than they, because the latter by wearing it would put themselves into another than their real genealogical category, which is not permitted. On this account according to al-Kattānī, even the Mālikī authorities considered the wearing of a green turban as forbidden to a non-*sharif*. With regard to a tradition transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal, according to which the Prophet on the day of resurrection is clothed by his Lord with a green turban, Shāfi' teachers are said to incline to the view that this headgear

is desirable for the *ashraf* (al-Kattānī, p. 98 below, cf. 95). Other authorities like to insist that green is the colour of the garments of the dwellers in Paradise (cf. Qur'an xviii. 30, lxxvi. 21), and that it was the Prophet's favourite colour (al-Kattānī p. 95 sq., with references to Ḥadīth).

The green turban did not become the general headgear of the *Ashraf* throughout the Muslim world. In Arabia they rarely wear other than white turbans (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i. 63). The green colour was preferred in Persia (Chardin, *Voyages*, loc. cit.); according to P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 24, note 1, the *saiyid* is distinguished there by a blue turban and a green loin-cloth. In India *saiyid's* wear green; they are therefore occasionally called: *sabz-pūsh*: "green-robed" (Ja'far Sharīf-Herklots, *op. cit.*, p. 303). According to al-Nabhānī (p. 42 sq.) the green turban is not a mark of noble blood in Constantinople. It is worn there not only by learned men and students but also by artisans and street merchants, especially in winter as it does not show dirt so quickly. On this account many *ashraf* are said to avoid the colour green.

Those of the Prophet's blood are also distinguished in other ways according to orthodox views. For example the sharing in the *ṣadaqa* (*zakāt*, q.v.) is forbidden them. The Prophet is recorded to have frequently said of the *ṣadaqa*: "It is the filth of men (cf. Qur'an, ix. 104) and permitted neither to Muḥammad or the family (*al*) of Muḥammad". The legal authorities differ on the question whether this rule applies not only to the Banū Hāshim but also to the Banu 'l-Muṭṭalib and the clients of these families, and whether also free-will offerings (*ṣadaqat al-nafl*, s. *al-taṭawwu'*) are included under it (al-Nabhānī, p. 33 sqq.).

The sons of Fātima have the privilege of being called "sons of the Prophet of God" and thus having their descent traced directly to the Prophet. They are therefore frequently addressed as *Ibn Rasūl Allāh*. From the work of al-Ṭabarānī sayings of the Prophet are quoted in justification such as: "All the sons of one mother trace themselves back to an agnate, except the sons of Fātima, for I am their nearest relative and their agnate" (*Waliyuhum wa-'Aṣabatuhum*. Cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthiyya*, p. 123, 24 sqq.; al-Nabhānī, p. 48 sq.).

From the fact that the *Ahl al-Bait* are the noblest in descent it results that the female members of the family have no one of equal birth to them (*kuf'*). According to al-Suyūṭī (f. 3a sq., cf. al-Ṣabbān, p. 188; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *op. cit.*, p. 123, 31) it is a very old opinion that the son of the marriage of a *sharifa* woman with a man who is not a *sharif*, is not a *sharif*. As al-Ṣabbān, p. 192, points out there are many however who consider him a *sharif*. In practice however marriages of a *saiyid's* daughter with men not their equals are extremely rare (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Leyden 1906, i. 158; do., *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i. 297 sqq.; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*², with notes by W. Crooke, London 1917, p. 4 sq.); al-Shā'rānī (in al-Nabhānī, p. 89 sqq.) does not consider it seemly to marry the divorced wife or widow of a *sharif*: one may only enter into matrimony with a *sharifa* woman, if he knows

he is in a position to afford her all that is due to her, will obey her pleasure and consider himself her slave.

The following saying of the Prophet refers particularly to the *Ahl al-Bait*: "Every bond of relationship and consanguinity (*sabab wa-nasab*) will be severed on the day of resurrection except mine". They are therefore the only ones whose relationship can avail them (al-Nabhānī, p. 22, 30, 39 sq., 47).

A weak tradition makes the Prophet say: "The stars are a security (*amān*) for the dwellers in the heavens and my *ahl al-Bait* are a security for the dwellers on earth" (or "for my community"). According to the commentators by the *ahl al-Bait* are here meant the descendants of Fāṭima. Their existence on the earth is a security for its inhabitants in general and for the community of the Prophet in particular against punishment or against overwhelming by "temptations" (*fitan*). It is not the pious among them that are specially meant here; this distinction is solely based on their descent from the Prophet (*al-ʿunṣur al-nabawī*) apart from any qualities, meritorious or otherwise, which they happen to possess as individuals. An allusion to this opinion is also sought in *Qurʾān* viii. 33 (al-Nabhānī, p. 28 sq., 30 and 47; cf. al-Ṣabbān, p. 119 sq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʾiḥ*, p. 144; *al-Fatāwī al-hadīthiyya*, p. 122, 11 sqq.).

None of the *Ahl al-Bait* will suffer the punishment of Hell (al-Makrīzī, f. 109b; al-Nabhānī, p. 21, 17 sqq., 33, 5 sq., 45) and ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusain with their families will be the first to enter Paradise along with the Prophet (al-Nabhānī, p. 48, 11 sqq.).

The "sons of the Prophet of God" may be certain of divine forgiveness and any wrong inflicted by them must be accepted like a dispensation of Allāh, if possible with gratitude. Ibn al-ʿArabī, who takes the verse of purification in connection with *Qurʾān* xlviii. 2, in which the Prophet is promised pardon for his sin, observes, *inter alia*: "It behoves every Muslim, who believes in Allāh and in what he has revealed to recognise the truth of the word of Allāh: 'Allāh will remove the stain from you, O people of the house and purify you completely', so that he may be convinced with respect to everything done by the *Ahl al-Bait* that Allāh has given them pardon for it. It is therefore not fitting for a Muslim to criticise them, neither for what is not in keeping with the honour of those of whom God has testified that he has purified them and removed the stain from them nor for pious works performed by them, nor for good deeds which they have performed, but always to remember God's watching care over them (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Cairo 1329, Chap. 29, i. 196, 17—198, 25, esp. 196, 31 sqq., cf. 197, 14 sqq.; in al-Makrīzī, f. 108b, 13 sqq.; in al-Nabhānī, p. 11—13, 76—79).

A *sharīf* who has received *ḥadd* punishment for incontinence, taking intoxicating liquor or theft may be compared with an *amir* or *sulṭān* whose feet have become soiled but are wiped clean by one of his servants. He is also likened to a refractory son, who is however not deprived of his inheritance (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *op. cit.*, p. 122, 20 sqq.; al-Nabhānī, p. 46).

The duty of love for the *Ahl al-Bait* is based on *Qurʾān* xlii. 22, where *ḥurūbā* is referred to

relationship with the Prophet (Ibn Bīṭrīq al-Hillī, *Khaṣṣat Wahy al-Mubīn*, p. 51 sqq.; do., *al-ʿUmda*, p. 23 sqq.; al-Makrīzī, f. 112^a, 16 sqq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʾiḥ*, p. 104 sqq.; al-Shabrāwī, p. 4 sq.; al-Ṣabbān, p. 96 and sqq.; al-Nabhānī, p. 72 sqq.). It is further pointed out that the conclusion of the *taṣḥakkhud* [q. v.] contains a prayer for the ʿAlī Muḥammad (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʾiḥ*, p. 143; al-Nabhānī, p. 75 below). A saying attributed to al-Shāfiʿī [q. v.] is as follows: "O ye members of the house of the Prophet, love for you is a duty to God, which he has revealed in the *Qurʾān*". It is a great honour for you that any one who does not say the *taṣḥiya* [q. v.] over you has not performed the *ṣalāt* (*op. cit.*, p. 88). There are further a large number of traditions, which urge this affection, represent it as a proof of belief, and promise in return for it the *shafʿa* of the Prophet on the day of the resurrection and a heavenly reward, forbid signs of hatred and even describe the latter as infidelity (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʾiḥ*, p. 141 sq.; al-Shabrāwī, p. 3 sq.; al-Nabhānī, p. 81 sqq.).

Reverence and respect ought therefore always to be shown to the *ashraf*, especially to the pious and learned among them; this is a natural result of reverence for the Prophet. One should be humble in their presence: the man who injures them should be an object of hatred. Unjust treatment from them should be patiently borne, their evil returned with good; they should be assisted when necessary; one should refrain from mentioning their faults, on the other hand their virtues should be lauded abroad; one should try to come nearer to God and his Prophet through the prayers of the devout among them (al-Shabrāwī, 7, 17, sqq.). According to al-Shāfiʿī, one should treat a *sharīf* with the same distinction as a governor or a *ḥādī al-askar*. One should not take a seat if a *sharīf* is without one. Special reverence should be paid to the *sharīfa*; one hardly dare look at them. Any one who really loves the sons of the Prophet will present them with anything they wish to buy. Whoever has a daughter or sister to give in marriage with a rich dowry, should not refuse her hand to a *sharīf* even if he has no more than the bridal gift for her and can only live from hand to mouth. If one meets a *sharīf* or *sharīfa* on the street, who asks for a gift, one should give him what one can (al-Nabhānī, p. 89 sqq.).

One should not refuse marks of respect even to a *sharīf* whose conduct is contrary to the law (*fāsiq*), because one knows his sin will be forgiven him. This high esteem is his due on account of his pure origin (*al-ʿunṣur al-fāhir*) and *fisq* does not affect his genealogy (al-Nabhānī, p. 45). If it is doubtful whether a man is a *sharīf* but there is nothing to object to in his genealogy from the legal point of view he should be treated with the proper respect. Even if his pedigree is not legally established, one should not assume he is lying without being absolutely certain on the point (Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwī al-hadīthiyya*, p. 122, 27 sqq.; al-Nabhānī, p. 46). There are a number of anecdotes in which an individual who has been neglectful of respect to a *sharīf* or who has irritated one has been corrected in a dream by the Prophet or by Fāṭima (al-Makrīzī, f. 144a, 11 sqq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʾiḥ*, p. 148; al-Nabhānī, p. 45, 95 sqq.).

The numerous *saiyids* and *sharifs* are represented throughout the whole Muslim world. Several families have attained ruling power for longer or shorter periods, e.g. in Ṭabaristān and Dailam, in western Arabia, Yemen and Morocco. Other families have exercised local influence but by far the great majority lived and live in poor circumstances. The genuineness of an 'Alid pedigree has for long not been unassailable. The genealogical tradition has survived in its greatest purity in western Arabia and Ḥaḍramawt. The family of 'Alawī's in Ḥaḍramawt, which has produced many notable jurists, theologians and mystics, regard only the west Arabian *sharifs* as their equals in birth.

The *saiyid*, who distinguishes himself by a pious life, readily becomes revered as a saint. His blessing is expected to bring good fortune, while his wrath brings misfortune. By vows and gifts it is hoped to secure his auspicious intercession and his tomb becomes a place of pilgrimage. On the much visited tombs of *saiyids* and *saiyidas* in Cairo cf. al-Shablandjī's work cited below.

In the Yemen as in Ḥaḍramawt, the *saiyid* who is to be distinguished there from the armed *sharīf* carrying a staff ('*ukhās*) and rosary, acts as intermediary between two disputing parties. He also drives away the locusts and his prayer puts an end to infertility while his curse makes it continue. Many *saiyids* are also visited for their healing powers. Reverence for the *saiyid* frequently finds expression in presenting him with lands (H. Jacob, *Parfumes of Araby*, London 1915, p. 45, 173, *sqq.*).

For a fuller description of the *sharifs* and *saiyids* and the reverence paid to them see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 32 *sqq.*, 70 *sqq.*; on the *saiyids* of Ḥaḍramawt, who are also strongly represented in the Malay Archipelago and to whom belong the founders of the sultanates of Siak and Pontianak, cf. do., *Verspr. Geschr.* iii. 162 *sqq.*, and *The Atchehnesse*, i. 153 *sqq.*

For the history of the *Sharifs* who ruled in Mekka and the Ḥidjāz from the ivth (xth) century till 1924, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. and the article *MEKKA* (history); cf. also the sketch in al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla al-Ḥidjāziya*², Cairo 1329, p. 73 *sqq.* — Information on the families of *ashraf* in Arabia is given in *A Handbook of Arabia*, i., comp. by the Geogr. Sect. of the Naval Intelligence Division, London n.d., Ind. and *Ashraf*.

On the *Sharifs* of Morocco cf. the art. *HASANI*, *HUSAINI*, *SHURFĀ*; on the *Saiyids* of India cf. art. *INDIA* (Brit.) ii.

The genealogy of the Ṭalibids is discussed in Aḥmad b. 'Alī... Ibn Muḥannā al-Dā'ūdī al-Ḥasanī, *Umdat al-Ṭalib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭalib*, Bombay 1318.

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Ahl al-Bida' wa 'l-Zandaqa, Cairo 1308; do., *al-Fatāwī al-Ḥadithiya*, Cairo 1329; al-Shabrawī, *al-Ithāf bi-Ḥubb al-Ashraf*, Cairo 1318; Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān, *Is'āf al-Rāghibīn fī Sirat al-Muṣṭafā wa-Faḍā'il Ahl Baitihī al-Ṭahīrīn*, on the margin of al-Shablandjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāḥib Āl Bait al-Nabī al-Muḥṭār*, Cairo 1322; Yūsuf b. Ismā'il al-Nabhānī, *al-Sharaf al-mu'abbad li-Āl Muḥammad*, Cairo 1318; Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1722, p. 11 *sqq.*; E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 3rd ed., London 1842, i. 42, 46, 197, 210, 366. (C. VAN ARENDONK)

AL-SHARIF AL-RADI, ABU 'L-HASAN MUHAMMAD B. ABI ṬAHIR AL-HUSAIN B. MUSA descended from al-Husain b. 'Alī through Mūsā al-Kāzim on account of which he and his brother 'Alī al-Murtaḍā [q. v.] were given the family name al-Musāwī. His father who was born in the year 307 (919/920) was under Būyid rule in Baghdad *Naḥib* of the Ṭalibis, an office resembling that of a heralds-college for the descendants of the Prophet through 'Alī's wife Fāṭima. al-Radi was born in Baghdad in the year 359 (970) and appears to have been very precocious; we are told by Tha'ālībī, his contemporary, that he composed his first verses when he had hardly passed the age of ten years. The earliest dated poem in his *Diwān* was composed in the year 374, when he was 15 years old. Tha'ālībī, and the authors who copy him, assert that al-Radi was undoubtedly the greatest poet of the Ṭalibiyin, perhaps even the greatest poet the tribe of Kuraish had produced. If we take the measure of so much inferior poetry composed at that time, for the times were prolific in poets, Tha'ālībī may be right, and we cannot but admit that some of his elegies upon friends have a touch of genuine feeling. The quantity of poetry composed by him in his short life is also remarkable, as his *Diwān* filled originally four volumes. al-Radi must have been of feeble constitution and he tells us himself in one of his poems that he began to show grey hair at the early age of 21 years. Several other poems tell us of his recovery from serious illness. Perhaps the anxiety for his father who for a long time was imprisoned in Shirāz for some offence which I have been unable to elucidate, and the agitation in Baghdad due to the marked preference given by the Būyid amīrs to the Shī'a and the consequent rancour of the Sunnis, may have contributed to undermine his health. His father had retired from the office of *Naḥib* and al-Radi was honoured with the appointment to this important office. Tha'ālībī, and other biographers who copy him, state that he received this post in the year 388, but the introduction to the poem which he sent to Bahā' al-Dawla thanking him for his favour tells us that the diploma was sent to him from al-Baṣra, together with the command to serve as leader of the pilgrim-caravan, and arrived in Baghdad on the 1st of Djumādā I of the year 397. The following year Bahā' al-Dawla honoured him further by conferring upon him the title of al-Radi by which name he is generally known. Three years later in the month Dhu 'l-Ḥaḍa 401, he received from the same amīr the further title of al-Sharīf. Bahā' al-Dawla continued to confer other honours upon him and on Friday the 16th of Muḥarram 403, he was appointed *Naḥib* over the

descendants of the Prophet in the whole dominions of the amīr, but in *Ḍjumādā* I of the same year he felt so seriously ill, that his life was despaired of. However two months later in the month *Radjab* he had so far recovered that he was able to send another poem to *Sulṭān al-Dawla* who was then in *Arradjān*, where *Bahā* al-Dawla died in *Ḍjumādā* II. His last poem composed in praise of any prince was a poem he addressed to *Sulṭān al-Dawla* in the month *Ṣafar* 404 and the last dated poem in his *Diwan* is an elegy upon the poet *Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Battī* who died in the month *Shahbān* 405. He himself died on Sunday morning the 6th of *Muḥarram* 406 (26th of June 1016). His brother 'Alī al-Murtaḍā was so overcome with grief that he could not stay in *Baghdād* to attend his funeral and the wazīr *Fakhr al-Mulk* said the prayers over his grave. He was buried in his house in the quarter of the *Anbāris* in the suburb *al-Karkh* of *Baghdād*. In the time of *Ibn Khallikān* the house as well as the grave had been demolished. From occasional references to al-Raḍī found scattered, we can form the opinion that he was of an amiable character and broad-minded as is proved by his friendship with al-Ṣābi, whom he honoured with two elegies though he was not a Muslim, and even the reproaches of his brother on account of the first of these did not deter him from composing a second one in which he pronounces his grief even more. His poems as already stated are very numerous and were collected by several friends; manuscripts are not rare and we actually have two printed editions (Bombay 1889 in one volume and *Bairūt* 1890/1892 in two volumes). Both these editions are in alphabetical order; this is also the case in the two MSS. in the British museum (Add. 19410 and Add. 25750) consulted, except that in one manuscript the Elegies are separated from the other poems. It is of value that both in the MSS. and the printed editions many of the poems are precisely dated and these dates have furnished some of the details of the biography, but as many poems are elegies upon eminent persons who died in *Baghdād*, these dates have additional historical value. There are poems for every year from 374 to 405 and a full analysis would require too much space. In addition to his poems al-Raḍī is credited with two works dealing with the exegesis of the *Kur'ān* entitled *Ma'āni 'l-Kur'ān* (obscurities of the *Kur'ān*) and *Madjāsāt al-Kur'ān* (Metaphors in the *Kur'ān*), these works have not come down to us. In his Catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of the Escorial, *Dérenbourg* describes under No. 348 a manuscript of a work entitled *Ta'if al-Khayāl* as being by al-Raḍī. Whether the error is due to *Dérenbourg* or to the scribe who wrote the codex, there can be no doubt that this is a mistake. The brother of al-Raḍī, 'Alī al-Murtaḍā, certainly wrote a book of this title and another 'Alid author, *Hibat Allāh b. al-Shaḍiari* quotes in his *Hamāsa* (Paris, MS. Arabe, No. 9257, fol. 96 recto) from the *Ta'if al-Khayāl* of al-Murtaḍā; further in the introduction of the Escorial MS. the author mentions that he had previously written a book on "grey hair" (*fi 'l-Shaib*). This latter book we possess in a printed edition (Constantinople 1302) and it certainly is by al-Murtaḍā, who tells us at the end that he finished it in the year 421, or fifteen years after the death of his brother al-Raḍī. We cannot possibly admit that the two brothers wrote two books with exactly the

same titles and the same, or similar contents, and we consequently have to attribute the work in the Escorial MS. to al-Murtaḍā.

Bibliography: Tha'libī, *Yatima*, Damascus, ii. 297—315, with many extracts of his poems; *Ibn Khallikān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 639, Cairo ed., ii. 2; Yāfi'i, *Mir'at al-Djinnān*, iii. 18—20; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 82. — Poems by al-Raḍī are found in nearly every anthology.

(F. KRENKOW)

SHARĪF PASHA, an Egyptian statesman in the reigns of the Khedives *Ismā'il* and *Tawfiq*. He was of Turkish origin and was born in 1823 in *Cairo* where his father was then acting as *kādi 'l-quḍāt* sent by the *Sulṭān*. When some ten years later the family was again temporarily in *Cairo*, *Muḥammad 'Alī* had the boy sent to the military school recently founded by him. Henceforth his whole career was to be spent in the Egyptian service. Sharif was a member of the "Egyptian mission" sent to *Paris* for higher education (cf. the article *KHEDIVE*) which included the future Khedives *Sa'id Pasha*, *Ismā'il Pasha* and 'Alī *Mubārak Pasha*. He then took a military course at *St. Cyr* (1843—1845) and served for some time in the French army until the mission was recalled by 'Abbās I in 1849. For the next four years he acted as secretary to *Prince Halim*, then took up military duties again in 1853 and attained the rank of general under *Sa'id Pasha*. During this period he was much associated with the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, *Sulaimān Pasha* (de Sèves), whose daughter he married.

In 1857 Sharif Pasha began his political career as Minister of Foreign Affairs and he acted as deputy for the Khedive *Ismā'il* when the latter went to *Constantinople* in 1865. He later filled in succession all the high offices of state. It was he who in 1866 drew up the plans for the new *Madjlis Niyābi*.

After the inauguration of constitutional government in Egypt in 1878, three cabinets were formed by Sharif Pasha. When in February 1879 *Nubār Pasha's* cabinet (which included two Europeans) had been overthrown by the nationalist parliament, a constitutional movement was begun under Sharif Pasha, the leader of which in Parliament was 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwailihī. This party drew up a plan of financial reforms, which was laid before the Khedive who in April 1879 entrusted Sharif Pasha with the formation of a cabinet composed of purely Egyptian elements. This new cabinet (see the list of members in *Sabry*, p. 153, note) instituted a *Conseil d'État* and had a new organic law passed by the Chamber (promulgated on June 14, 1879). After the accession of the Khedive *Tawfiq Pasha*, Sharif Pasha's cabinet was remodelled, but the new government was not so national as the preceding. In August of the same year the new Khedive refused to approve the constitution drawn up by the Prime Minister and on the 18th of the same month Sharif Pasha resigned and was succeeded by *Riyāḍ Pasha*. Sharif then took part in the formation of the "National Party" at *Hulwān*, which published a manifesto against *Riyāḍ Pasha* on November 4. Two years later after the nationalist military revolution of Sept. 9, 1881, Sharif Pasha was the only statesman in whom the military party had sufficient confidence to entrust with the formation of a new cabinet

(Sept. 15). Sharif then called together an assembly of notables intended to counterbalance the influence of the military. This assembly met on Dec. 26, but the nationalists in it soon combined with the military against the Khedive and his cabinet, who were thought to be too much under the influence of the political and financial control by the Great Powers. Sharif Pasha was unwilling to co-operate with the Majlis in the modification of the rules on the budget vote and he resigned in January 1882. His successor was Maḥmūd Pasha Sāmi. On Aug. 10 of the same year, after the Khedive had taken up a definitely anti-ʿArābī attitude, Sharif Pasha again became Prime Minister (Aug. 18, 1882). He held this office after the defeat of ʿArābī and the English occupation but in the end came into conflict with the English cabinet and its representative, when they demanded the evacuation of the Sūdān. Sharif Pasha thought the evacuation a political and economic danger to Egypt but he had to yield to English pressure (Jan. 1884). He then retired from politics and died three years later at Graz, to which he had gone on account of a malady of the liver. He was buried in Cairo in April 1887.

By birth Sharif Pasha belonged to the Egyptian-Turkish class and was bound to be *khedivalist* rather than nationalist. The nationalists, however, never doubted his sincerity. He sincerely endeavoured to make Egypt a constitutional state under the Khedival dynasty; as a political figure he occupies a position intermediate between the tendencies represented by ʿArābī, Nūbār and Riyād.

Bibliography: Dj. Zaidān, *Mashāhīr al-Shark*, Cairo 1910, i., p. 240 *sqq.*; A. Hasenclever, *Geschichte Aegyptens im 19. Jahrhundert*, Halle a. S. 1917; M. Sabry, *La Génèse de l'Esprit national Égyptien*, Paris 1913, p. 64, 143, 146, 152, 168, 184, 195, 205; Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, London 1908, vol. i.; and the literature quoted in these works.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SHARISH (adjective: *Sharīshī*) was the Arabic name for the modern Jerez de la Frontera, an important town in Spain, in the province of Cadiz, a little north of this town. It has to be distinguished from Jerez de les Caballeros, the *Sharīsha*, of the Muslim period (cf. al-Idrisi, *Descr. de l'Esp.*, pp. 175, 186, 211, 226), a little town in the province of Badajoz, south of this capital and west of Zafra. Jerez de la Frontera, from its position in a country blessed with remarkable fertility, was while under Muslim rule as at the present day a rich and prosperous city. According to some geographers it formed part of the province of al-Buḥaira (Lago de la Janda), according to others of *Shadhūna* (Sidona). Its vineyards were already renowned in the middle ages, like its olive-groves. A speciality of the town was the making of *muḡjabbānāt* (a kind of cheese-pastry).

Muslim Jerez never rose to be a capital. It was too near its great neighbour Seville, whose political fate it usually shared. It used to be thought that it was in the district of *Sharish*, on the banks of the Guadelete, that the first encounter between Christians and Muslims took place at the time of the conquest of Spain but we now know that this battlefield should be located in the valley of the Rio Salade farther east. The town plays little part in subsequent history and not even the names of its governors have been preserved. After the fall

of the Umayyad Caliphate, it formed part of the kingdom of ʿAbbādids [q.v.] and in 650 (1233) it submitted to the Naṣrid rulers of Grenada after having successively rejected Almoravid and Almoḥad suzerainty. Jerez was taken by the Christians for the first time in 1251 three years after Seville, but in the years that followed, it was twice retaken by the Muslims in spite of the efforts of the Castilian leaders Garci Gomez Carrillo and Fortūn de Torre. In the end it was definitely retaken by Alfonso the Wise on Oct. 9, 1264. The Marinid Sultāns then tried in vain to recapture it, notably Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, who made it and Seville his main objectives on his various campaigns in Andalusia and several times laid waste the whole district.

Among celebrated Muslims born in *Sharish*, we may mention, besides the commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥariri (see the next article) the jurist Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bakrī al-Sharīshī born in 601 (1204/1205) and died in Syria in 685 (1286) after declining the post of Mālikī Qāḍī 'l-quḍāt of Damascus.

Bibliography: al-Idrisī, *Ṣifāt al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 206, transl., p. 254; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s.v.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 166; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, p. 82, 106; al-Maḳḳārī, *Nafḥ al-Tib*, *Analectes*..., i. 113, 292, 892; Ibn Abi Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Kirfās*, ed. Tornberg (*Annales regum Mauritaniae*), Upsala 1843, Marinid dynasty, *passim*; Ibn Khaldūn K. al-ʿIbar, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. and transl. de Slane, text, t. ii., transl., t. iv., Index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SHARISHI, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-MUʿMIN (or ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, according to al-Suyūṭī, followed by Brockelmann) B. MUṢĀ B. ʿISĀ B. ʿABD AL-MUʿMIN AL-ḲAISI KAMĀL AL-DĪN, Arab author of Spain, a native of *Sharish* [q.v.], where he died in 619 (1222). He wrote a commentary on the *al-ʿIdāḥ* of al-Fārisī and another on the *al-Djūmal* of al-Zaḡdjdādī and wrote a treatise on prosody. He also compiled an anthology of ancient Arabic poems and made a synopsis of the *Naḡwādīr* of al-Ḳalī; but he is best known as a commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥariri. He wrote three commentaries on the *Assemblies*, a large one, literary, a medium, philological and a small one, a résumé. The first was published at Būlak in 1284, 1300 and in Cairo in 1306; the second is in the Library at Leiden, No. 415.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilat al-Ṣila*, vol. i., ed. Bel and Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920, p. 136—137, No. 281; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 143; al-Maḳḳārī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, *Analectes*, i. 536; Brockelmann, i. 277, 6. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHARKĀWA, or **SHERKĀWA**, the common ethnic of a Marabout body in Central Morocco, belonging to the Shādhilī-Djazzūlī brotherhood through the intermediary of the mystic Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabbāʾ [q.v.]. The singular is *Sharkāwī*, synonym of *sharkī* (*shargī*, pl. *sharāga*), a geographical ethnic (cf. on the other hand *tādīlī*, ethnic from Tādīlā confined to the *shurfā* of this name, while the geographical ethnic is *Tādīlāwī*). The principal *Zāwiya* of the *Sharkāwa* is in the town of Abu 'l-Djaʿd (modern spelling:

Boujad), in the Tādā, between the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic coast. It attained importance at the end of the xviii century and henceforth became one of the most frequented sanctuaries in Morocco.

Among the more notable of this Marabout family may be mentioned: 1. the founder of the Zāwiya of Abu 'l-Djād, MAḤMAD (with initial *m* vocalised in *a*) B. ABI 'L-ḲASIM AL-SHARKĪ AL-SUMAIRI AL-ZA'RĪ AL-DJABIRĪ, d. 1st Muḥarram 1010/1012 (July 1601); a monograph was devoted to him by one of his descendants, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḳhalīk b. Muḥammad al-'Arūsī al-Tādīlī al-Sharkāwī, entitled *al-Muraqqi fī dhikr ba'd manāḳib al-ḡuṭb sayyidi M. al-Sharkī*; 2. the latter's son, MUḤAMMAD AL-MU'TĀ, d. Rabī' II 1092/April—May 1681; 3. his son MUḤAMMAD AL-ṢALĪḤ, who was the patron of the historian al-Ifrānī (or al-Wafrānī, q.v.): a monograph entitled *al-Rawḍ al-yamī' al-fā'iḥ fī manāḳib al-shaikh Abī 'Abd Allāh M. al-Ṣ.*, was devoted to him by a scholar of Fās who was ḳāḍī of Meknes (Miknāsāt al-zaitūn) in the reign of the 'Alawid Sulṭān Mawlay Ismā'īl, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Raḥḥāl al-Ma'dānī al-Tādīlī, d. 1140/1728; 4. the son of the preceding, MUḤAMMAD AL-MU'TĀ, who restored the Zāwiya and wrote a collection of prayers in no fewer than 40 volumes entitled *Dhakhīrat al-ghānī wa 'l-muḥtādī fī ṣāḥib al-liwā wa 'l-tādī* (there is one volume in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, N^o. 100, cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits Arabes de Rabat*, i., p. 36); he died in Muḥarram 1180/June 1766. A monograph has been devoted to him by his secretary Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Abdūnī, d. 1189/1775–1776, entitled *Yatimat al-'uḳūd al-wusṭā fī manāḳib al-shaikh al-Mu'tā*.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Maḥḍī al-Fāsī, *Mumtā' al-asmā'*, lith. Fas, 1313 A. H., p. 121; al-Ifrānī, *Safwat man intashar*, lith. Fas, p. 25; al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-maḥānī*, lith. Fas, 1310 A. H., i., p. 58; ii., p. 277; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fas, 1316 A. H., i., p. 193; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salwat al-anfās*, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publié en l'honneur du XIV^{ème} Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, p. 34, N^o. 91, p. 45, N^o. 128; Cimetière, *La saouia de Boujad*, in *R.M.M.*, xxiv., p. 277 sqq.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 119, 297–298, 330–331.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHARKĪ, the name of a dynasty which reigned at Djawnpūr, so called from the title of Malik al-Shark (Lord of the East) conferred upon its founder, the eunuch Malik Sarwar, *Khwādja Djahān* [q.v.], who, having in March, 1393, placed Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd of the Tughlāk dynasty on the throne of Dihlī, suppressed the Hindū rebellions in the Gangetic Doāb and Awadh, and assumed independence in Djawnpūr. He died in 1399, leaving his dominions to his adopted son, Malik Ḳarānful, who assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh. Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī made two abortive attempts to recover Awadh, and Mubārak Shāh died in 1402, and was succeeded by his younger brother, who assumed the title of Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh. Ibrāhīm was a patron of learning and art, and it was during his reign that Djawnpūr was adorned with most of those buildings the remains of which excite our admiration to-day. He annexed

some districts in Katehr which had belonged to Dihlī, invaded Bengal, where he protected the Muslims from persecution, made an unsuccessful attempt to annex Kālpi, and was succeeded, on his death, in 1436, by his son Maḥmūd. Maḥmūd Sharkī quarrelled with Maḥmūd *Khaldjī* I of Mālwa over Kālpi, and an indecisive campaign was closed in 1445 by a peace not altogether honourable to Djawnpūr. In 1452 he unsuccessfully attacked Dihlī, then held by Bahlōl Lodī, and in 1457 he died just as he was about to meet Bahlōl Lodī in the field, and was succeeded by his son Bhikan, who styled himself Muḥammad Shāh. His tyranny was so galling that his nobles, even while confronted in the field by Bahlōl Lodī, dethroned him and proclaimed Husain, his younger brother. Husain concluded peace with Bahlōl and then led a successful expedition against the Hindus of Uṭṭa. In 1466 he failed to take Gwāliyar but compelled the Rādjā to pay tribute and do homage. In 1473 he invaded the dominions of Dihlī and during the next three years strove to subdue it. He was often on the threshold of success, but as often failed owing to carelessness or excess of confidence, and in 1476 Bahlōl Lodī occupied Djawnpūr, and with Husain's flight to Bengal the Sharkī dynasty came to an end. Husain lived for twenty-four years after his fall, and although he made no serious attempt to recover his kingdom, lost no opportunity of fomenting dissension and rebellion in the south-eastern provinces of the kingdom of Dihlī. He died in 1500.

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SHARKĪ. As opposed to the Turkish popular ballad which has arisen among the people and is composed on the national system, syllabic (*parmak hisābi*) not metric and is found in various forms notably the *türkü* and also as *turkmanī*, *warsaghī*, *koşma*, *ḳaya bashī*, *manī* and *tuyugh* (on the latter cf. Samoilowitch in *Musuljmaniskij Mir*, Petrograd 1917, i. N^o. 1, p. 1 sqq.). the Sharkī is a poem regularly composed by a poet on literary lines in more or less accurate agreement with the laws of Persian and Arabic prosody, following the quantitative system of metre: the sharkī is the *türkü* adapted to literature.

While the popular song as regards matter, imagery and phraseology is quite free from restrictions, the sharkī is usually a gay love-song and follows the model of the traditional love-lyric in metre, language and contents.

It is distinguished from the *ghazal*, which is intended only for recitation and reading, by the fact that it is intended to be sung. In contrast to the double verse system of the *ghazal* with the monorhyme running through it, the stanza form, taken from the folk-song, is peculiar to the sharkī. The separate stanzas, of which the third (*miyān-khāne*) is traditionally meant to be the most impressive, are linked together by a refrain of one — sometimes two — line (called *naḳarāt*, chorus) which recalls the rhyme of the *ghazal*. The rhyme scheme is usually as follows *aaab* (and more frequently *abab*); *cccb*; *dddb* or *aaaa*, *bbba*, *ccca*, in the case of a two line refrain, *aaaaa*, *bbbba*, *cccaa*.

The language is elevated in the *sharḳī*, free from dialectic forms; the rhyme is more strictly observed than in the *türkü*. But although it is free from extravagant language, it is nevertheless much too literary to be at once intelligible to the common people.

The link between the *türkü* and *sharḳī* was probably formed by the popular poets and mystics, notably the *ʿāshīk*, the successors of the *usan* and *derwish* poets, who very early recognised this intermediate form, the ballad with a literary flavour suitable for singing, as a form of literature admirably suited for dissemination, which could also be to some extent used as a chant to accompany the exercises of the *dhiḳr*. But it was long before the *sharḳī* won itself an official position in the traditional "regular" *Diwāns* of the classical poets. The fact that the *Diwāns* of poets of the people so rarely contain *sharḳī* is amply explained from the literary intolerance with which non-classical forms of verse were rejected.

The first poet in whose *Diwān* we find *sharḳī*'s seems to be Naẓīm (d. 1107 = 1695). The *sharḳī* is the characteristic poem of the period of transition which begins with Sultān Aḥmad III (1703—1730) and marks a concession to popular taste and a reaction from Persian influence. Nedīm (d. 1143 = 1730) and Enderūnī ʿOṭmān Wāṣif (d. 1240 = 1824/1825) are the most famous of *sharḳī* writers.

The many printed and lithographed collections of *sharḳī*'s are evidence that they are still very popular.

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AL-SHARḲĪYA, name of a *kūra* and of a province (formerly 'amal, now *mudiriya*) in Egypt.

1. The *kūra* of al-Sharḳīya, which replaced the Byzantine pagarchy of Aphroditopolis, was one of the few districts which received an Arabic name; the latter is explained by its situation on the eastern bank of the Nile.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of its territory, which lay immediately south of the capital of the country, Fuṣṭāṭ. The first capital of the *kūra*, situated on the right bank of the river, was Anṣinā (Antinöe), but the small number (17) of villages in the *kūra* of al-Sharḳīya allows us to suppose that the next *kūra*, Dallās (Nilo-polis) or at least al-Kais (Kynopolis) lay on both sides of the Nile. The capital of the *kūra* was very probably Aṭṭīḥ since one of the censuses quoted by Maḳrīzī gives it in addition the name of Aṭṭīḥīya. It should, however, be noted that Dimashḳī, very late for information of this kind, distinguishes a *kūra* of al-Sharḳīya and a *kūra* which, lying beyond the district of Aṭṭīḥ, included also that of Waṣīm to the north-west of Fuṣṭāṭ, which is exceedingly improbable.

In the Fāṭimid division into provinces, there was a province of al-Aṭṭīḥīya, larger than the old *kūra* (50 villages at the time of Ibn al-Djīʿān), which now forms a district (*markaz*) of the *mudiriya* of al-Djiza. The capital is now al-Ṣaff, a few miles to the north of Aṭṭīḥ.

In the time of the governors of the Caliphs,

the *kūra* of al-Sharḳīya enjoyed at times a certain prosperity. On account of an epidemic of plague, ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Marwān transferred the government offices to Ḥulwān; a little later and for the same reason another governor transferred them to Askur (or Sukur) towards the south. To the north of the *kūra* lie the quarries of Ṭurā.

Bibliography: cf. the art. Aṭṭīḥ; Kindī, ed. Guest, *Index*, p. 643; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, M. I. F. A. O., xxxvi, p. 22, 112, 173, 175, 177, 180—182, 184, 185; Maḳrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ed. M. I. F. A. O., iv, p. 18; v., ch. xi, § 2.

2. The Eastern province of the Delta of Egypt, situated to the east of the province of al-Daḳahliya and bordered towards its south-west point by that of Ḳalyūbiya. Now it has 749,130 inhabitants (in 1897), 393 towns, villages and hamlets, and is divided into 6 districts (*markaz*) which are as follows: (1) Bilbais, (2) Fākūs, (3) Hihīyā, (4) Kafr Ṣaḳhr, (5) Minā al-Ḳamḥ, (6) Zaḳāziḳ. The capital is Zaḳāziḳ (41,741 inhabitants in 1917, against 35,700 in 1897).

The present area of the *mudiriya* of al-Sharḳīya corresponds roughly to the following pagarchies of the Byzantine epoch, divisions retained by the Arabs under the name of *kūra*; Bubaste (Baṣṭa), Arabia (Ṭarābiya) and Pharbaithos (Farbaīt). The Delta was at this time divided into three large divisions not administrative in character, which are mentioned by the historians: the Ḥawf Ḡharbī, situated to the west of the Rosetta arm, the Baṭu al-Rif applied to the territory lying between this arm and that of Damietta. All the land which extended to the east of the latter district was called the Ḥawf Sharḳī and it is probably this name which gave rise to that of al-Sharḳīya. The Ḥawf Sharḳī followed the two Augustamnics. It included 11 or 12 *kūra*'s and 529 villages.

At the time of the division into provinces under the Fāṭimids the Ḥawf Sharḳī included those of al-Sharḳīya, of al-Murtāḥīya, of al-Daḳahliya and of al-Abwāniya. Thus delimited, the province of al-Sharḳīya, which extended farther than at the present time in the direction of Cairo, still included 452 towns and villages (the three other provinces together accounted for 165). It brought annually to the Treasury 694,121 dinars. The southern part of al-Sharḳīya was separated from it in 715 (1315) at the time of the survey of Malik Naṣīr Muḥammad, and received the name of al-Ḳalyūbiya. From this time the province of Sharḳīya must have shown little variation. Thus reduced it contained, according to Ibn al-Djīʿān, 380 towns and villages and the taxes were valued at 1,411,875 dinars. The capital was Bilbais in the Middle Ages and it was also in this town that the Turkish *Kāshif* resides. It was only during the nineteenth century that Zaḳāziḳ supplanted Bilbais.

This eastern region of lower Egypt plays a considerable role in the history of Muslim Egypt, for if we except the Fāṭimid conquest, which came from the north of Africa, the Crusaders' attack on Damietta and in modern times the French occupation by Bonaparte, all the invaders of Egypt entered the country by this route. The anonymous military memoir called the "*Devisé des chemins de Babiloine*", which is simply an exposition of the different plans of attack upon

Cairo, shows in the first place the itinerary of an army setting out from Ghazza with the object of marching on the capital through the province of al-Sharkīya (Sassarquie).

This region offered the difficulty to the owners of Egypt for the time being that it had no natural defences. The Byzantines had made up for this by stationing several garrisons in the Augustamnica, the sites of which we know from references in the accounts of the Arab conquest. The Arabs, avoiding the fortresses in the neighbourhood of Rhinocolura (al-ʿArīsh), advanced on Pelusa (al-Faramā), near which they were held up for two months. The defences of the region of Farbaithos (Farbaith) and Bubaste (Baṣṭa) did not inconvenience the conquerors, who, turning their route southwards and following the valley of the Wādī Tunūlat, attacked Phelbes (Bilbais), which only held out for a month.

If we review the military events of which the province of al-Sharkīya was the scene, it will be seen that the main resistance was offered by the successive defenders of Egypt round the towns of Bilbais. As early as the end of the period of conquest, we find — in obedience to some instinct for security — the Dūdham in the army of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs, given some towns in this district, notably Farbaith and Baṣṭa, as fiefs (*iḳṭāʾ*). A century later portions of the tribe of ʿKais were settled in Bilbais, then sparsely populated, who had also the task of organising the caravans for ʿKulzum intended to provision the Hūdjaz. We further know that Bilbais was in time provided with another chain of fortresses (Maḳrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, publ. in *M. I.F.A.O.*, iii, p. 188; *Sulūk*, transl. Blochet, p. 258).

It was by this route that Marwān I came from Aila to Fustāt to regain Egypt, which had been stirred into rebellion by the partisans of Ibn al-Zubair. At a later date Ḥawf Sharḳī was the scene of the Coptic rebellions, which soaked the Delta in blood in the second century A.H., especially towards its end: — in 107 (725) at Natū, Tumaīy, Farbaith and Tarābiya: — in 178 (794) in 186 (802) and on this occasion the tribe of ʿKais joined the Copts, who were overcome at Djubb ʿUmaira, halfway between Fustāt and Bilbais. In 191—192 (807—808) a new rising was put down; in 214 (829) a series of rebellions began which lasted with varying success till the arrival of the Caliph Maʾmūn in 217 (832). In 469 (1076) the Saldjūk Emir Atsīz, who had reached the outskirts of Cairo, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Badr al-Djamālī; the chronicles do not give the exact site of the battle. In 558 (1163) the Franks under Amaury I occupied Bilbais; next year near this town Shāwar, coming from Syria, defeated Dirghām and later Shīrkūh was besieged in Bilbais by Shāwar, helped by the Franks. In the course of Saladin's wars with the Crusaders, the latter, on at least one occasion, attempted a diversion on Fākūs. The Sultān of Egypt, who did not fear an attack by the north of al-Sharkīya, but was more anxious about the Franks of the principality of Montréal, placed advanced lines of defence at ʿKulzum and at al-Suwais (Suez) and even farther to the east at Ṣadr, where his fortress had just been identified (Barthaux and Wiet, *Découverte d'une forteresse de Saladin, Syria*, iii. 44—65, 145—152). We also know from official documents that Kalʿat Ṣadr was administrated by the governor of al-Sharkīya. When in 591 (1195) Malik

ʿAdil and Malik Afḍal resolved to dethrone Malik ʿAzīz, the plot was begun with a siege of Bilbais. It was in the same region that the last serious rising of the Arabs in Egypt ended (651 = 1253). Their leader, Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Thaʿlab, was taken at Bilbais and gallows were erected from here to Cairo. Lastly it was by this, the natural route of invasion from the east, that the Ottoman army reached Cairo in 923 (1517).

This province was of course traversed by the post route which connected the capital with Ghazza. The following are the stages in Egypt as given by Ibn Khordādhbeh:

Fustāt-Bilbais	24 miles
Bilbais-Masjdīd Kuḍāʾa	21 "
Masjdīd Kuḍāʾa-Ḳāṣira (var. Ghāḍira, at any rate taken from Fākūs	18 "
Ḳāṣira-Djardjir	24 "
Djardjir-Faramā	30 "

In the Mamlūk period, the post stages for the same stretch were: Siryākūs (which took the place of al-ʿUshsh, which was too far from Cairo), Bīr al-Baidā, Bilbais, al-Saʿīdiya, al-Kharṛūba, al-Khatāra, Ḳabr al-Wāʾilī, al-Sālihiya, Bīr ʿAfri (or Bīr Ghazi), Ḥabwa, al-Ghurābi and Ḳatyā (cf. also *Devisé des chemins de Babiloine* and the analysis in Schefer, in *Arch. Or. lat.*, ii. 94—95).

It may be also mentioned that there were doves for carrier-pigeons at Bilbais, al-Sālihiya and Ḳatyā (Gaufrey-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 253).

The pilgrim route also passed through this province, in the south of it; it was only abandoned for about two centuries between 450 and 660 A.H. Some stages are difficult to determine, for the names have become much corrupted by the copyists of manuscripts; the known points are Birkat al-Djubb (= Djubb ʿUmaira mentioned above), ʿAdjīrd and ʿKulzum (cf. the article in *Syria*, iii. 148—149).

In conclusion we may mention that Trajan's canal passed through the province of Sharḳīya; it was renovated by order of the Caliph ʿOmar, whence its name of Canal of the Commander of the Faithful; the Caliph Maṣṣūr had it partly filled in.

Bibliography: J. Maspero, *Organ. milit. de l'Égypte byzantine*, p. 28—29, 135—137; Maḳrīzi, *Khīṭaṭ*, in *M. I.F.A.O.*, i. 333—339; iii. 224—226; iv. 85—87; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux, M. I.F.A.O.*, xxxvii, Index, see esp. p. 45, 112; Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-ʿAshā*, iv. 27, 66, 69—70; xiv. 376—368; Quatremère, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, ii. 190—195, 212—214; Hartmann, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx. 485—487; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *Khīṭaṭ djādida*, xix. 52—61 (irrigation canals of the province). (G. WIET)

AL-SHARRĀT (the manufacturer of string from palm-fibre, *sharīṭ*), ABU ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAISHŪN, son of a *mudjāhid*, slain in battle which the Spaniards at al-Maʾmūra (al-Mahdiya = San Miguel de Ultramar) was born at Fās in 1035 (1625/1626) and died there in 1109 (1697) after having adopted Sūfism. He is credited with the authorship of a hagiographical collection, but this has sometimes been disputed by his compatriots; it is entitled: *al-Rawḍ al-ʿAtīr al-Anfās bi-Aḥbār al-Sāliḥīn min Aḥl Fās*. According to al-Katānī it was really the work of MuḤammad al-ʿArabī al-Ḳādīri. In it among the biographies are a synopsis of the *manāḳib* of 99

saints of Fās dating for the most part from the xvth and xvith centuries. They are all included again in the *Salwat al-Anfās*. There is a manuscript of this work dated 1203/1788 in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, No. 389.

Bibliography: al-Kādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, lith. Fas, 1310 A. H., ii., p. 161; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, lith. Fas, 1316 A. H., i., p. 8 and ii., p. 347; René Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques*, p. 32, No. 86; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 280—283. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHARṬ (A. pl. *sharṭ* if, *shurṭ*), condition. It is defined in different ways. Al-Ghazālī for example says (*K. al-Mustasfī*, Bulāḡ, 1325, ii. 180) *sharṭ* is that with the non-existence of which the conditional (*mashrūṭ*) does not exist, with the existence of which however the conditional must not exist also, in contrast to the cause (*illa*) the existence of which demands the existence of the caused. The non-existence of the condition (*sharṭ*) demands the non-existence of the conditional (*mashrūṭ*), but its existence does not demand the existence of the conditional (e. g. place and life). — As a term in the *Uṣūl* the Ḥanafīs define *sharṭ* as that upon which a matter is based, but which is neither within it (in contrast to *rukn*) nor leaves a trace in it (in contrast to the *illa*). Thus for example in theft the minimum value of the object stolen is a *sharṭ*, on the other hand the removal of the object from its place of keeping is a *rukn* (cf. *SĀRIK*).

In the *Furū'* the word has a more specialised meaning: condition = reservation in an agreement. Thus for example certain conditions make a contract to purchase invalid. On this question see the section on the *buyū'* in the *Fīkh*-books. Of special importance among these is the right to withdraw (*khiyār al-sharṭ*) within an agreed period after the conclusion of the purchase (usually three days: cf. van den Berg, *De contractu "do ut des"*, Leiden, Jur. Diss. 1868).

From the use of the word *sharṭ* for reservation in an agreement, it came to be applied to the document itself. At quite an early date a special branch of study the *ilm al-shurūṭ* was formed which dealt with the correct drafting of documents. There are many works on the subject of the third century entitled *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ* or *Kitāb al-Wathā'iq*. The oldest representatives of the subject are al-Shāfi'ī, al-Muzanī, al-Khaṣṣāf, al-Taḥāwī (cf. *Fihrist*, p. 206 sqq., Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 233). One such work is printed in al-Sarakhsī. *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, Miṣr 1331, xxx. 167—208.

In grammar *sharṭ* means the conditional sentence, *djawāb al-sharṭ* the apodosis, and *ḥarf al-sharṭ* the conditional conjunction.

Bibliography: Besides the works above mentioned see the various dictionaries and works on *Uṣūl* such as Ṣadr al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ*, ed. Taftāzānī, Kazan 1883, p. 575 sq., 598 sqq.; also: *Dictionary of the technical terms* ii. 752 sqq.; Djurdjānī, *Definitions*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, p. 131; J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālīs*, Wien 1921, p. 68 sqq. (HEFFENING)

[It is worth mentioning that *Sharṭ* among the Arabic speaking population of the Western Maghrib has acquired the sense of legal agreement between the head of a village and the schoolmaster. *Mshārṭ* means the schoolmaster].

[EDITORIAL]

SHASH. [See TASHKENT].

SHAṬĀ, a place celebrated in the Middle Ages, situated a few miles from Damietta, on the Western shore of the Lake of Tinnīs, now called Lake Manzala.

This town existed before the Arab period, since it is mentioned as the see of the bishop (*Ḥāra*). There is no reason for giving credence to the romantic story of the pseudo-Wākidi, which gives as the founder of this town a certain *Shatā* b. al-Hāmuk (var. al-Hāmīrak), a relative of the famous Muḥawkīs. This *Shatā* is presented to us as a deserter from the garrison of Damietta who helped to secure the possession of Burullus, Damira and Ashmūn Ṭanāḥ for the Muslim army and who was killed at the capture of Tinnīs, on Sha'bān 15, 21. Every year at this date, it is the custom to celebrate the anniversary of his death and to this origin the writers attribute the pilgrimage which still took place at *Shatā* in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

To guard against the maritime attacks of the Greeks the Arabs stationed regiments of troops on certain parts on the coast, and *Shatā* was amongst the number. This port became in the Middle Ages a very active industrial centre, in this region sharing with Damietta, Dabīḡ and Tinnīs, the manufacture of valuable materials. Each of these towns probably manufactured a special article since the materials which they exported bore a name indicative of their place of origin. Travellers and geographers never tire of praising the goods of *Shatā* called *shafāwi*. Very probably there was at this place in addition to the private industry a government workshop, a *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, analogous to those of Alexandria and Tinnīs. The historian of Mecca, Fākihi, has preserved the text of an inscription embroidered on a cover intended for the Ka'ba. It was the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who ordered it to be made in the year 191 at the ṭirāz of *Shatā*.

We do not know the part which *Shatā* played in the two occupations of Damietta by the Franks. Certain writers have tried to place at the spot the site of the encampment of Jean de Brienne, but this view has been disputed. Between the two crusades, Tinnīs had been razed to the ground by order of Malik Kāmil in the year 624, and as military reasons had probably induced this destruction, *Shatā* perhaps suffered the same fate.

But while the ruins of the former have survived under the name of Tell Tinnīs, a miserable hamlet of fishers now bears the name of Shaikh *Shatā*. Their huts surround the mosque in which the relics of the hero of the Arab conquest, who became the *Shaikh Shatā*, are venerated. But the town is no longer a port on Lake Manzala; the waters have receded to a distance of 5 or 6 hundred yards. The depth of the lake in this district is insignificant, and the inhabitants use flat-bottomed boats for navigation.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii. 811; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xix. 162; the bibliography, given in J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux*, M. I. F. A. O., xxxvi, 112—113; Maḡrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, in M. I. F. A. O., iv. 80—82. (G. WIET)

SHATH (A., pl. *shataḥāt* or [*kalimāt*] *shathiyāt*) a technical term in mysticism, signifying an "ecstatic phrase", or more exactly a "divinely inspired utterance".

Etymology: This term, which was probably a Syrian loan-word (*shattāḥ* = expands) is derived

from the root *sh-ṭ-h* in Arabic: "disturb, agitate" (*miṣṭaḥ* = place where flour is ground). Adopted in the tenth century A. D. by the Sūfīs it is applied to the perturbation of the consciousness, into which divine grace suddenly penetrates, then to the "divinely inspired utterance" which this supernatural commotion extracts from the subject.

The Muslim mystics are unanimous in seeing in the *shāṭḥ*, following preparatory anagogic graces (*khaṭarāt*, *fawā'id*, *nukāṣ*), the sign of a perfect purification reaching the soul of the mystic. But the majority of theorists — at first from scruples of orthodoxy, later from monistic conviction — consider that this state is transitory and is only a stage before the definitive annihilation of personality in the divine silence. Some, notably Muḥāsibī and Hallādj [q. v.], on the other hand consider that these divine touches transfigure the faltering voice of the lover, give him an intermittent divine investiture, which will make him consent for ever to the dialogue of love (*muḥā-daṭha*) "between Thee and me".

The first "ecstatic sayings" were incorporated by tradition in the classical collections of *Ḥadīth*, not as utterances of the mystics but as "words of God" (*ḥadīth kudsī*, q. v.).

From the third century A. H. Muslim orthodoxy excluded this source of traditions and the *shāṭḥiyāt* circulate under the names of those responsible for uttering them. Here we give the most famous, arranged according to two tendencies, the one class referring rather to an immediate psychological commotion, the other which betrays a scholarly reconstruction, or at least a retrospection influenced by the prejudices of the school, sometimes showing an insolent and cynical familiarity.

a. Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261 = 875): "Praise be to Me! (*Subḥānī*). My intercession is greater than that of Muḥammad! Thou obeyest me no longer than I obey Thee. Adam sold his God for a mouthful. Thy Paradise is only a children's game". — Hallādj (d. 309 = 922): "I am the Truth (*an'al-ḥaqq*). It is Thou, or it is I? That would make two gods. Ah! for mercy's sake take away this *annī* ("it is I") from between us two! I do not desire thee for my joy but for my hurt. Pardon them and do not pardon me. Prayer for the perfect lover becomes impiety". — Abū Bakr Nassādj Ṭūsī (d. 487 = 1094): "Guide of those who have gone astray, lead me still further astray". — Aḥmad Ghazālī (d. 517 = 1123): "God alone understands God. There is no master more persuasive than Desire! The call for the union is the essence of the beloved; the call for separation is the essence of the lover whether We torture him with desire, whether We kill him by severing him from contemplation".

Ibn Sahl Tustarī (d. 283 = 896): "I am the Proof of God, in face of the saints of my time. Divine omnipotence has a secret; if it is revealed there is an end of the prophetic mission. — Al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320 = 932): "Ritual acts are only impurities." Al-Shiblī (d. 334 = 945): "I am the diacritical point under the letter *bā*! In Paradise there is no person except God. Mysticism is only polytheism, since it is engaged in purifying the heart of that which is not God, when God alone is." — Khorkānī (d. 426 = 1034): "I am only two years younger than God. God is my instant (my unity of psychological time)." — Ibn Abī 'l-Khair (d. 440 = 1048): "Under my robe there is only God". — Ghazālī, the elder (d. 505 = 1111): "There is

nothing more in the possible than in the created". — Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638 = 1240): "The slave is the lord and the Lord is the slave; ah; how can one tell which of the two is the debtor?" — 'Alī Ḥarīrī (d. 645 = 1247): "The perfect poor man has no longer a heart, nor a lord." — Ibn Sab'īn (d. 668 = 1269): "There is nothing but God" (*laisa illa'llāh*, the *dhikr* of his order). — 'Affī al-Tilimsānī (d. 690 = 1291): "The whole Qur'ān is simply polytheism."

Whole monographs have been devoted to elucidating, criticising or justifying one or other of these ecstatic utterances. Dūri and Sarraǧj were the first to perceive their theological importance, and we possess in three books by Rūzbahān Baǧllī (d. 606 = 1209) a full treatise on the question.

Bibliography: Sarraǧj, *Luma'*, ed. Nicholson, London 1914, p. 375—409 (with an extract from the commentary of Ḍjunaid on the *shāṭaḥāt* of Bisṭāmī, probably from Dūri); Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb*, MS. Berlin, Sprenger 832, f. 230a; Sulamī, *Ghalaṭāt*, MS. Cairo vii. 228; Baǧllī, *Shāṭḥiyāt*, MS. Shāhid 'Alī Pāshā 1342 (extr. in Hallādj, *Kitāb al-Tawāsin*, ed. Massignon, Paris 1913); Kawrānī, *Maslak ḡalī fī ḥukm shāṭḥ al-walī*, MS. Stambul, Walī al-Dīn 1815 (cf. MS., 1821 § ix. of the same library); Dārā Shikūh, *Shāṭaḥāt* (alias: *Ḥasanūt al-'arīfin*), written in 1062 (1652), lith. in India; L. Massignon "Ana'l ḥaqq" (in "Der Islam", 1912, iii. 248—257); do. "Passion d'al Hallāj", Paris 1922, p. 713, 935.

On the *Ḥadīth Kudsī* cf. Rāghib pāshā, *Safīna*, Cairo 1282, p. 162; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p. 100—108; and S. Zwemer, in *Moslem World*, 1922, p. 263—275. (L. MASSIGNON)

SHĀṬIBA (adjective *shāṭibī*), the Arab name of Játiva, the *Saetabis* of the Romans, a town in the East of Spain, in the province of Valencia, 35 miles to the South West of this last town, at an altitude of 500 feet. Játiva, which has at the present time about 12,000 inhabitants is built on a splendid site at the foot of Mount Bernisa on whose steep slopes the Muslim city was built. The latter was celebrated in the middle ages for its manufacture of paper which was sent not only throughout the whole of Spain but also as far as Egypt. This paper can still be recognized in old Arab manuscripts, on account of the water-marks bearing the name of its place of origin and in Morocco the name *Shāṭbī* "Játiva paper" is still given to a kind of coarse grained paper. There still remained at Játiva at the time of the Muslim occupation remains of the Roman occupation. Al-Maǧkārī quotes the verses of a poet called Abū 'Umar al-Buryānī about an ancient statue which was to be seen in his day in the town. On account of its strategic position of the first order, Játiva was one of the most important fortresses of the whole of Andalusia; from the height of its rock it dominated and guarded the whole of the very rich and fertile plain which stretched below it. There still exists at the present time remains of the wall and of the *ḥiṣn* of the Muslim Játiva of very great archaeological interest, in spite of alterations and unfortunate restorations to which it has been subjected since the "reconquista". Abu 'l-Fidā' has preserved the names of three pleasure resorts near Játiva: al-Baṭṭā', al-Ghadr and al-'Ain al-Kabīra.

Játiva is too near to Valencia not to have shared the latter's political history. In the Muslim period it was the second town in the district of Valencia, and its population was without doubt larger in those days than at the present time. Mention is hardly made of it during the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, and its history commences, when, with Valencia, it formed a part of the independent principality founded at the end of the xth century A. D. by the grandson of the celebrated *ḥādīb* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir, 'Abd al-'Aziz, after the reign of the two "Slavs" (see article *ŞAKĀLIBA*) Mubārak and Muẓaffar. When the king of Toledo, al-Ḳādir, with the help of the Christian sovereign of Castile, took possession of the kingdom of Valencia, Ibn Maḥkūr, who was at that time governor of Játiva, refused to come in person to Valencia to pay homage to his new master. An expedition was therefore decided upon against the town. But it miscarried; the Hūdīd prince al-Mundhir b. al-Muktadir who reigned over Lerida, Denia and Tortosa, came to the rescue of Ibn Maḥkūr and took possession of Játiva for some time. The town was also taken by the troops of the Almoravid Sultān Yūsuf b. Tāshfin at the time of the expedition, which was crowned by the victory of Zallāka; Játiva was finally conquered in 1239—1240 by the king of Aragon Jaime I and the last Muslims were driven out of the town at the end of the year 1247.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy et de Goeje, text, p. 192, transl., p. 233; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 168, 179; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Alger 1924, p. 98, 151; al-Maḥḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṯib* (*Analektes* . . .), ii. p. 501 and 767; Ibn al-'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii., ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal [in the press], index; R. Dozy, *Recherches*, ii. p. 120—121; Elias Tormo, *Levante*, Guías Calpe, Madrid 1923, p. 204—216 with a plan. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

AL-SHĀṬIBĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀSIM B. FARRUḤ B. KHALAF B. AḤMAD AL-RU'AINĪ, generally called Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shāṭibī, was born towards the end of the year 538 A. H. (1144 A. D.) in Xativa (Shāṭiba; q. v.). In his native town he studied under Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nafazī, known as Ibn al-Lāyuh (Leo) and according to Ibn Khallikān he was actually preacher in the mosque of his native town in spite of his youth. Later he removed to Valencia, where he studied under Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Hudhail and others enumerated by his biographers the reading of the *Qur'ān* and Tradition. On his way to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca he availed himself in Alexandria of the opportunity of hearing the teaching of Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī and upon his return from the pilgrimage in 572 (1175) he found a patron in the Ḳāḍī 'l-Fāḍil, who appointed him head-teacher in the Fāḍiliya Madrasa which he had founded. In 589 (1193) he visited Sultān Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) in Jerusalem after the conquest of the city from the Christians. He returned to his post in the Fāḍiliya Madrasa and taught there till the time of his death which occurred on Sunday the 28th of Djumadā II, 590 (June 19, 1194) at the age of 52 years. He was buried the following day in the smaller Ḳarīfa cemetery in the

part which the Ḳāḍī 'l-Fāḍil had given; and Ibn Khallikān tells us that he had visited the grave of al-Shāṭibī several times. He was a man of very humble and devout character and during his last illness, when he was suffering very much, he always replied in answer to enquiries that he was recovering. He was renowned for his extensive learning in the sciences concerned with the reading and interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and his reputation as an author rests upon his two didactic poems, or better rhymed prose, dealing with these matters: 1) A poem rhyming upon the letter *l* consisting of 1173 verses, which the author entitled *Ḥīrs al-Amānī wa-Waḍīḥ al-Tahmīn*, but which is generally known by the name of *al-Shāṭibiya* after its author. It is a versification of the work on the same subject by 'Uṯmān b. Sa'īd Abū 'Amr al-Dānī (born 371, died 441 A. H.) entitled *al-Taisir*. As Yāqūt in the *Irshād* says that the verses of al-Shāṭibī are awkward and difficult to understand, it is no wonder that they are not easy for us and that the poem has been the subject of numerous commentaries. The author after the introduction begins with the explanation of the correct way of reading the letters when unvocalised, when to read a word *maksūr* or *mamdūd*, how to pronounce the Hamza especially if two should occur in one word; then follow chapters on *Tanwin*, *Imāla* etc., till at last he comes to the chapters of the *Qur'ān* indicating the various readings of the seven "Readers". To understand the seemingly endless rhyming is only possible with a commentary, or by comparison with books in prose dealing with the same subject. The great popularity of the book is undoubtedly due to two reasons, first a student according to the old method could more easily learn the whole thing by heart, whether he understood it or not; but here the second reason for its popularity came in, as this gave the teacher ample scope for displaying his own learning in commenting on the obscure verses. The poem is found in many manuscripts in most libraries of Arabic literature and there exists also a printed edition (Cairo 1328 A. H.) which contains also the second poem of al-Shāṭibī. As regards the commentaries, these are very numerous, the best is said to be that by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Djā'barī who died in 732 (1332) and who finished his work in 691 A. H.; this commentary was amplified by Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Kawrānī who died 893 A. H. Another commentary is by a pupil of al-Shāṭibī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, who died in 643 A. H. This was the first commentary written upon the poem and has the title *al-Fath al-Waṣīd fī Sharḥ al-Ḳāṣid*; a third commentary is by Abū Shāma 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl who died 665 and called his commentary *Ibrās al-Ma'ānī min Ḥīrs al-Amānī*, of which manuscripts are in several libraries. To enumerate more commentaries would take quite a page, but the existence of such an abundant literature shows that the poem was after the taste of the following generations. 2) A poem rhyming upon the letter *r* in about 300 verses which has the title *Aḳīlat Atrāb al-Ḳaṣā'id fī Asnā al-Maḳā'id*, also on the reading of the *Qur'ān*, but this poem is more concerned with reading the holy writ elegantly than with the variants as was the case with the poem rhyming upon *l*. It is, like the other poem, not an original work, but a versification of a book on the same subject by al-Dānī (see above) which

has the title *al-Mukni*⁶. This poem is composed in the same obscure language as the *Hirs al-Amānī* and has found numerous commentators for the same reasons and the earliest commentators are the same as for the other poem, namely al-Dja'bari and al-Sakhāwī; the first called his commentary *Djamilat Arbāb al-Marāṣid*, while the second named his work: *al-Wasila ilā Kashf al-Aḥila*. Both these poems have in the eyes of the pious another merit i.e. that they are charms against all kinds of evil influences. 3) A poem of about 500 verses rhyming upon the letter *m*, which is a versification of the work *al-Tamhid* by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kurtubī on the law (*Fikḥ*) as found in the Traditions. This poem I have not seen, but according to Yāqūt it is also very obscure. Fragments of other religious poems of al-Shāṭibī are occasionally cited in anthologies, but all are of little literary value. — The name of al-Shāṭibī's father is explained as meaning in Spanish "iron" and we must read *Ferro*, because at that time the word was pronounced so and not *fierro* as in modern Spanish. There are rather many errors in all biographies of the author consulted as regards the proper names, but I hope I have been able to correct them.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margo-liouth, vi. 184; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, N^o. 1973; al-Ṣafādī, *Nukat al-Himyān*, Cairo 1329, p. 228; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, iv. 297; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i. 402; Ṭashkoprūzāda, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādāt*, Haiderābād 1329, i. 387; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, i. 284; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibādī*, ed. Fās, p. 215; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 407, 409.

(F. KRENKOW)

SHAṬRANDJ, the game of chess. The game of chess was known in Greek antiquity when Palamedos was said to have invented it. From there it spread through various countries. The Muslims say they got it from India, but the stories on this subject are legendary, and it is more probable that it came to them from ancient Persia.

In the middle ages there were several games in the East played with a board, notably *nard* (trick-track, backgammon) and chess (*shaṭrandj*); the pieces and the rules of the game have varied in course of time. The words *shaṭrandj* and *tricktrack* seem to be Indian (Sanskrit) in origin; as to the word chess itself, it has been derived from the Persian 'yā shāh,' 'O king', said when the king is threatened; but this etymology is not very satisfactory.

The legends relating to the origin of chess have a Pythagorean character. According to Mas'ūdī, learned kings of India invented the arts and discovered the principles of the sciences. The first was Brahman, the second Bāhhud under whom *nard* was invented, the third Dabshelim who is connected with the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimnah*, the fourth Balhit and it is in his reign that chess was invented; even at this time there was a treatise on the game entitled *Taraḥ djenkā* which has remained popular among the Hindus. The pieces were figures of men and animals and were thought to be representations of the signs of the zodiac. The game was not yet fixed in the time of Mas'ūdī (10th—11th century). He knows six main forms of the game: two squares with 64 or 100 squares, one oblong, two round, one attributed to the Byzantines and the other called zodiacal; the latter invented in the time of the author had twelve

pieces played with six on each side and representing the different organs of the human body. Even then there were treatises on chess and celebrated players.

Al-Bīrūnī became acquainted with the several forms of this game in India. That which he describes as the commonest is a regular game of chance and played with dice. It is the dice that settle the movements of the pieces and not the skill of the player. Thus 1 and 5 move the king or the pawn, 2 moves the *rukh*, 3 the knight whose move is already what it now is, the 6 and 4 move the elephant which goes in straight lines and which among the Arabs had already been replaced by the castle. The pieces had values which were counted up and the total decided the victory.

Firdawsī has written charming pages on chess and describes a game in poetical language. He puts the king in the centre with the vizier who plays the part of our queen; on either side of them are two elephants, next dromedaries, then knights and lastly two *rukh*. This *rukh* is an animal; it is the same as the fabulous bird mentioned in the *Arabian Nights* and it is from it we get the term 'rook.' Another variety, mentioned by the same poet, is still nearer our modern game; this board has 64 squares; in the middle is the king with his minister, on either side are elephants, horses and *rukh*s, in front are the foot-soldiers, our pawns.

The game of chess has an interest in arithmetic, in which it has given rise to a question of some importance that of the summation of the successive powers of 2. The story is well known in which an inventor asked a king as his reward, a grain of wheat on the first square, 2 on the second, 4 on the third and so on, doubling each time. The result is a number in 20 figures beyond possibility of fulfilment. This legend is given by al-Ṣafādī; al-Bīrūnī in trying to shorten the calculation was led to interesting observations.

Chess was a noble game in the middle ages both in east and west. During the Crusades it was played in both camps. Hārūn al-Rashīd sent a chessboard as a present to Charlemagne. The Old Man of the Mountains presented a very handsome one to St. Louis. 'Omar al-Khayyāmī has taken a beautiful image of fatalism from the game:

"Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days,
Where Destiny with Men for Pieces plays.
Hither and thither moves and mates and slays,
And one by one back in the Closet lays".

Bibliography: Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinum*, Bonn 1864; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. and transl. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861, i. 157—161, viii. 312; *Alberuni's India*, transl. E. Sachau, London 1910, i. 183—185; do. *Chronology*, transl. Sachau, London 1879, p. 134—135; Firdawsī, *Shāhnāme*, transl. J. Mohl, Paris 1876—1878, vi. 354—356, 311; Th. Hyde, *Historia Shahiudii*, Oxford 1689; E. Sachau, *Algebrisches über das Schach bei Bīrūnī*, Z. D. M. G., xxix. 1876, p. 148—156; Th. Ibels, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter*, Erlangen 1908, p. 74; *Le Magasin Pittoresque* ii. 1834, p. 15; Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris 1921, ii. p. 114 and 124—136; A. van der Linde, *Geschichte und Literatur des Schachspiels*; H. J. R. Murray, *History of Chess*, Oxford 1911, p. 169—365.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB. The word *shaṭṭ*, properly the bank of a stream, is used in Mesopotamia for a large river, as *baḥr* is in Egypt and *wād* in Morocco. Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab is the name given to the tidal estuary formed by the united streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris (v. AL-FURĀṬ and DIDJLA), known in the middle ages as the Blind Tigris (Didjla al-ʿAwṛā), the Faiḍ of Baṣra, and, in Persian, Bahmanshir. A modern name is the Baṣra River. It is generally reckoned as extending from Ḳurna to Abbadān [q. v.] or Fao. The confluence of the two streams took place at Ḳurna during five or six centuries until quite recently; but it now takes place some thirty miles farther down stream, at Garmat Ali, not much above Baṣra (so W. Willcocks in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1910, p. 11). In addition to the two great rivers, the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab receives also the waters of the Kārūn [q. v.]. River (Dudjail of al-Ahwāz) and its tributaries. The Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab is some 100 miles long and about 1,200 yards wide. It is navigable by vessels of 15 feet draught. The obstacle to navigation is the bar at the mouth (whence the epithet "blind"). Vessels which can cross it (drawing 17 to 20 feet) can reach Baṣra, 70 miles up. The lights and buoys on the coast are kept up by the British Government. The country on both sides of the estuary is practically level, Baṣra, where the tide rises and falls nine feet, being only five feet above sea-level. The land along the banks is higher than that at a distance, owing to the silt brought down by the current. In the middle ages the stream met the sea at Abbadān, but now some 20 miles further south at Fao, where there is a fixed light. The land is therefore encroaching on the sea at the rate of 20 miles in every 1,000 years. Plantations of date-palms line the banks of the stream for its whole length.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, Index; *Foreign Office Handbooks*, No. 63, *Mesopotamia*, 1920; F. R. Chesney, *Expedition to the Euphrates and Tigris*, 1850. (T. H. WEIR)

SHAṬṬĀRIYA, Ṣūfī order included in the list of 161 orders furnished to S. Anderson by the Imperial Board of Derwishes at Constantinople (*Moslem World*, 1922, p. 56). It is called *madhhab-i shuṭṭār* (or *shaṭṭār*) in the Persian work cited below; since a person named Shaṭṭār is not mentioned in the chief biographical dictionaries of saints, the former vocalization may be correct, as the plural of *shaṭīr*, according to Redhouse "a mystic who has broken with the world", though this sense is not recognized by Sami Paṣha. The order is mentioned by Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Āin-i Akbarī*, transl. Jarrett, iii. 422) as one which provided his father with instructors, though he does not deal with it in his list of orders (*ibid.* 349—360), and he suggests that its headquarters in India were at Jaunpur (*ibid.* 373). Allusions to it in Ṣūfī literature are rare.

Some notice of its doctrines is to be found in the *Irshādāt al-ʿĀrifin* of Shaikh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Gazur-i Ilāhī, contemporary of Awrangzeb (transl. Khaja Khān: advance sheets lent by Prof. Nicholson). The following are the chief passages: The sect of Shuttaris dispense with negation and adhere to affirmation. It is waste of time in Muraqaba (meditation) to attend to negation, for it is negating a nonentity. In the religion of

Shuttar there is no self-effacement. There is nothing in it except "I am I".

Tawhid is understanding one, saying one, seeing one, and being one. "I am one and no partner with me".

With the Shuttaris there is neither opposition to nafs, nor Mujahada; neither is there Fana nor Fanau 'l-Fana; for Fana requires two personalities; one that is to be annihilated, and the other one is the one in which this one is to be annihilated, which is opposed to Tawhid. The Shuttaris affirm Tawhid and observe the Dhat with its sifat in all stages and tajalliyat.

The Shuttaris do not complain, they eat whatever they get, keeping the real Gift-giver in view.

Consider your dhat, sifat and afal as the Dhat, sifat and afal of God and become one. This is the way of the Shuttaris and not of the other gnostics (*abrar* and *akhyar*), who adopt the practices and mujahidat, and say "consider your nafs in the way of fana, and God's in the way of baqa; your nafs in the way of Ubudiyyat (servantship) and His in the way of Rububiyyat (rulership)".

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii. 18 sq.; D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraoef van Singkel*, Dissert. Leiden 1909, register.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

SHĀWAR, ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ MUḌJĪR AL-DĪN B. MUḌJĪR AL-SAʿDĪ, a Fātimid statesman, vizier of the last caliph al-ʿĀḍid and in this capacity bore the honorific surname of Malik Maṣṣūr.

At first in the private service of the vizier Malik Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʿī, Shāwar obtained from his master the government of upper Egypt with Ḳūṣ as his residence. This office was then the highest in the administrative service and the fact that Shāwar is said to have asked for it shows his ambition. On his deathbed Ṭalāʿī is said to have expressly regretted that he had thus contributed to the rise of Shāwar as he feared he would cause trouble to his son Ruzzik who was going to succeed him. But, knowing the man, he had advised his son to exercise great caution and to deal carefully with this possible rival. The two adversaries then intrigued against one another, taking great care not to make a mistake. The first slip was made by the minister who recalled Shāwar from his governorship, shortly before Shawwāl 557 (Oct. 1162). Shāwar had been expecting this and in anticipation had collected numerous troops and put into a state of defence a territory which he had practically owned as if it were a fief. Without awaiting the arrival of his successor, he resolutely took the offensive but was defeated at Daldja in Middle Egypt and took the road of the oases, thinking to leave the enemy behind him. He thus succeeded in becoming forgotten until suddenly in Muḥarram 558 (Dec. 1162) he appeared in the Delta and by promises of booty rapidly recruited an army of ten thousand men. Ruzzik was unable to resist and fled from his capital. Shāwar installed in the vizierate in Ṣafar (Jan. 1163) had or allowed his rival to be put to death.

His first period of office was to be of short duration on account of the unpopularity of his three sons, Ṭaiy, Shudjāʿ and Sulaimān, whose avarice and excesses alienated even the officers of his immediate entourage from their father. Dirghām, an emir whom Shāwar himself had just raised to the office of grand chamberlain, put himself at the head of the malcontents, who were secretly supported by the Caliph. Shāwar did not attempt

to fight but fled to Syria in the course of the month of Ramaḍān (August).

He went to Damascus to the court of Nūr al-Dīn and was given an army by him to help him to return to power: Shāwar in his turn promised to hand over one third of the revenues of Egypt, to pay the expenses of maintaining the army. The troops sent by Nūr al-Dīn, who had entrusted the command to Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh marched on Cairo and inflicted a serious defeat near Tell Baṣṭa on the unreliable soldiers that Dirghām had been able to collect. On entering the capital in Djumādā II, 559 (May, 1164), Shāwar resumed the vizierate. Difficulties immediately broke out between Shīrkūh and Shāwar: some accuse the former of treachery while others accuse Shāwar of not fulfilling his engagements to Nūr al-Dīn. In any case after some skirmishes which jeopardised his authority, Shāwar appealed for help to Amaury, pointing out to the Franks the danger of allowing their enemy Nūr al-Dīn to establish himself in Egypt. The Franks, whom Shāwar had promised to indemnify, accepted the terms offered with pleasure in the hope of conquering Egypt for themselves. Shīrkūh, besieged in Bilbais, when his provisions were almost exhausted, accepted the terms offered him to return to Syria. The Franks on their side, impressed by Nūr al-Dīn's capture of Hārim were not long in leaving the country.

In 562 (1167) Egypt was again invaded by Shīrkūh, who defeated Shāwar, again allied with the Franks at Bābain in Middle Egypt near Ashmūnain (Djumādā II 25, 562 = April 18, 1167). This defeat did not lead to a definite decision and Shāwar was able to rally his troops and besiege Shīrkūh in Alexandria. On capturing this town he succeeded in getting Shīrkūh to leave the country once more. But the treaty with the Franks was onerous for the Fāṭimids, who besides paying an annual tribute, had to allow certain points in Cairo to be occupied by troops and to have a kind of High Commissioner (*shihna*) quartered there.

In 564 (1168) Shīrkūh was sent into Egypt for the third time by Nūr al-Dīn with the avowed object of driving out the Franks, whose demands had provoked a rupture with Shāwar. Besieged by them in the two towns of Cairo and Fuṣṭāt, Shāwar set fire to this area which he could no longer defend. He got out of his difficulty once more by negotiation and purchased the departure of the Franks. But his own position was becoming precarious, the policy of balancing between the Franks and Syrians being no longer possible; besides, the Caliph al-Āḍid had in the meanwhile made a personal appeal to Nūr al-Dīn. Shīrkūh began by calling upon Shāwar to fulfil the terms of the treaty concluded between them and, in view of his shuffling, his death was decided upon by Shīrkūh's entourage notably by his nephew Saladin. Shāwar was drawn into an ambush near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfiʿi and assassinated by Saladin and the officers of his suite on Rabiʿ II 17, 564 (Jan. 18, 1169).

He was, strictly speaking, the last statesman of the Fāṭimid dynasty, the decline of which was signalled by the rise of Shīrkūh. Shāwar, although praised by the poet ʿUmāra of Yemen, has left the reputation of being crafty and cruel; a Christian writer sums him up as very able, experienced in wars, tricks, plots and stratagems.

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AL-SHAWBAK, a fortress of the Crusaders east of the Araba in the mountains of al-Sharā. It was built in 509 (1115) by Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 18 days in Syria Sobal and was called *Mons Regalis* (Montréal, also le Crac de Montréal to distinguish it from Crac des Moabites, i. e. Kerak [q. v.] and Crac des Chevaliers, i. e. Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [q. v.]) by the Franks. The site of the fortress was, as William of Tyre (xi. 26; Migne, Patrol. Lat., cci., col. 514 sqq.) points out, very suitable for the building of an impregnable fortress. It is therefore not improbable that, as Yāqūt (iii. 332) indicates, there had already been a settlement here in ancient times (according to R. Hartmann, Z.D.P.V., 1913, 188, sub A 28 the ancient *Θαυμα*). The fortress commanded the desert road from Damascus to the Hidjāz and Egypt; its possession was therefore of extraordinary importance for both Arabs and Crusaders. The town and the gardens west of it were supplied with water from two springs; its apricots were famous and were exported to Egypt (Abu 'l-Fida', p. 247) and its groves of sugar-cane were also noted (de Mas Latrie, Arch. Venet., xxv. 479).

Romanus de Podio (Romain du Puy) is the first *dominus regionis illius quae est trans jordanem* mentioned. He lost his fief in 1132, which consisted of the land of Moab and al-Shawbak, and instead the former royal cup-bearer received *Paganus* (Payen), which is already called *Paganus Montis Regalis* in a document of 1126 (Röhrich, Regesta regni Hierosolym., p. 28, N^o 115), the *terra trans Jordanem*. In 1142 he built the fortress of al-Karak which henceforth was the capital of this feudal state. He was succeeded by his nephew Mauricius (to whom we have references in 1152 and 1153); then came Philippe de Milly who received those lands in exchange for Nābulus (1161) but when he later became Grand Master of the Templars (1169) gave them up in favour of his daughter Stephanie. After losing her two first husbands, Humphrey of Toron and Milo de Plancy, while still young (1174), the latter married the valiant Raynald de Chatillon, who by his vigorous character seemed particularly fitted to defend from the south the kingdom of Jerusalem, then seriously threatened by the attacks of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. But his challenging and faithless attitude to the Muslims irritated the Sulṭān and brought about the downfall of the kingdom. How anxious Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was to gain the two fortresses of al-Karak and al-Shawbak is evident from his frequent campaigns against them (in

1171, 1172/1173, 1182, 1183 and 1184) on which however he had to be content with laying waste the country round them, as he was not able to take them. Indeed Raynald even had the boldness to take a fleet and make an advance on Mecca and Medina. Even the eastern frontier of Egypt was threatened by his raids and to defend it Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn fortified Kulzum, al-Suwais (Suez) and the citadel of Ṣadr (Qal'at Kindī) in the Sinai desert (Barthoux and Wiet in *Syria*, 1922, iii. 44—65, 145—152). It was only after Raynald had been taken prisoner in the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (1189) and executed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that al-Shawbak surrendered to the Arabs. The Franks, however, did not thereupon abandon their claims to Montréal so that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn only liberated Humphrey IV of Toron, the captured son of Stephanie de Milly, after the conquest of the fortress. In 1190 the latter calls himself *Henfridus Montis Regalis* (Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 186, No. 696): after his death (1198) his sister Isabella of Toron and then her daughter Alice of Armenia inherited these claims. After the treaty of Frederick II with Egypt (1229) these lands came in part back to the Franks; but al-Shawbak is not mentioned in this connection. Afterwards the claim to Montréal passed to Alice's younger daughter Maria of Armenia, then to her son Rupin and finally to his daughter Maria of Antioch.

Actually the fortress seems to have been lost for ever to the Franks in 1189; the majority of the inhabitants like those of al-Karak, remained Christians however (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*). Among the Emīrs, who besieged 'Akkā along with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1189 is mentioned a certain Hazadinnerseel ('Izz al-Dīn Arslān?) of al-Karak and al-Shawbak (Radulfus de Diceto, ii. 81). After Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death in 1193, his brother Malik al-'Adil became lord of these two fortresses, which had previously been granted to him as a fief. Shortly before his death in 615 (1218) he transferred them to his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā.

In the peace negotiations of Dimyāt (1219), the question of the ownership of the two fortresses played a decisive part (Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerus.*, p. 738, 4, 754). Towards the end of his reign (about 1226), al-Mu'azzam seems to have ordered the fortresses of Ṣāfād, Tibnīn and al-Shawbak to be razed to the ground (Ibn Furāt in Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 768). But he extended and fortified the town according to 'Umari (*Masālik al-Aḥsār* in Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 133) to such an extent that it is said to have rivalled Damascus. His son al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd received in exchange for Damascus, which he had to cede to his uncle, Sulṭān Malik al-Nāṣir, the rule over al-Karak, al-Shawbak, al-Balḡā, al-Ṣalt and the Ghawr territory. The last Aiyūbid ruler of al-Karak, al-Mughith 'Umar, who fell into the hands of the Mamlūk Baibars through treachery in 1263, had previously lost al-Shawbak to him, for we have an inscription of Baibars in a building dated as early as 646 (1248). His successor Qalā'ūn took the town in 1279 (Maḡrīzī, *Hist. des Sult. Maml.*, transl. Quatremère, ii. 7 sq.). In 697 (1297/1298) Lādīn had the fortress restored, according to several inscriptions under the supervision of the prince 'Alā al-Dīn Qibris (?) al-Manṣūri. In the Mamlūk period al-Shawbak formed an office ('amal) of the province (mamlaka) of al-Karak; the names of the governors of al-Karak

and al-Shawbak are known from inscriptions of Dja'far at Mūta of the years 727 (1327) and 752 (1351) (de Luynes, *Voyage*, p. 206, No. 23 sq.; Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, i. 105). About 1340 'Umari says of al-Shawbak: "its citadel is now emptied of men, its gate is closed" (R. Hartmann, in *Isl.*, ii. 138). In the country round at this time the Banī 'Uḡba, who now dwell around al-Karak, lived in tents (*op. cit.*, p. 137).

The present al-Shōbek (Musil also writes al-Shōbač) whose greyish walls still surround gardens and terraces which were formerly covered with vines, is a miserable village. In the castle are ruins of baths and other buildings, also (according to Socin-Baedeker) an underground passage, which leads by 375 steps down to a well. The threefold line of defences of the Crusaders' castle mentioned by William of Tyre and Thietmar no longer exist; the existing remains rather date exclusively from the time of Baibars and Lādīn, to whom belong the foundation inscription running along the outside of the enclosing wall.

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Inscriptions: Sauvaire in Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'explor.*, ii. 209—213; Brünnow and Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, i. 118 sq.

(E. HONIGMANN)

AL-SHĀWĪ (nisba from Shāwiya; q. v.), ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD, one of the most popular saints (sayyid) of Fās, died there on Muḥarram 26, 1014 = June 13, 1605 and was buried in the Zāwiya which still bears his name, in the al-Siyādī (el-Siāī) quarter. Many notices of him are given by the Moroccan hagiographers, and a collection of his *manāḡib* was made by the famous Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām al-Qādiri (1058—1110/1648—1698), entitled *Mu'tamad al-rāwī fī manāḡib waliy Alāḡ sayyidī Aḡmad al-Shāwī*.

Bibliography: al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man in-taṣṣar*, lith. Fas, p. 36; al-Qādiri, *Nashr al-Maṭḥānī*, lith. Fas, 1310 A. H., i, p. 96; al-Kattānī, *Ṣafwat al-Anfās*, lith. Fas, 1316 A. H., i, p. 274; Gaillard, *Une ville de l'Islam: Fès*, Paris 1905, p. 128; René Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques* . . . , p. 27, No. 71; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 278. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHĀWIYA (plur. of *shāwī*, "sheep-breeder") a name, originally applied in contempt, which has become the general designation of several groups in the Maghrib, of which the most important are in Morocco, the Shāwiya of Tāmasnā

and in Algeria, the *Shāwiya* of the *Awṛās*. E. Doutté (*Marrākech*, p. 4—5) mentions several other groups of less importance. An endeavour has also been made to connect Choa, the name of a district in Abyssinia, with *Shāwiya*.

Wherever it is found, the term is applied to Berbers of the *Zanāta* and *Hawwāra*, more or less arabicised, mixed with purely Arab elements; almost always, moreover, these ethnic groups seem to have schismatic tendencies.

[The massif of the *Awṛās*, occupied by the *Shāwiya* of the department of Constantine, was in the viiith century the centre of resistance of the *Abādī* [q.v.] *Khāridjis* as the *Mzāb* still is at the present day. Now among the *Shāwiya* of Morocco, the successors to the heretical *Baragh-wāta* [q.v.] we find a tribe of *Mzāb* and the memory of "judaising" ancestors. On the other hand, Ibn *Khaldūn* tells us that at the beginning of the *Marinid* dynasty in eastern Morocco, a group of *Shāwiya* lived in contact with the *Zakkāra*, whose heterodox practices have been studied by A. Moulières].

According to Ibn *Khaldūn* (*Hist. des Berb.*, i. 176—182, transl. i. 271—282) the original home of the *Hawwāra* (vulgo *Huwwāra* [q.v.]) was the province of Tripoli and the adjacent part of the territory of *Barqa*; conquered and oppressed by the Arabs, they had scattered through the whole of the *Maghrib* where, crushed by taxation and having lost that pride and independence which once characterised them, they devoted themselves to sheep-breeding, whence the name ultimately given them. As to the *Zanāta*, they were nomadic Berbers, like the Arabs, living in tents on the produce of their flocks and spending the summer in the Tell and the winter in the desert (Ibn *Khaldūn*, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii. 1; transl. iii. 179—180).

The name of *Shāwiya* seems to be first found in Ibn *Khaldūn* (*Prologomènes*, i. 226, 16, transl. i. 256; *Hist. des Berb.*, i. 179, 10; transl. i. 278; ii. 245, 3, transl. iv. 31; the *Shāwiya* mentioned in this last passage do not seem to correspond to those of *Tāmasnā* but to some people of Eastern Morocco, neighbours of the tribes of *Hawwāra* and *Zakkāra*).

Next, Leo Africanus (i. 83—84) who calls them *Soava* tells us that they are African (i. e. Berber) tribes who have adopted the Arab way of living. The majority live at the foot of the Atlas or in the mountain range itself, living by cattle- and sheep-breeding. Wherever they dwell they are always subject to the local dynast or to Arabs. This author already knows two main groups: one in Morocco, in *Tāmasnā*, the other on the borders of the kingdom of Tunis and the "land of Dates" (*biṭāḍ al-djārid*).

It will be readily understood that in the Arab world, the term "sheep-breeders" would have a contemptuous significance. As M. W. Marçais observes "in ancient Arabia a certain disgrace seems to have been attached to the breeding of the smaller domestic stock. North African opinion has retained a prejudice against the rearers of sheep. The great camel-rearing nomads have nothing but contempt for them. In the middle ages the feeling may have been strengthened by racial antagonism, real or imaginary. But in general at this period, to abandon the camel and adopt the sheep was an avowal of a terrible downfall for a tribe. It

meant renouncing the long free travels, the secure refuge of the desert, and independence, to submit to local rulers, endure their blows and tolerate their fiscal exactions".

2. *Shāwiya* of *Tāmasnā*. They occupy in the N. E. the lower course of the Umm al-Rbīf, vast fertile plains which extend to the latitude of the little harbour of Feḍāla. They are descended, according to Leo Africanus (ii. 9) from the *Zanāta*, and *Hawwāra* whom the *Marinid* sovereigns settled there and who mixed with the remnants of the *Baragh-wāta* [q.v.], the ancient heretical inhabitants of the region, as well as with the Arabs brought from Ifrikiya by the *Almohad* Sultān Ya'kūb al-Manṣūr. These *Shāwiya* now speak Arabic; the modern tribes which seem to be of Berber origin are the *Znāta*, *Medyūna*, *Mzāb*, *Mellila*, *Zyāida*, and the *Ulād Bu-Ziri*.

3. *Shāwiya* of the *Awṛās*. They occupy this mountain mass, in the south of the department of Constantine, between *Batna* and *Biskra*. Ibn *Khaldūn* (*Hist. des Berb.*, ii. 1; transl. iii. 179—180) already mentions sections of the *Zanāta* settled in the *Awṛās* alongside of *Hilālī* Arabs who had conquered them. It is no doubt to their living in a mountainous country that these *Shāwiya* have preserved a Berber dialect to the present day.

Bibliography: 1. *Shāwiya* in general: Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, i. 83; Ibn *Khaldūn*, *Prologomènes*, i. 222, transl. i. 256—257; E. Carotte, *Recherches sur l'origine et les migrations des principales tribus de l'Afrique septentrionale et particulièrement de l'Algérie*, in *Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie, Sciences Historiques et Géographiques*, Paris 1853, iii. 147—152, 190; W. Marçais and Abderrahmān Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, p. 257, n. 37, p. 258, n. 39.

2. *Shāwiya* of *Tāmasnā*: Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, i. 9; Marmol, *l'Afrique*, transl. de Perrot of Ablancourt, Paris 1677, ii. Bk. 4, Chap. i.—xii.; Ahmad al-Nāṣiri, *Kitāb al-Istikṣā*, iii. 135—136; G. Kampffmeyer, *Šāwia in Marokko*, in *M. S. O. S. As.*, vi., Berlin 1903; E. Doutté, *Marrākech*, p. 2 sqq.; *Villes et tribus du Maroc: Casablanca et les Chāouia*, particularly i. 109—116 and 131—136.

3. *Shāwiya* of the *Awṛās*: Ibn *Khaldūn*, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii. 1, transl. iii. 179—180; E. Masqueray, *Le Djebel Chechar*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1878, xxii. 259—281; De Lartigues, *Monographie de l'Aurès*, Constantine 1904, esp. p. 123—125 and the bibliography given on p. p. 477—480. On their Berber dialect, cf. G. Mercier, *Le Chaouia de l'Aurès*, Paris 1896. See also the *Bibliography* to the article *AWRĀS*.

(GEORGES S. COLIN)

SHAWWĀL, name of the tenth month of the lunar year. In the *Qur'an* (*Sūra* ix. 2) four months are mentioned during which, in the year 9 A.H., the Arabs could move in their country without exposing themselves to attacks (cf. "the sacred months" in verse 5). These four months were, according to the commentaries, *Shawwāl*, *Dhu 'l-Ka'da*, *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* and *Muharram*. In *Hadīth* *Shawwāl* is therefore among "the months of pilgrimage mentioned in Allāh's Book" (al-Bukhārī, *Hadīdī*, bāb 33, 37).

In pre-islamic times *Shawwāl* was considered ill-omened for the conclusion of marriages (*Lisān*

al-ʿArab, s. v.). In order to prove this opinion baseless, ʿĀʾiṣḥa emphasised the fact that Muḥammad had married her in this month (Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 10). In the modern Muslim world there is difference of opinion concerning this point. Among the Muslim Tigré tribes Shawwāl is one of the months suitable for celebrating marriages; in ʿUmān, on the other hand, it is considered ill-omened in this respect.

The law recommends fasting during six days following the ʿid al-fiṭr ([q. v.]; cf. Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 52: Whosoever fasts the month of Ramaḍān as well as six days of Shawwāl, has reached the *ṣawm al-dahr*; cf. also Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 203). Nevertheless these days usually partake of the solemn character of the "lesser festival". For the same reason Shawwāl bears not only the epithet of *al-mukarram* ("the venerated"), but also such names as *faṭer ḡadām* (Tigré), *bairam* (Turkey), *fatrī ʿawli* (ʿUmān), *urōē raya* (Acheh).

Bibliography: Littmann, *Die Ehrentnamen und Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate* in *Isl.*, viii. 228 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 97; do., *The Achehnese*, i. 237 sqq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SHAʿYĀ, Isaiah, son of Amos, a prophet sent to the Israelites in the reign of Sadiḳa (Sedecias, by confusion with Hezekiah), took part in the siege of Jerusalem under Sennacherib, announced to the king that his death had been postponed for fifteen years; the besiegers all perished except their king and five of his secretaries who took refuge in a cave. For 66 days the king of Judah made the prisoners walk round Jerusalem, giving them two loaves of barley each day as their food. According to Muḥammad b. Ishāk, Isaiah fleeing from the Israelites who had turned against him on account of his prophecies, came in the course of his flight to a tree which bent down and he took refuge in it. Satan having caught the hem of his garment which remained visible, betrayed him by this means and the Israelites sawed the tree through the middle. Tabarī gives as his authority Wahb b. Munabbih, an echo of the Talmud (*Jewish Encyclop.*, vi. 636) which places the event in the reign of Manasseh. The book of Isaiah is quoted by Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳḍisī, *Livre de la Création*, ed. and transl. Huart, i. 188; ii. 172.

Bibliography: Tabarī, *Annales*, i. 638–645; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, i. 178–180; Mirkhond, *Rawḍat al-Safā*, Bombay 1271, i. 121 *ad imum*; cf. ii., *Rois*, xix.—xx.; ii., *Chroniques*, xxxii.; *Kurʿān*, xvii. 4; al-Baidāwī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Fleischer, i. 533. (CL. HUART)

SHEB-I BARĀT. [See SHAʿBĀN.]

SHEBEK. [See SHABAK.]

SHEBISTARĪ, SAʿD AL-DIN MAḤMUD B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. YAḤYĀ, author of the Persian mystical *mathnawī* entitled *Gulshan-i Rāz*, was born circa 650 at Shabistar (Čabistar), a village near Tabriz, and died in 720. He composed the *Gulshan-i Rāz* in 717 in answer to fifteen questions which had been sent to him by an eminent Ṣūfī of Khurāsān, whom Djāmī (*Nafahāt*, p. 705) identifies with the celebrated Mir Fakhr al-Sādāt Ḥusainī of Ghūr. These questions, written in rhymed verse, form part of the *mathnawī*, each one standing at the head of a separate section. The popularity of the poem is attested by the large number of commentaries upon it (Ethé, *India Office Lib. Cat.*, 996,

Nº. 1816). Within the compass of little more than a thousand verses Shabistari explains concisely and in simple language the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wuḍūd*, the descent and ascent of the "perfect man" (see *Insān al-Kāmil* and H. H. Schaefer, *Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen*, Z. D. M. G., 1925, p. 253, sqq.), and other leading ideas of the later Persian mystical poetry — which was deeply influenced by Ibn al-ʿArabī — as well as the terms used in the erotic symbolism "whereby the Ṣūfis express their conceptions of God and the universe and their ecstatic experiences". The author refers to his want of practice in versification, but though some traces of this are apparent, he shows himself to be a true poet. Besides the *Gulshan-i Rāz* he has left three prose treatises on Ṣūfism, namely: (1) *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn fī Maʿrifat-i Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*; (2) *Saʿādat-nāma*; (3) *Risāla-i Shāhid*.

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(R. A. NICHOLSON)

SHEFİK MEHMED EFENDI, called Muşarrif-zāde, Ottoman imperial historian and stylist. Not much is known of his life. He was born in Stambul, received an appointment as clerk in the Diwān (*diwān kīātibi*), later became one of the *khodjāgān* i.e. head of one of the 28 chancelleries (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 431), was next appointed chief of the smaller audit office (*muḥasebe-i küçük*) of the pious foundations (*ewkāf*), and ultimately was appointed imperial historian (*waḳʿa nūwīs*). He seems to have died not long after his appointment to the office, the date of his death is given as 1127 (1715/1716). Mehmed Shefik Efendi is not prominent on the roll of official imperial historians as the work of the *waḳʿa nūwīs* Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā (q. v.) who died in the Morea in 1128 (1716) was immediately continued by Mehmed Rāshid, the former dealing with the years 1000–1070 and the latter with 1071–1134. Mehmed Shefik Efendi only described — by command of Sulṭān Aḥmad III — the important events of the year 1115 (1703), that is practically the fall of Muṣṭafā II and accession of Aḥmad III, under the title *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAbdallāh* (by which he meant himself). There is a good manuscript of this short work (c. 75 folios) in the Vienna National Library; cf. G. Flügel's *Katalog*, ii. 278 sq. Mehmed Shefik also describes the same revolution in a work entitled *Shefik-nāme*, which has become famous on account of its involved allegorical style; the difference between the two works is that, as it was not advisable in the former work to discuss quite openly the secret workings of the rising and its course, in the latter he used a secret, allegorical style and at the same time gave his political and historical creed (cf. Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii. 279; according to J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 207, Nº. 92). The *Shefik-nāme* has been several times printed [Stambul 1282 (1865), small 80, p. 112; Stambul 1289 (1874), p. 154,

small 8^o, with a commentary (*Shefiknâme sherhi*) by Djelâl ed-Dîn Mahmûd Pasha *Rawdat al-kâmilîn* under this title also published separately 1289, p. 312, 8^o, Stambul] and several times annotated; beside the above commentary mention may be made of that by 'Abdallâh Mehmed b. Aḥmad (original MSS. in the Veni Djâmi' Library in Stambul, cf. Brusali Mehmed Tâhir, '*Oṯmânî Mü'ellifleri*', ii, 426, Hâdjîdî Khalîfa, *Kashf al-Zunûn*, vi. 600, N^o. 14822). A French translation planned by Arthur Alric does not seem to have been printed.

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

SHEHR. [See SHAHR.]

SHEHR-I SEBZ. [See KASH.]

SHEHRIZÜR (*Shahrâzûr*, in the *Sheref-nâme: Shahrâ-zûl*), a district in Kurdistân. *Shehrizûr*, strictly speaking, is a beautiful and fertile plain (36 × 25 miles) situated to the west of the chain of *Awramân* (cf. *SENNE*). To the south-east it adjoins the Persian district of *Awramân-i luhûn*. On the south the river *Sirwân* is the boundary of the district; on the south-west *Shehrizûr* extends as far as the pass of *Darband-i Khân* by which the *Sirwân* (*Diyâla*) makes its way to the south. On the west *Shehrizûr* is bounded by *Arbet* which belongs to *Sulaimâniya*. To the north a buttress of the *Awramân* (*Kurra-Kazâw*) separates it from the district of *Kara-ṭwolân* (*Shahr-i bâzâr*).

The plain is watered by the tributaries of the *Tâdjirê* (*Tâdjirêd*) which coming from *Sulaimâniya* flows into the *Sirwân*; the chief of these tributaries is the river *Zalm*, which in its turn receives the *Çowtân* from the North.

The mountains *Nadôr* and *Balambô* rising on the right bank of the *Sirwân* separate the plain from the right bank of this river (the district of *Shak-maidân*). The district of *Shamirân* situated on the left bank in the bend of the *Sirwân* is also considered a dependency of *Shehrizûr*.

The old centre situated where the river *Zalm* enters the plain, is *Gul-anbar*, whose real name seems to be *Ghulâm* (*Khulâm*)-bar, to which the Kurd name *Khurmâl* corresponds phonetically. The present chief town is *Alabça* (*Alafça Halabça*), a township of 500 houses, 25 being Jewish and there are a few Christian families.

The plain belongs to the *Djâf* Kurds. In the time of Rich (i. 107) there were *Afghân* colonies in the province of *Shehrizûr*; these were the remains of the troops of *Âzâd-khân*, who during his struggle against *Karim Khân Zand* [q. v.] besieged *Senne* (in 1168).

To the south-east of *Shehrizûr*, in the two parallel gorges formed by the spurs of the *Awramân* amongst vineyards and woods are situated the villages of *Beyâra* and *Tawêla* belonging to *Naksh-bandî Shaikhs*. Numbers of pilgrims come there from all parts, even from Russia and India. At *Tawêla* there is a beautiful mosque built by *Shaikh 'Omar*, who is himself buried at *Beyâra*. The two villages form enclaves in *Awramân-i luhûn* and the *Awramî* dialect is spoken in the north. It is said to extend even as far as *Pandjwin*.

The district of *Shehrizûr* is closely associated

with the beliefs of the *Ahl-i Haqq* (v. 'ALI-ILÂHÎ); the initiates of the sect await the last judgment which is to take place in the plain of *Shehrizûr*; "in the threshingfloor of *Shehrizûr* (*Shahrâzûlûn kharmanında*) all the faithful will receive their due".

In the wide sense of the word, *Shehrizûr* served to denote the eyâlet of *Kerkûk* whence, as one can see, there resulted a considerable amount of confusion in geographical terms.

History. For the epoch of the Assyrians, *Billerbeck* places at *Shehrizûr* the centre of the *Zamua* country, inhabited at the time of *Aššur-nâsirpal* by the *Lullu* people. *Streck* seems to agree with this localisation of *Zamua* (*Z. A.*, xv. 1900 p. 284). The Arabs (*Ibn Muhalhil*) associated with *Shehrizûr* (more precisely *Duzdân*) the biblical legends concerning *Saul* (*Tâlût*) and *David*, which suggests the presence in these districts of strong Jewish colonies.

The numerous tumuli in the plain of *Shehrizûr* confirm the testimony — of *Theophanes* as well as of *Mus'ir b. Muhalhil* — regarding the number of settlements in this region. The most important town bore the name of *Nim-az-râi* (*Nimrâh*) i.e. "half-way" between *Ctesiphon* and the great fire-altar of *Shiz* [q. v.] (*Takht-i Sulaimân* in *Adharbâidjân*). *Čirikov* and *Herzfeld* (on his map) identify *Nimrâh* with *Gul-anbar*, and this corresponds with the indication of *Mis'ar* (in *Yâkût*) regarding the proximity of the town to the mountains of *Sharân* and *Zalm*. The most persistent tradition (*Ibn al-Faḳîh*, p. 199, *Mustawfi*, p. 107) attributes its construction to the *Sāsānid* *Kawādḥ*, the son of *Pērōz* (488—531). The ruins of a *Sāsānid* bridge on the *Sirwân* protected by the fort of *Shamirân* (*Čirikov*, 438) indicate the line of communications of *Nim-râh* with *Qasr-i Shirin*. At this latter point the route coming from *Ctesiphon* forked to run towards *Hamadân* and towards *Shehrizûr* (*Ibn Rusta*, p. 164, *Edrisi*, ed. *Jaubert*, p. 156). On the other hand, according to *Rawlinson* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1868, p. 296—300), the monument of *Pâi-küll* on the right bank of the *Sirwân* not far from the ford of *Bânkḥelân* marked a station on the road from *Nim-râh*, which the great explorer thought was to be found at *Yâsin-tapa* to the North-West of the plain of *Shehrizûr*. As the monument dates back to the epoch of the first *Sāsānids*, the road, before the construction of *Nim-râh*, might well have followed another direction in the plain. According to *Ibn Khurdādhbih* (p. 120) the *Sāsānids*, after their accession to the throne, made a pilgrimage on foot to *Shiz*. The monument of *Pâi-küll* may mark the road. *Herzfeld* promises to publish separately the geographical part of his new explorations in this district. Finally, the Kurds told *Rich* (i. 269) that "the ancient town of *Shehrizûr*" was at *Kizḳal'a* to the south-east of *Arbet* (cf. *Haussknecht's* map).

Shehrizûr, forming part of the diocese of *Bêth Garmai* (*Bâ-Djarmak*) is often mentioned in the history of the Nestorian Church. The *Synodicon Orientale* (ed. *Chabot*, 1902, p. 266) gives the names of its bishops between 554 and 605.

During his third Persian campaign the Emperor *Heraclius* spent the month of February in 628 in *Shehrizûr* "laying waste the district and towns by fire" (*Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 325: *σις τὴν Σιζαίον; Chronicon Paschale*, ed. *Dindorf*, i. 730: *ἡμερὶς τοῦ Σιζαρόπου* — the two graphs indicate the pronunciation -sûr and not -sôr).

The Arabs had reached Shehrizür even in Sāsānian times (Ibn al-Fākih, p. 130). The remote situation of Shehrizür frequently attracted rebels and schismatics to it (Khāridjis, Khurrami). The district is often mentioned along with Dāmāghān and Dārābād (Kurdāma, p. 232) the exact sites of which are unknown. In the time of Ibn Muḥallil (330/942) there were in Shehrizür 60,000(?) tents of Kurds: Djalālī (Rich, i. 280, Ghellālī?), Bāsīān, Ḥakamī, and Sūlī (Shūlī?).

The same author (in Yākūt) counts Shiz (perhaps a misreading cf. Hoffmann, p. 251) among the towns of Shehrizür and mentions a little town Duzdān(?) between Nim-rāh and Shiz. The other names of places in the region of Shehrizür were Tīrānshāh (Ibn al-Aṭhīr), Kīnā(?) and Dailamastān (Yākūt). Between 400 and 434, scions of the Kurd dynasty of the Ḥasanwaihids ruled at Shehrizür. In the viith (xiith) century the Turkomans and the Zangid Atābegs held the district. In the time of Yākūt, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökböri, Atābeg of Arbīl had settled himself there. In 623 (1226) an earthquake ruined the district. According to al-ʿUmārī (d. 749 = 1348) Shehrizür "before its depopulation" was inhabited by Kūsa Kurds (Rich, i. 281 notes a few remnants of them in this region; cf. also place-names like Kosa-madina, Māmenū-Kosa). After the capture of Baghdad by Hūlāgu these Kurds migrated to Egypt and Syria and their place was taken by the Ḥwsna(?) who "are not true Kurds". The reference is perhaps to the mountaineers of Awrāmān, who still occupy the western slope of the mountains. On the other hand, a Kūsa whom A. von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the *zaza* dialect [q. v.] which is not a proper Kurd one.

Timūr crossed Shehrizür in 803 (1411) on his way from Baghdad to Tabriz (*Zafar-nāme*, ii. 370; *az rūh-i Shahrizūr wa-Kālāghī*?).

Shehrizür played an important part in the Turco-Persian wars. According to the *Sharaf-nāme*, the Ardilān family (cf. SENNA) had been at first settled in Shehrizür. The local history of Senna even claims that the fort of Zalm was built by Bābā Ardilān in 564 (1158). Sulṭān Sulaimān about 944 (1537) sent the governor of ʿAmādiya to conquer Shehrizür but although a fortress was built at Gul-ʿanbar, the Ardilān re-established their authority in the region (*Sharaf-nāme*, 84). Shāh ʿAbbās dismantled this fortress but it was restored during the Persian campaign of Khusrēw-pāsha [q. v.] in 1630. The treaty of 1049 (1639) allotted to Turkey the western slope of the Awrāmān with the fort of Zalm. Changes, however, must have taken place slowly, for Tavernier on his journey in 1644, seems to place the Turco-Persian frontier much further west. The representative of Sulaimān-Khān, Wālī of Ardilān, maintained a garrison in a "large town", the situation of which corresponds to that of Gul-ʿanbar. We may note here that Tavernier seems to mention the town of Altun-köprü(?) under the name "Shehrazul".

The Ardilān being finally removed from Shehrizür, the district was governed by local hereditary chiefs who received their investiture from Constantinople. At the beginning of the xviiith century the governor of the ʿIrāk, Ḥasan-Pāshā, was allowed by the Porte to have southern Kurdistan placed under his control. The eyālet of Shehrizür was then formed containing the sandjaks of Kerkük, Arbīl, Kōi-sandjak, Kara-ḥolān (Shāra-bāzer),

Rawānduz and Harīr, the mutesellims of which were appointed from Baghdad (Khurshīd Efendi, p. 199—262). But soon the Bābān chiefs (cf. SULAIMĀNIYA) attained to power and Shehrizür was placed under them. After the administrative reforms of 1867 and the creation of the wilāyet of Mawṣil the name of Shehrizür was given to the sandjak of Kerkük (the qaḍā were: Kerkük, Arbīl, Rāniya, Rawānduz, Kōi and Ṣalāhiya) but to complete the confusion the plain of Shehrizür proper was included in the sandjak of Sulaimāniya (v. Cuinet, *La Turquie en Asie*, ii. 764).

From the xviith century a branch of the tribe of Djāf (cf. SENNA) had been established on Turkish territory. The plain of Shehrizür, as well as many villages in Kifri, Pandjwīn, etc., belonged before the world war to the powerful Djāf chiefs, Oṭhmān Pāshā and Maḥmūd Pāshā. This family exercised administrative functions of which the Porte gradually tried to deprive them. For a considerable time the effective administration of Shehrizür was in the hands of the widow of Oṭhmān Pāshā, the energetic ʿAdila-Khānum, a native of Senne. Soane has given an interesting description of her little court at Alabāta.

Archaeology. Among the half score of tumuli on the plain of Shehrizür (Haussknecht's map) the most important are: Bakrāwa (Čirikov: 120 feet high, diameter 450 feet, remains of walls, ditch 60 feet broad) and Yāsintapa (F. Jones: square in shape 90 feet high, surface sloping from N. to S. 320 feet). Important ruins exist at Gul-ʿanbar (Čirikov: walls of trimmed stone, towers and an ancient aqueduct). In the ravine of the river Zalm above Gul-ʿanbar lies the fort of Zalm. Kazwīnī (*Aṭhār al-Bilād*, ii. 266) explains that *zalm* is a seed (*ḥabb*) possessing aphrodisiacal qualities and not found elsewhere. Tavernier mentions lilies between Shehrizür and Senne having similar properties. The *Djihān-numā* (p. 442) gives the gorge at Zalm the epithets, "habitation of the blue sorcerer" (*azruk-djāzū*) and "cave of the confusion of speech" (*Khilāf-i kalām*). He mentions the local sights: the fort of ʿAlī Zālīm (apparently for Zalm), another ruined fort of Yezdejdīrd and a cave (natural) with a staircase and windows carved out of the rock. We may recall in this connection the Christian tradition of the monk Sabrishō who had built a cell in the mountain of Shaʿrān (Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Persan*, Paris 1904, p. 210). The number of fortifications on the river Zalm show the importance of the place. Their object was to protect Shehrizür from invasion from the east. The usual routes of communication with Ādharbāidjān were however by the more convenient passes more to the north (Čaghān Gārān, Nawkhawān, the passes of Bāna).

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al-'Umarī in *N. E.*, xiii., 1838; Hādjī Khālifa, *Djihān-numā*, Stambul 1145, p. 445 (transl. in Charmoy, *Cheref-nameh*, 1/i. p. 127, 423); Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1692, i. 197; Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, 1836, i. 107, 269, 290—391; Hammer—Purgstall, *G. O.*², 1840, iii. (events of 1630); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. p. 442—447, 459; F. Jones, *Narrative of a journey to the frontier of Turkey and Persia*, in *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, xliii. new series (n.d.), p. 204; Čirikov, *Putevoi Journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 438, and *passim*; Khurshīd-efendī, *Siyāhat-nāma-i ḥudūd* (Russ. transl. 1877): Shehrizūr-eyāletī, p. 199—262; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten pers. Märtyrer*, 1880, p. 254 and *passim*; E. Soane, *In disguise to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, London 1912, 2nd ed. 1926; *Materiali po Wostoku*, Petrograd 1915, p. 203, 340, 354.

Cartography: Map by F. Jones; Haussknecht—Kiepert, *Routen im Orient*, iii., Kurdistan and Irak; E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli, Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian Empire*, Berlin 1924, map 1: 200,000.

(V. MINORSKY)

SHEKER BAIRAMI. [See 'ID AL-FITR.]

SHEKKĪ, a district in Eastern Transcaucasia. In Armenian it is called *Shakhē*, in Georgian *Shakba* (and *Shakikh*?); the Arabs write *Shakkai* = *Shakhē* (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 123, *Iṣṭakhri*, p. 183, *Balādhuri*, p. 206), *Shakki* (Yāqūt, iii. 311), *Shakkan* (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 293, *Balādhuri*, p. 194), *Shakin* (Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ii. 68).

The usual boundaries of Shekki were: on the east, the Gök-čai which separates it from *Shirwān* [q. v.] proper; on the west, the Alazan (Turk. *Kanīk*?) and its left tributary the *Kashka-čai*, which separates Shekki from Georgia (*Kakhetia*) and the Georgian cantons later occupied by the *Dāghistānis* (Eli-su, now Zakāt 'Alī); in the north the southern slopes of the Caucasus (*Salawāt-Dagh*), the passes of which, however, are within the confines of *Dāghistān*; to the south the Kura (Kur. *Shekki* is watered by the tributary of the Alazan, *Āgri-čai* ("river running diagonally" i. e. from east to west) and the river *Aljdjān* (Gilan) and *Tūriyān* which run towards the Kura. Shekki consists of three regions, one of high valleys covered with forests and orchards; a central one, a treeless and desert plateau; lastly a fertile plain declining to the Kura.

The variety of the factors that have influenced this remote region is responsible for the remarkable character of its local history in which we see pass before us in succession, the Albanians (*Aghowāns*), Armenians, Georgians, the people of *Dāghistān*, Persians, Turks and Russians.

In ancient time it formed part of Caucasian Albania (cf. *ARRĀN*) which was a confederation of 26 tribes speaking different languages (Strabo, xi. 4). The remnants of one of these tribes are believed to survive in the Udi, who are still to be found at Shekki (*Balādhuri*, p. 203; *Udh*). From their name they must have originally come from the region of Uti (Strabo, xi. 7; *Oútiou*; Pliny, vi. 13: *Otene*) lying on the right bank of the Kura (the modern *Gandja*, *Shamkūr*, *Tā'ūs*); it at first belonged to Armenia Major but was later occupied by the Albanians (cf. "the Armenian geography" of the viiith century translated into Russian by Pat-

kanov, 1877, p. 51). The present language of the Udi is related to the S. E. group of languages of *Dāghistān* (*Khinalugh*, *Budugh* etc.) and has been subjected to very heterogeneous influences, especially Turkish (Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, p. 49). The Albanians were very early converted by the Armenians and according to the Armenian legend the church of *Gish* (now *Kish*) was built by *Elishē*, a disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus.

Among the places mentioned in Albania by Ptolemy *Χαβάλα* and *αἱ Ἀλβάνιαι πόλεις* occupying the same position, long. 80°, lat. 47°, must correspond to *Qabala* and to the passes which above it give access to the valley of *Samūr* (*Khāčmaz* and *Kutkašen* roads). The ruins of *Qabala* lie near the confluence of the two branches of the *Tūriyān-čai*. "*Orma*" (long. 77° 30', lat. 44° 45') may correspond to the town of *Shekki* which has now disappeared (Yanovski places it S. W. of *Nūkhā*, near the village of *Shekili*). The other identification (*Niya* = *Niž*) has still to be examined carefully. The present capital *Nūkhā* or *Nūkhī* (on the river *Kish*) is said to have taken its name from a village more to the east (*Sultān-Nūkhā* near *Niž*); its name is only found from the xviiith century onwards, unless it is connected with *Iekhni* (name of an Albanian canton according to the Armenian geographers).

When the Arabs talk of towns of *Arrān* built by the *Sāsānians* they probably only refer to the rebuilding of ancient sites; thus *Kubād b. Firūz* (488—531) is credited with the building of *Qabala* (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 288; Yāqūt, iv. 32) and his son *Khusrāw Anūshirwān* (531—579) with *Abwāb-Shakkan*, *Qambizān* (*Καμβουζήν*, *Kbambē'an* in *Kakhetia*) and *Abwāb al-Dūdāniya* (*Balādhuri*, p. 194).

Under the Caliph 'Uthman, *Salmān b. Rab'ā* having crossed the Kura conquered *Qabala* but confined himself to concluding a treaty of peace with the chiefs of *Shakkan* and *Qambizān*. Later *Djarrah b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hakamī* halted at *Shekki* on his return from the *Dāghistān* campaign.

The Christians of *Shekki* remained for a long time in the majority. According to *Ma'sūdi* (ii. 68) the principality of *Shakin*, adjoining that of *Sanārī* (Ptolemy, v. 9; *Σάναροι*, *Dzanar* in the valley of the river *Samūr*), was inhabited by Christians and the Muslims who worked as merchants and artisans. The king was called *Adarnarsa b. Humām*. The next district on the east was *Qabala*, "a haunt of robbers and bad characters", the town of which had a Muslim population while the environs were inhabited by Christians. The king (*Malik*) or *Qabala* was called 'Anbasatal-A'war (the "one-eyed"). The identity of these is still uncertain. Towards the end of the viiith century Georgian and Armenian sources mention a mysterious *Adarnarse* the Blind (Brosset, 1/1, 249); in the ixth century the name of *Atarnarse* was fairly common in the family of *Mihrakān* (Albanian princes of *Sāsānian* origin, Brosset, 1/2, 480). According to *Muqaddasī*, p. 51, *Qabala* and *Shekki* were little towns.

Shekki later belonged to the *Shirwānshāhs*, with whom, however, the Georgians disputed its possession. In 1117 King David conquered *Gishi* (*Kish* above *Nūkhā* on one of the tributaries of the *Āgri-čai*). This little town was the residence of the governor (*eristhaw*) of *Tsukbeth* (district N. E. of *Alazan*), and of the bishop whose diocese comprised

Elisen (Eli-su), Tsukbeth and Shakikh. Brosset, I/1, 250, thought the latter name identical with Shekki.

In 622 (1225) we again have the Shirwānshāh Fariburz complaining to the Khwarizmshāh Djalāl al-Din of the loss of Shekki and Kabala which had been taken by the Georgians. Towards 626 (1229) Djalāl al-Din established his authority over both towns simultaneously (Nasawī, ed. Houdas, i. 146, 176).

In the time of Timūr we find Sidi 'Alī of the Arlāt tribe acting as wālī of the wilāyet of Shekki. [Arlāt is the name of one of the four chief tribes of the Ulūs of Āghatai; q. v.]. A punitive expedition sent by Timūr (796/1393) drove him from his office. Although a "good Muslim" he joined the Georgians and perished in a skirmish under the walls of the fortress of Alindjak (near Nakhičewān). About 801 (1398) through the intercession of Amir Shaikh Ibrāhīm of Shirwān (who had originally been a humble landowner in Shekki) Sidi Ahmad, son of Sidi 'Alī, was re-established as chief of tribe and governor of Shekki. Ibrāhīm and Ahmad afterwards acted in concert (*Zafar-nāme*, Calcutta, i. 731; ii. 204, 218, 222).

To judge from the dates upon tombstones found by Yanovski in the cemetery of Kabala (890–901 = 1474–1485), this town must have no longer existed towards the period of the Āra-Koyunlu and Ak-Koyunlu dynasties.

At the beginning of the Ṣafawī period Shekki was ruled by the hereditary chief Husain Beg, a scion (according to the *Gulistan-i Iram*) of the Shirwānshāh dynasty. Hard pressed by the Georgians, he appealed for help to Shāh Ismā'il, but was killed in a battle against Lewan I, king of Kakhetia (1520–1574). When Shirwān was conquered by Shāh Tahmasp (in 945 = 1538), Darwish Muhammad, son of Husain, aided the last Shirwānshāh against the Persians. In 958 (1551) Shāh Tahmasp with the help of King Lewan besieged Kish and the fort of Gālāsān-gōrāsān ("come and see it") near the modern Nūkhā. Shekki was annexed by Persia.

When in 984 (1578) the Ottoman troops under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pāshā fought a battle at Kanlik against the Khāns of Gandja, Eriwān and Nakhičewān, King Alexander II of Kakhetia, an ally of the Turks, occupied Shekki without striking a blow, and it became an Ottoman sandjak. The Turks re-established at Shekki the son of the former governor Ahmad Khān (Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, ii. 484) but an Ottoman governor (Ḳaitās Pāshā) was placed in Āresh.

When the Ṣafawīs again became masters of Transcaucasia, Shāh 'Abbās appointed the Georgian prince Constantin-Mirzā (son of Alexander II of Kakhetia) wālī of Shirwān (in 1014 = 1606). Shāh-mīr Khān of Shekki became his faithful vassal. Later the Ṣafawīs removed their protection from the kings of Kakhetia who were turning towards Moscow, tried to reduce their possessions and towards 1643, Shekki fell into the power of local *malik's* and *sultān's*. Under 'Abbās II Ewliya Čelebi visited Shekki (ii. 286–293). At this time (about 1057 = 1647) the Sultān of Shekki was under the Khān of Āresh. The town had 3000 houses, although he puts the stronghold of Shekki in the eyālet of Shirwān Ewliya adds that it is considered to belong to Georgia, "because the Georgians had founded it". Ewliya's notes on the tribe of Ḳaitāk whom he met near Maḥmūdābād

(Kabala?) are very curious; these people talked pure Mongol (ii. 291) which has now completely disappeared from these regions.

Nādir and his troops several times traversed the territory of Shekki and Kabala (in 1147, 1154). To be able the better to resist him the local petty chiefs chose as their leader (*Āthār-i Dāghistan*: "bashī") the former tax-collector Hādjdī Čelebi, son of Kurbān. In 1157 (1744) Nādir Shāh besieged the fortress of Gālāsān-gōrāsān without success. After the death of Nādir (1160 = 1747) local dynasties arose again throughout the Eastern Caucasus. Hādjdī Čelebi consolidated his position and only allowed authority to the sultans of Āresh and Kabala. On two occasions he inflicted defeats on King Irakli of Georgia. This energetic man, whose character is not without chivalrous features, played a considerable part in Transcaucasia (Brosset, ii. 2, 131). Hādjdī Čelebi, a grandson, we are assured, of the priest (Āra-Kashish) of the former church of Kish, was a zealous Muslim and converted to Islam forcibly a large number of his Christian subjects. He died in 1172 (1759). His descendants (Agha-Kishi, Husain, 'Abd al-Kādir) relying alternately on their neighbours in Darband (Fath 'Alī Khān) or Āra-bāgh (Ibrāhīm Khān) expended their energies in intrigues and internal struggles. Finally in December 21, 1783, Muhammad Hasan, son of Husain Khān, established himself at Nūkhā after having massacred the whole family of 'Abd al-Kādir (who had murdered Muhammad Hasan's father). He proved an able administrator. He annexed to Shekki the cantons of Āresh and Kabala, colonised the open lands and drew up a written canon of laws (*dastūr al-'amal*) by which the population were divided into five classes: the begs (3 categories; in all 1550 of whom 51 were Armenians), the monks, the *ma'af* (= *mu'af*) — 700 men-at-arms excepted from taxation, the *ra'yat* (peasant-proprietors) and the *randjbar* (peasants).

About 1209 (1795) Salim Khān, brother of Muhammad Hasan, seized Shekki and transferred the seat of government to Gālāsān-Gōrāsān. Muhammad Hasan, taking refuge with Agha Muhammad Kādjar was blinded by his orders and ended his days in exile in Russia. In May 1805 Salim Khān submitted to the Russians and promised to pay tribute but soon rebelled against his new suzerains. On Dec. 10, 1806 the Russians invested Dja'far Kulī Khān Dumbuli, the former governor of Khōi [q. v.] who had been expelled by the Persians, with the governorship of Shekki. By the treaty of 1813 Persia recognised Russian suzerainty over Shekki and the other neighbouring *khānates*. After the death in 1819 of the unpopular Ismā'il Khān, son of Dja'far Kulī, General Yermolow incorporated Shekki as a separate province in the Russian empire. At this date (1824) the *khānate* covered 7,600 square miles, contained 200 villages and had a population of 98,500 of whom 80,000 were Ādharbāidjān Turks, 15,300 Armenians, 1500 Udi and 1000 Jews.

Since 1846 Shekki, divided into two districts (*uyezd*): Nūkhā and Āresh (capital: Ak-dash) has been under the governor of Elizavetpol (Gandja). According to the census of 1896, the district of Nūkhā (1600 square miles) had a population of 94,767 of whom 66,000 were Turks, 14,800 Armenians, 7,400 Udi, 4,400 Lezgīs and 1800 Jews. The town of Nūkhā had 25,000 inhabitants (81%.

Turks and 180% Armenians). Among the villages of Nūkhā may be mentioned the two last refuges of the Udi: Wartashen (majority Jewish; the Udi half Armenian-Gregorians and Orthodox) and Nīž or Než (5000 Udi, Armenian-Gregorians). The village of Djulūd (Yākūt, iii. 311) still exists west of Wartashen. The district of Nūkhā produces raw silk, fruits and wine. The district of Āresh covers 1000 square miles, has 125 villages and 52,371 inhabitants, of whom 37,577 are Turks, 12,278 Armenians and a few Gregorians, Kurds and gipsies. The district consists of steppes and flat lands where rice is grown. Many of the inhabitants are semi-nomads.

Since the Russian revolution the old khānate has formed part of the Ādharbāidjān republic (at first affiliated to the Transcaucasian federation, later independent and finally, since 1920, Soviet.

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SHELLA, in the texts of the middle ages, *Shella*, necropolis of the Marīnid Sultāns of Morocco, S. E. of the Almohad fortress of Ribāṭ al-Fath (Rabat), 300 yards below the gate now called Bab Za’ir. It occupies the site of an ancient Phoenician settlement, later the Roman *Sala Colonia*

(cf. RABAT), some distance above the mouth of the Wādī Bū-ragrag. With Salā (Sale) on the other side of the river and the Almohad Ribāṭ al-Fath, it formed from quite early times a centre of mobilisation for the holy war.

At the end of the xiiith century, the Marīnid princes decided to use this site for their dynastic necropolis. The first member of the family to be buried there was the princess Umm al-‘Izz (d. 683 = 1284); she was the wife of Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb b. ‘Abd al-Haqq and the mother of Sultān Abū Ya’qūb Yūsuf. On his death which took place at Algeciras in 685 (1286), Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb was taken to *Shella* to be buried; 706 (1307) his son Abū Ya’qūb Yūsuf after his assassination at Tlemcen and in 708 (1308) Sultān Thābit ‘Amir who was poisoned at Tangier were likewise buried there.

Down to this time the necropolis seems to have been a simple sanctuary of modest size. It was the Sultān Abū ‘l-Hasan ‘Alī who gave it the appearance which it has retained to the present day. He enclosed the original sanctuary within a vast enclosure of cement, with three gates, one of them monumental. The work was finished, as the inscription testifies, at the end of 739 (July 1339). Within the necropolis, various restorations, extensions and decorations were undertaken at the same time. A new mosque was built with a splendid funeral chamber. In the lifetime of the Sultān, his son Abū Mālik (d. 740 = 1340) and his wife Shams al-Ḍuḥā (d. 750 = 1349) were buried at *Shella*. On his death in 752 (1361) on the mountain of the Hintāta in the Great Atlas, the Sultān’s body was brought here for burial by order of his son Abū ‘Inān.

No Marīnid Sultān was buried here after Abū ‘l-Hasan; the enclosure however continued to receive the remains of members of the royal family. It was for some time a splendid sanctuary, some idea of which may be gathered, not only from what remains of the present day, but also from the enthusiastic descriptions written in the xivth century by the celebrated Andalusian writer Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. With the fall of the Marīnid dynasty, the necropolis of *Shella* began to fall into ruins as it was no longer cared for. Since the French occupation, the remains that still exist are preserved against any further injury.

An historical, epigraphical, monumental and folk-lore study, with numerous illustrations has been devoted to *Shella* by Henry Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, entitled *Chella: Une Nécropole Mérinide*, collection *Hespéris*, vol. i., Paris 1923. The bibliography — rather limited — of the subject is collected there.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHEMĀKHA. [See SHIRWĀN.]

SHENDĪ, SHINDĪ, 18° 1' N. 33° 59' E., a town on the right bank of the Nile, about 104 miles north of Khartūm, on the old caravan-route between Egypt and Sennaar. It also gives its name to a district in the Berber Province. Nowadays it is an important station on the Wādī-Halfa-Khartūm Railway, with many locomotive and leather and iron works. Although still a thriving city, in the olden times it was one of the outstanding marts in the whole of the Eastern Sudan with over 50,000 inhabitants. In the course of history it has suffered at the hands of ruthless invaders and merciless marauders. The

result has been that it has shrunk from its former greatness. It is the centre of a district that has been noted for its tall, beautiful women, and it is significant that this region in past ages was ruled by a succession of queens. A vague relic of that period lingers in an eighteenth century traveller's tale of his meeting a "Queen" of Shendī in 1772 (Bruce, *Travels*, vi. 448). Until modern times the town was a busy market for slave-traders and other traffickers. The neighbourhood, north and south, contains many remnants of ancient splendour, ruins of Meroe and its crumbling pyramids. In 1882 a dreadful catastrophe befell the town. The native Governor, who is called the *Mek*, and given the sobriquet of *Nimr* or Panther, invited Ismā'il, the son of Muḥammad 'Alī, who had been sent by his father to quell the rebellious tribes and punish the fugitive Mamlūk Beys, to a splendid banquet. When the Egyptians were in a drunken stupor the building was set on fire and Ismā'il and his suite perished in the flames. In retaliation the place was bombarded by Muḥammad Bey the *Defstardār*, and thousands of the inhabitants massacred in a most revolting fashion. In 1884 the Gordon Relief Expedition passed by Shendī. Ever since the Anglo-Egyptian occupation in 1898 the town has developed to a great extent.

Bibliography: Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, *Bibliography of Egypt and the Sudan*, ii. 233; James Bruce, *Travels*, Edinburgh 1813; Burckhardt, *Travels*, p. 277—361; Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, ii. 402 sqq.

(J. WALKER)

SHERSHEL (French CHERCHEL), a town in Algeria, 60 miles W. of Algeria; long. L. 10° E. Long., 36° 37' N. lat. — Population: 5500 of whom 1490 are Europeans. — The town is built on a plateau 1000 yards broad lying between the sea on the north and wooded hills, the outer buttresses of the massif of the Bani Menaser, in the south. The calcareous rocks of the plateau provide excellent building materials, the fertility of the soil and humidity of the climate are conducive to the growth of all kinds of produce. The country round is covered with gardens and vineyards. The harbour, sheltered from the west winds by the little island of Joinville and from the east winds by Cape Tizirine is small but safe. Its annual trade is about 30,000 tons and it exports the agricultural produce of the region.

History. The advantages of the site of Cherchel were remarked in very early times. The Phoenicians had a trading station here called Iol, which later passed to the Carthaginians. After the Second Punic War, Iol became the capital of the King of Mauretania, Bocchus, and his successors. Placed on the throne of Mauretania in 25 B.C. by Augustus, king Juba II gave the town the name of Caesarea and adorned it with monuments and works of art. When, after the death of Ptolemy, successor of Juba, Mauretania had been annexed to the empire the town was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (Colonia Claudia Caesarea) and was the capital of the province of Mauretania. It was considerably extended and in the second century A.D. had about 150,000 inhabitants. Its walls were about 5 miles round. The ruins of baths, theatres, the amphitheatre, statues and mosaics discovered since the French occupation attest its wealth. Having previously lost its importance by the par-

tition of the two Mauretania in the time of Diocletian, it was burned during the rebellion of Firmus (371) and at the beginning of the next century was sacked by the Vandals. The Byzantines reoccupied it in 585 but never restored to it its past prosperity; at a date which is not accurately known, but probably in the early years of the viiith century A.D., Caesarea fell into the hands of the Arabs who completed its ruin. It was perhaps not completely abandoned. The harbour in any case still existed in the time of Ibn Ḥawkal (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, *J. A.*, 1842, p. 184). In the time of al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, transl. de Slane, Algiers 1913, p. 165) it was in ruins. According to this author there was nothing left at Shershel but an "anchorage commanded by an enormous town of ancient buildings and still inhabited". Bakrī, however, mentions the existence of several "ribāt" where a large crowd of people assembled every year. Idrīsī describes Shershel as a town of small extent but well populated (transl. de Goeje, p. 103). The country round was occupied by Beduin families who devoted themselves to cattle-rearing, to growing vines and figs and they harvested more wheat and barley than they could consume. These circumstance explain the descent made on the town by the Normans of Sicily in 1144. According to Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, Bk. iv., ed. Schefer, iii. 52 the town was continuously inhabited during the five centuries that followed the Arab conquest. During this period Shershel was held in turn by the various dynasties which disputed the possession of Central Maghrib. After the disruption of the Almohad empire, it fell to the 'Abd al-Wādis of Tlemcen, was taken from them by the Marīnids in 1300 A.D., became a part of the ephemeral kingdom founded about 1350 by the Ulad Mendil and ultimately recognised the authority of the Ziyānids in the reign of Abū Ṭahet. In the xvth century fugitive Moors from Spain settled here in large numbers and built 2000 houses (according to Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*). The newcomers devoted themselves to agriculture and industry, especially to silk growing, and commerce but also to piracy. In the first years of the xvth century A.D. a Turkish corsair named Qara Hassan settled at Shershel but was put to death by Arūdj [q.v.] who made himself master of the town and placed a garrison in it. Temporarily liberated from the authority of the Turks as a result of the defeat of Khair al-Dīn [q.v.] by the Kabyls, the people of Shershel had again to recognise the Turkish government and this time finally in 1528. An attempt made by the Spanish to seize the town and make it a base of operations against Algiers failed in 1531. Andrea Doria had to reembark after losing 600 men.

During the Turkish period, Shershel simply stagnated. The population never exceeded 2500—3000 men occupying a limited part of the old town. The depredations wrought by the corsairs who sallied out from it, led to its bombardment by Duquesnes in 1682. Turkish authority was represented by a *ḳaid*, aided in the administration of local affairs by a council of six notables and supported by a garrison established some distance south on the al-Ḥaḥḥim. The mainstay of Turkish power, however, was the Marabout family of Ghobrini, whose ancestors had come from Morocco at the end of the xvth century and who had acquired considerable influence throughout this region. At

the beginning of the ninth century, the Turks quarrelled with them. Al-Ḥāǧǧī b. Awda al-Ǧhobrini was put to death by order of the Dey and his relatives had to take refuge in al-Dahra.

The disappearance of Turkish government in 1830 enabled the Ǧhobrini to return to Shershel and become masters of the province. But they found their influence assailed by that of another Marabout family, that of the Brakna who lived among the Bani Menaser. Finally 'Abd al-Kādir who had established a *khālifa* at Mihana forced the people of Shershel to submit to him. He tried to use the harbour of Shershel for an attempt to revive piracy. An attack by a Shershel corsair on a French warship decided the governor-general Valée to occupy the town in 1840 and to establish there a colony of a 100 European families. The new settlement prospered rapidly and by 1850 had over a thousand inhabitants. They began the development of the country round and this has been steadily continued. An attack on it in July 1871 by the Bani Menaser who besieged it for a fortnight is the only incident that has occurred since the occupation.

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SHĪ'A, the general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, the starting point of all of which is the recognition of 'Alī as the legitimate caliph after the death of the Prophet.

THE MOTIVES OF THE SHĪ'A AND THE EARLIER PERIOD

Islām is a religious and a political phenomenon as its founder was a prophet and statesman. The development of the community of Islām into separate sectional groups was therefore a natural result of the different possible relations which the political constitution and religious belief might bear to one another. Three main schools may be distinguished. The middle line was taken by the Sunnis. Their leading principle that the "imāmate belongs to the *Kuraish*" is a simple expression of recognition of the historical fact that the world of Islām in the early centuries was ruled by Meccan families. The intelligible demand that the rulers who represented the state which was founded upon religion should be really religious personalities very early led among the Sunnis also to the un-historical glorification of the first "four pious caliphs" and further faced them with the problem of finding formulae to explain that it was also a religious duty to owe obedience to caliphs of little worth and even to foreign Sultāns, so long as the exercise of religion and the maintenance of order was afforded by them. How little, however, such principles arose out of pleased approval is best shown by the constant warnings, not only from pious circles, to be careful in dealing with secular, though Sunnī rulers. If we have here on the Sunnī side less a clear theory than rather the attempt to reconcile a religious ideal with political reality, on the other hand on the two flanks of Islām we find two fundamental theories. The one demands cleancut separation of the constitutional question from the religious one, the other has interwoven the two. The former question, although

already in existence, only obtained greater publicity in the first civil war among the *Khāridjis* [q. v.] for whose salvation the question of the person of the caliph was a matter of such indifference that he might "even be an Abyssinian slave". The Shī'is on the other hand lay religious value on the question of the imāmate and their dogmatic books contain a special section, the leading idea of which is the traditional principle "whosoever dies without knowing the true Imām of his time dies the death of an unbeliever".

There was a political Shī'a, more accurately a *Shī'at 'Alī* i.e. a party of 'Alī [q. v.] at the very latest immediately after the death of the Prophet. If we may believe the Shī'a stories the original Shī'a consisted of three men: Salmān al-Fārisī, Abū Dharr and al-Mikdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī. They were the only ones — some stories give a few more names — who championed 'Alī's succession on the death of the Prophet and therefore did not falter from their faith. For the other companions of the Prophet are credited by the majority of the Shī'is with *ridā* [q. v.] for paying homage to Abū Bakr. But the stories, especially about Salmān al-Fārisī — if he ever really existed (cf. Horovitz in *Islam*, xii. 178, sqq.) — are quite legendary. A large number of the later Shī'a traditions and many prophecies regarding the future of 'Alids are associated with his name.

The desire that the imāmate in Islām should be kept for the 'Alids [q. v.] as the family of the house (of the Prophet) (*Ahl al-Bait*) has not been fulfilled. The brief reign of 'Alī from 35–40 (656–661) was only a strongly contested partial caliphate while his son Ḥasan [q. v.] can hardly be seriously considered to have been caliph. The first 'Alid independent principality was founded in 172 (789) in Morocco by the Ḥasanid Idrīs I b. 'Abd Allāh [q. v.]. But his territory was entirely Sunnī, that is to say we have not here a Shī'a state but simply an 'Alid kingdom. At the present day there still exist a few small states with 'Alid chiefs, all more or less under European Christian powers, of whom however the Imām of Ṣan'ā in Yemen alone is Shī'ī and indeed a Zaidī (see below).

As the energies of the Shī'a forces met with too much resistance in the political field they devoted themselves to the religious. The political experiences of the Shī'a had been particularly suitable to further this development. The martyr's death of one 'Alid succeeded that of another. Much more than the blood of 'Alī who was murdered by a casual *Khāridjī*, it was the blood of Ḥusain [q. v.] who perished under the swords of the government troops that was the seed of the Shī'a church. The passion motive was thus restored to religion again among the Shī'a; it had been lost to official Islām since the turn of fortune which after the *Hidjra* set the Prophet's career on the path of worldly prosperity and excluded all possibility of it by a peaceful death, devoid of any tragedy that might have borne fruit in this direction. The insistence on the idea of a passion has so thoroughly penetrated the Shī'a that it has formed legends full of difficult historical problems, which make even the lives of 'Alids, who never attained any prominence, end in martyrdom, usually through poison at the instigation of the caliphs, as in the case of Ḥasan I, Dja'far al-Ṣādiq, 'Alī al-Riḍā, etc.

That this feeling of passion, which can remain

worldly and among the Zaidis who are closest to the Sunnis, has remained very worldly, was transformed to something completely religious in the majority of Shīʿis, i.e. that to the Shīʿis the death of Ḥusain paved the way to Paradise, is a result of the fact that another religious idea came into play, which is, as the history of religions shows, often associated with the passion motive, namely the idea of the manifestation of the divine in man (epiphany). It was not strange to Muḥammad, indeed to him for example Jesus was "a word of God" (Korʾān iii. 40). But he had not placed the intermediation between God and man in a person and certainly not in his own (Korʾān, xviii, 110; xli. 5; xvii. 95) but in a revelation, the Korʾān. From this point of view the characteristic of the Shīʿa can be thus defined: — to the First Article: "I believe in God the One" — and the Second Article "I believe in the revelation of the Korʾān which is uncreated from all eternity" — is added a Third Article: — "I believe that the Imām especially chosen by God as the bearer of a part of the divine being is the leader to salvation". But if such an Imām possesses in the eyes of his believers any quality or more frequently a substance of divine origin, then when faced with his decease, they do not console themselves with the thought of his living on in paradise, which he only shares, although in a higher degree, with all believers, but to them the death of an Imām is rendered void by the idea of *raǧʿa* [q.v.], belief in "concealment" and *parousia*. The Imām becomes Mahdī [q.v.]. Many indeed abandon the earthly part of the Imām but make his divine element pass into the next Imām, after the manner of the doctrine of transmigration. The mutual interaction of the idea of passion and epiphany again shows that the expectation of *parousia* arising from the latter, which, as the example of the hidden Mahdi, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya shows, can also arise independently of a martyrdom, was increased by martyrdom.

The state of our sources does not enable us to have a reliable insight into the confluence of the various Shīʿa motives. It must for example remain an open question how far the Shīʿa ideas of epiphany and the intercession of the Imām are the direct continuation of the similar ideas which, according to Ibn Ishāq, certain singers of primitive Islām already associated with the person of Muḥammad: i. e. the question arises how far these religious ideas of the Shīʿa were within Islām before the year 11 (632). Under ʿAlī, however they appear as important dogmas of religion. If the tradition through ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabā [q.v.] is still obscure, we find it somewhat clearer in the many poets of Shīʿa mentality. One Abu ʿl-Aswad al-Duʿālī [q.v.] who fought by the side of ʿAlī at Šiffin praised him with more than ordinary infatuation: "When I looked into the face of Abu ʿl-Ḥusain, I saw the full moon, which filled the spectators with reverent wonder. The Kuraish now know, wherever they may be, that thou art their noblest in merit and religion". His attitude to ʿAlī is therefore already religious. In accordance with traditions referring to him, therefore already current (see below), he calls him "our *mawlā* and *waṣī*". Phrases like "I seek God and the future state through my love to ʿAlī" are frequently found. Kuthaiyir [q.v.], d. 105 (723),

expects the *raǧʿa* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya; Kumait [q.v.], d. 126 (743), sings of the light emanating through Adam through Muḥammad to the holy family. In the ʿAbbāsid period political disillusionment for the first time exceeds this religious devotion. Saiyid al-Ḥimjārī [q.v.], devotes his poems to it. In Diʿbil [q.v.], the "panegyrist of the holy house" the coarse attacks on the ruling family, in which "one sinner inherits the caliphate after another" are explained by his belief in the unique claim of ʿAlī Riḍā to the imāmate at the time. In a poem on the death of Ḥusain, often previously celebrated by him, he looks for the *kāʾim* [q.v.]. "If it were not for what I hope for to-day or to-morrow, my heart would break for woe: the "passing" of an Imām, who will without doubt pass, who will appear in the name of God and with all blessings".

The ʿAlids at this time as a rule had not the leadership in the political field in their own hands. They were urged on by their followers, just as Ḥusain and Zaid b. ʿAlī had been used for political purposes and as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had been a pawn in the hands of al-Mukhtār and Muḥammad b. Ṭabāṭabā and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zaid in the hands of Abu ʿl-Serāya. It was the same in the sphere of religion. Religious fanatics gathered round every prominent ʿAlid. Of those around ʿAlī we may mention his client ʿQanbar, who is said to have recognised the "tongue of the word of God" in his master. That this was considered mild language is seen from the legend in which ʿQanbar himself figures as opposing those extravagant Shīʿis who had attributed *rubūbiyya* (divinity) to ʿAlī and who are therefore condemned to fire by the two.

Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī attached himself to Ḥusain's son Zain al-ʿĀbidin and his son Muḥammad al-Bākir; the former had paid homage to the Prophet in the first battle of ʿAkāba along with the first Medinese to do so. He opposed the young ʿAlid as the preserver of the continuity of Shīʿa belief, and had intercession assured him by Muḥammad al-Bākir on the last day. With Bākir and his successors Djaʿfar al-Šādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzim were found theologians like Djābir b. Yazīd al-Djūʿfī, Hishām b. Šalīm al-Djuwailīqī b. al-Ḥakam, a former prisoner of war and Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a client of ʿAlī b. Yaḳṭin b. Mūsā. Yūnus also belonged to the great circle of ʿAlī Riḍā. The fundamental principles of their theology are of course of the Muslim type.

Tradition. The Shīʿis are to a much greater degree "Sunnīs" than the so-called Sunnis. We must not place the origin of their *ḥadīth*'s too late, since some are as early as Duʿālī. The most celebrated are: ʿAlī is Aaron; ʿAlī is the *waṣī* who is designated by the Prophet and Allāh. He is the *Mawlā* (see also QHADR AL-KHUMM). The holy family is the ark of Noah; the holy family and the Korʾān are the two treasures of the earth; Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain are the five companions of the cloak. Similar principles also underlie their exegesis of the Korʾān, which regards a vast number of verses (e. g. xxxiii. 33; lvii. 26; xi. 76; xxiv. 35) as evidence for the Shīʿa claims.

The particular character of the Shīʿa offered so much incentive to dogmatic speculation and religious fantasy that it never, like the Sunna, attained any far-reaching uniformity. Three main

forms may be distinguished within the Shīʿa: The Zaidīs [q. v.] who are nearest akin to the Sunnis, limit the manifestation of God in the Imām quite rationalistically to mere divine "right guidance" and deny the miraculous influx of the divine portion of light into a definite 'Alid individual. The martyrdom of the Imāms finds expression among them mainly in the political field in constant endeavours to attain with the sword of man and help of God the goal of 'Alid supremacy. They have successfully resisted various chiliastic expectations of the Mahdī that have appeared among them. On the other wing, the epiphany becomes completely inherent, absolute *ḥulūl* [q. v.]; the mortal in the Imām is entirely swallowed up; in the end God himself has no place beside him. The representatives of this school are ardently fought by the Zaidīs and Imāmīs, the representatives of the middle school, as people who have brought the Shīʿa into discredit and have fallen away from Islām — they call them *Ghulāt* (sg. *ghālī*, q. v.). To the Imāmīs the Imām remains mortal but a divine light-substance is inherent in him by partial *ḥulūl*. The death of the Imām, which among the *Ghulāt* e. g. the Druses, is simply the withdrawal of the deified, becomes with them the religious force which makes it a joy to die. Its voluntariness is emphasised with dogmatic intention. In the battle of ʿKerbelāʾ God sent the angel of victory to Ḥusain; but he preferred "to approach to God".

In the course of history each of the three divisions had perforce to divide into many subdivisions, simply on account of the specifically Shīʿa ideas of each. Thus, as a result of the Zaidī agitations, small principalities arose in Ṭabaristān and Dailam from 250 (864) and in Yemen from 288 (901) which from the distance between them could not form a unity nor even possess uniformity. The Zaidīs of the 'Irāq, who never attained independence in a kingdom of their own, but were often able to make up for this by exerting considerable influence in the Caliph's empire, had to adapt themselves to conditions there by a greater use of the *ṭaḥīya* [q. v.] or the *kitmān*. The school of the *Ghulāt*, who went furthest beyond Muḥammad's inheritance and gave the greatest play to individual initiative, found very varied expression in the ʿKarmatīan groups, the Ismāʿīlis and the Druses and ultimately in the Nuṣairīs and 'Alī Ilāhī [q. v.]. These groups also to a great degree cut themselves away from the members of the holy family. This is already seen in the Kaisāniya [q. v.] whose Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, is not a descendant of the Prophet; this is also expressed in a tradition: "Salmān al-Fārisī belongs to the family of the house". It led for example in the ixth (xvth) century among the Hurūfī [q. v.] to the exclusion of the 'Alid Imāms in favour of the deity incarnate in Faḍl Allāh al-Astarabādī. But the very principle of the Imāmiya had the seeds of dissension within it. For the contact between God and man is not at a point of intersection but in a continuous line, not in a single individual but in an uninterrupted series of Imāms, among whom the divinely inspired father appoints the son on each occasion or — according to others — the divine element is transmitted directly to the eldest son, whose mother also comes from the holy family. But religious adherence to an Imām might become so fervent that one could not abandon

him even after his death; or the successor might be a person of very doubtful character; or he might be quite defective. Thus arose the subordinate groups of the *Wāḳifiya* and *Kiṭṭīya* or *Ḳaḳfiya*. The former "hesitate" regarding the death of the Imām, therefore "stand" by him and see in him the Mahdī; the latter regard the death of the Imām as "destined" and therefore continue the line. There are a whole series of such *Wāḳifiya*, like the *Djaʿfariya* with *Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiq*, the *Mūsawiya*, the *Ridāwiya* etc.; in the narrower sense the term applies only to the *Djaʿfariya*. For the reasons mentioned, however, the line could not be continued endlessly even among the *Kiṭṭīya*. It is very doubtful whether the eleventh Imām Ḥasan al-*Khālīs* left a child at all at his death in 260 (873), but the belief has prevailed among the Imāmīs in the existence, the mysterious disappearance and the Mahdī character of a son Muḥammad Ḥudjdjat Allāh. Thus the Imāmīs become "Twelvers", *Ithnā ʿAshariya* [q. v.], although it was for a period still disputed whether there was not a thirteenth Imām.

If we thus see among the Shīʿa denominations, simply in so far as they are Shīʿī, a range which corresponds to that in the Christian church history which separates the Theopaschites from the Socinians, we must remember we are only considering one of the principles that have gone to form it. For the Shīʿa belongs to Islām and is therefore faced with all the problems that agitate Islām generally. But Islām does not look at the world from the point of view of religion only, but has its cultural, economic, and social and through the question of the *khālifa* its political problems also. The results for the Shīʿa can only be briefly indicated here. In dogmatics we find besides the Muʿtazilis, [q. v.] predestinarians like the Zaidī Sulaimān b. Djarir and anthropomorphists like the already mentioned Imāmī Hishām b. Ṣalīm al-Djuwailikī; and how much the dispute common to all Islām regarding the nature of the *Qurʾān* was also a disintegrating danger for the Shīʿa is shown by the tradition attributed to *Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiq*, said to have been uttered to the above mentioned Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a saying which suggests a provisional formula: "The *Qurʾān* is neither creator nor created; it is the word of a creator". In relation to philosophy both attraction and repulsion were considerably stronger than among the Sunnis. For on the one hand their richer theological speculation required to a greater extent the categories of philosophy and its dialectic for dogmatic stabilisation, on the other hand the Shīʿa was here particularly sensitive, indeed vulnerable, like every religious community, which sets out from pure metaphysical postulates, as it does with the belief in the Imāmate. Apart from epistemological antagonistic principles which philosophy, called in to its aid, introduced into the Shīʿa, the latter had also to settle well known disputed points within Islām on the fundamentals, the *Uṣūl al-Dīn* and the *Uṣūl al-Fiḥḥ*, for example on the binding force of a single tradition or on *ḳiyās* [q. v.]. In the same way there were in Shīʿa law disputed points from the *Zāhirīs* to the *Ḥanafīs*. In worship there was in all groups a strong impulse to satisfy the tendency towards adoration by the reverencing of Imāms and places of pilgrimage at the graves of their martyrs, which was in conflict with the conservative tendency still to remain Muslims.

The dividing line between the Shi'ā and domestic politics i.e. nationalism is very intricate and much broken. It is not simply that the conquered people like the Persians from the first had sided with the Shi'ā opposition. The oldest of the principal leaders were genuine Arabs, of the south, it is true. Among those around Ridā for example, Yūnus and Hishām al-Djuwalikī were clients, but Dī'bil a race-proud South Arabian and an opponent of the Northern Arabs. Two hundred years later we still find Mufid (see below) priding himself on his South Arabian descent "from Yaqtān, the first man to speak Arabic". Social disputes were brought into the Shi'ā as early as al-Mukhtār when he mobilised his clients and slaves. Among some Ghulāt, like the Karmāṭians, socialistic demands increased to communism, which however here in view of the authoritative attachment to an imām or his representative was only a mask for a despotic oligarchy.

A more obvious aristocracy was formed by the circles of higher administrative officials at the 'Abbasid court, who, for the most part Iranians, were bound together by ardent devotion to the Imāmate, among these, for example were the family of the Nawbakht. As regards women also the Shi'ā had to deal with all aspects of the problem. Some of the Karmāṭians are accused — at least — of having community of women; the Imāmis allow temporary marriages (see *MUT'Ā*); the Zaidis confine themselves to polygamy as defined by the Sunna: the 'Alī Ilāhī decided on monogamy.

As the numbers of possibilities in the fields of dogma, epistemology, law, worship, politics and social sciences are not additional to but multipliers of the figures of possibilities in the question of the Imāms, the result is that, although we do not have in practice all the possible combinations, we have a number of Shi'ā subdivisions, which far exceeds the well known 72 sects. At the same time this possibility of variation explains the many discrepancies in the usual Muslim books on the various sects, as the latter, as can easily be understood, divide one and the same community into several groups according to the special feature they emphasise.

In view of the elemental force with which the Shi'ā creed, in itself full of problems, made its appearance in the world of Islām which was already full of its own problems, we can understand that the personalities who are considered heads of schools in the present Shi'ā communities were less creators than circumscribers, but we can also see that the consensus each time became limited to a smaller circle. In the language of the Shi'ā, the *idimā'* affects only the individual ecclesiola, which alone will be blessed. In dogmatics this limitation has never attained very great success: Zaidis, as well Imāmis, finally joined the Mu'tazila. This is not mere accident, as the example of the Qur'ān already shows: of the above mentioned articles of belief, the third was bound to drive out the second. The *homousia* of an uncreated Qur'ān had in the long run no place beside an imām as a guarantor of the true faith. It is also logical that the Imāmiyya for the purpose of its classification among the beliefs of the imāmate undertook an allegorical explanation and that on the extreme wings the Ghulāt fought it, made interpolations or even rejected parts and became themselves Bāṭinis (cf. *BĀṬINIYĀ*). The Mu'tazila was not

simply the first step; but through these borrowings from philosophy, primarily only seeking the formal, it penetrated into the space left vacant by the supernatural belief in revelation; theology thus became theosophy and gnosis.

The origin of the Shi'ā motives is not explained if we again emphasise the fact in itself illuminating after what has been said above that Gnostic Neo-Platonic, Manichaean and old Iranian ideas have intermingled. But in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot go far beyond this statement, as the literary modes of approach have not yet been indicated. With the echoes of Christianity also, one must for the time be content with the general remark that Islām spread over countries formerly Christian and made many converts whose forefathers had been Christians. Still more general but not less important is the observation that motives so fertile from the religious point of view like passion and divine epiphany need not be lost at the foundation of a new religion like Islām.

THE LATER PERIOD

The consolidation of the separate groups begins in the second half of the third (ixth) century. Signs of this process were earliest noticeable among the Zaidis. Al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭabāṭabā al-Rassī (d. 246 = 860) selected the dogmatic and legal foundations for an ecclesiastical state, which his grandson Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain carried into effect in Yemen in 288 (901). His teaching also found recognition in the territory of the older Zaidi state which had been founded in 250 (864) on the Caspian Sea. In 297 (909) the kingdom of Ismā'īlī Fāṭimids arose in Africa and at the same time bodies of Karmāṭians held small tracts in N. E. and S. Arabia. Here we may refer the reader to the special articles for the lateral branches but we shall consider the main branch somewhat more fully, the Imāmis or "Twelvers". It is of them one usually thinks when using the term Shi'is generally. They form also numerically by far the majority of Shi'is, with their 4—5 million Persian followers and in addition to sporadic groups also considerable bodies in India and in the 'Irāk. Their literature, which is still the most easily accessible of all Shi'ā, also forms the best approach to Shi'ī problems, on account of intermediate position of the Imāmiyya.

Even the old 'Alids like Dja'far al-Ṣādiq, 'Alī al-Ridā had not themselves been the real leaders. Envoys and plenipotentiaries (*safir* and *wakil*, plur. *sufarā'* and *wukalā'*) acted on their behalf — or alleged behalf. The office of *wakil* became still more important when the Imām had disappeared. He claimed to be the only one who knew the concealed Imām. Four men have succeeded since 260 (873) in establishing this claim for themselves. When the fourth, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Samarri died in 334 (939) the so-called "Little *Ghaiba*" was at an end and has been succeeded to the present day by the "Great *Ghaiba*", in which for example the Friday service dependent on the cooperation of the Imām is in abeyance. A clerical aristocracy took over the leadership, many representatives of which claimed to base their teachings on miraculous meetings with the hidden "Lord or the Age". It is true that the modern Persian theologian can still be a *Mudjtahid* (q.v. and below); but in all essentials he still remains like the Sunnī, bound by what that aristocracy has made canonical. The literary deposit of the process of forming a

canon, in the usual Muslim way, produced a large number of books on the criticism of the authorities and theological authors. They formed a kind of clerical censorship, long before the Ṣafawids instituted a *Shaiḫh* al-Islām for the state church.

Political aspirations were opened up to the Shīʿīs by the rise of the tolerant Sāmānids, — not themselves Shīʿīs however — especially after the conquest of Khorāsān by Ismāʿīl in 290 (903) and by the rise of Shīʿī Ḥamdānids of Mōsil from 317 (929). When the Būyid Aḥmad Muʿizz al-Dawla entered Baghdad in 334 (945), a great period began for the Shīʿīs who had for long been in the capital, occupying, for example, the whole Karkh quarter. To this external consolidation corresponded an inner one. The canonical collections of traditions arose, the so-called "Four Books": 1. *al-Kāfi* (pr. Ṭeherān, 1312—1318) of Kulīnī, d. 328 or 329 (929); of over 16,000 ḥadīths on the *Uṣūl* and *Furūʿ* chapters, 5072 are considered "sound" by later authorities, 140 "good" and 1118 as "established", 302 as "strong" and 9488 as "weak"; a popular commentary is *al-Shāfi* of Khaliḥ b. Ghāzī al-Kazwīnī begun at Mecca in 1057 (1647) and also published by him in Persian with the title *al-Shāfi*. Smaller in extent than *al-Kāfi* is 2. *Man la yaḥḍuruḥu ʿl-Faḫīh* (pr. Ṭeherān 1324) by Ibn Bābūya the younger (d. 381 = 991). Of about 6,000 ḥadīths some 4,000 have a complete *isnād*; in recent times a commentary was written on the collection by Muḥammad Ṭāqī al-Madjlīstī, father of the author of the *Biḥār al-Anwār* (see below) in two editions, Arabic (*Rawḍat al-Muttaḥin*) and Persian (*Lawāmī-i Ṣāḥib Kirān*), while the commentary *Man la yaḥḍuruḥu ʿl-Nabīh* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāḥidjī (d. 1135 = 1722) was never finished; 3. *al-Istibṣār fima ʿkhtulifa min al-Aḥbār* (Lucknow, n. d.) and the more comprehensive 4) *Tahdhib al-Aḥkām* (Ṭeherān 1314) are both by the celebrated author of the Shīʿī *Fihrist* (see *Bibl.*) Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī and were originally intended as commentaries on the *Muknīʿa fi ʿl-Fiḫh* of Muḥid (d. 413 = 1022). In both the attempt is made to sort out the huge mass of material that has been handed down, of course not in a critical fashion but according to the degree of agreement with the doctrines that have come to prevail. This *Tahdhib* is not to be confused with the lawbook *Tahdhib al-Shīʿa* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Djunaīd al-Iskāfī (d. 381 = 990) which has fallen into neglect because he goes too far in the application of *ḥiyās*. Only very rarely do we find the larger collection of Ibn Bābūya, *Madīnat al-ʿIlm* recognised as the "Fifth Book".

Among the Shīʿī-Imāmī leaders of the fourth and fifth centuries may be mentioned Kulīnī Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Rāzī. He is celebrated as the "renovator" at the beginning of the fourth century just as year 100 was made sacred by the fifth Imām Muḥammad Bāḳir, 200 by the eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā and later 400 by the *Shaiḫh* Murtaḍā, while for 500 there is no one of equal importance to place alongside of al-Ghazālī who is also esteemed by many Shīʿīs. A maternal uncle of Kulīnī, ʿAllān, had been one of the leading Shīʿīs of Raiy-Ṭeherān. He himself worked in Baghdad where his grave enjoyed the reverence paid to that of an Imām. Ibn Bābūya Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, called al-Shaiḫh al-Ṣadiq, claimed to have been born to his father on the intercession of the hidden twelfth Imām.

He was *Shaiḫh* of the Shīʿīs in Ḳumm, which already was strongly ʿAlid in sentiment in the second century but down to late in the fourth century was still exceptional in Persia which was mainly Sunnī. Of his works the *Risāla fi ʿl-Sharʿa* to his son was used by the latter in his *Man la yaḥḍuruḥu ʿl-Faḫīh*. In Baghdad the son became associated with the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, who was able to make good use of his teaching of the imāmate for political purposes. Among the many pupils of the younger Ibn Bābūya was the father of Nadjāshī (see *Bibl.*). Raiy is mentioned as the place of his death, but the tomb now honoured in Ṭeherān was only discovered in 1238 (1821) by the members of the court of Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh after an alleged miracle. There was a necessity for graves of saints in Persia proper, besides those in Meshhed Tūs and Ḳumm especially as Nadjaf, Kerbelā, and the great Shīʿī cemeteries of al-Kāzimēn of Baghdad lay in foreign lands under Turkish rule. The tomb of the father in Ḳumm beside the tomb of the saint Fāṭima the second sister of the eighth Imām al-Riḍā, was, we know, very much visited even in ancient times. Of the some 300 writings of the son a considerable number has been printed, e. g. the *Ḥiṣāl* on good and bad qualities (Ṭeherān 1302), the *ʿIlal al-Sharʿa* and the book on the concealment of the Mahdī *Kamāl al-Dīn wa-Tamām al-Nfīma* (ibid. 1301) (on the latter cf. E. Möller, *Beiträge zur Mahdīlehre des Islams*, Heidelberg 1901). His *Madjālis* are very popular, notably his *ʿUyūn Aḥbār al-Riḍā* (Berlin MS. 9663 etc.). While these already contain beside theological, legendary, edifying and polemical matter, many questions of law, a special comprehensive *Fiḫh al-Riḍā* (2 vols., Tabriz 1274) was first compiled by Muḥid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ukbarī al-ʿArabī. His conscious pride in his Arab descent did not prevent his close association with the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla. His funeral service was conducted by the Sharīf Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā Abu ʿl-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain. In him the Shīʿa in Baghdad reached its zenith. A direct descendant of the seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim, he was, as official naḳīb, the recognised representative of the ʿAlids and also held the offices of chief secretary and leader of the pilgrim-caravan. His authority gave his lectures and his participation in the business of the court great theological and political importance. He conducted a vigorous correspondence with the faithful in Mōsil, Dailam, Djūrdjān, and as far away as Syria in Ḥalab and Tripolis, the latter of which was wholly Shīʿī according to the testimony of the contemporary Nāṣir-i Khosraw (*Safar-Nāme*, ed. Schefer, 12 ult.). The discourses held at the halting-places with his pupils on a journey to Mecca, *Ghurur al-Farʿīd wa-Durar al-Ḳalʿīd* were printed at Ṭeherān in 1312; the *Intiṣār* dedicated to the vizier ʿAmīd al-Dīn, ibid. 1315; the *Amālī* also at Cairo in 1325. On the fundamental question of the Shīʿa he published his attack on the three first caliphs in *al-Shāfi* (Ṭeherān 1301). Al-Nadjāshī had died before Murtaḍā and was laid to rest in the burial-place of his ancestors in al-Kāzimēn. For another 28 years the pupil of Murtaḍā and of Muḥid, al-Ṭūsī Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, called the "Shaiḫh" or the "Shaiḫh of the (Shīʿa) people (Shaiḫh al-Ṭāʿifa)", worked in Baghdad alongside of Murtaḍā, who lived to be over 80. When the Saldjūq Toghril

Beg entered Baghdād (447 = 1055), the position of the Shi'ā became more difficult. This and the desire of being buried in the holy Meshhed 'Alī induced Tūsi to move to Najaf, where he died between 458 and 460 (1065—1068).

The enormous Shi'ī literature of the fourth and fifth centuries, of which only a few authors and books can be mentioned here, seems at the first glance to be very one-sided. The same traditional themes crop up again and again: the imāmate; the estimation from the theological and legal point of view of the earliest caliphs and of the opponents in the battles of the "camel" and of Šiffin; the *ghaiba* and all that is connected with the concealed Imām; then along with Fikḥ in general, special Imāmī subjects like the *muṭ'a* marriage or the *muṭ'aṭān*, i.e. the *muṭ'a* marriage and the *tamattu'* on the pilgrimage; besides complete exegesis of the Korān, special interpretations of favourite Shi'ā passages like Sūra xlii, 22 and xxxiii, 33 and notably the "light-verse" xxiv., 34; finally continuously recurring polemics against opponents within the Shi'ā. But a development cannot be denied, as a reference to the main problem may show. Ibn Bābūya the younger had still granted the possibility in Prophets and Imāms of *sahw* ("neglect") in secondary matters and even described the opposite view as the first step to *ghulūw* (heretical exaggeration). Against him for example Mufid had urged in a special pamphlet their absolute infallibility ('isma), although later the position is still often discussed. But that on the other hand the gates were not at once closed against extremes is shown by the estimation in which the principal book of the Ismā'īlis, the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* long continued to be held. The author, Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr Ibn Haiyān (d. 363 = 974), the "Abū Ḥanīfa of the Shi'ā" mentions no later authorities than the sixth Imām Dja'far al-Šādiq. That there were none later might be judged from an alleged *taḳīya* of this Fātimid Qāḍi of Cairo as the special Imām of the Sevens was also left out. But Ibn Shahrāshūb al-Mazandarānī (d. 588 = 1192) (see *Bibl.*) says simply "he is not an Imām!" and he is followed by later writers like Tafrishī (see *Bibl.*).

In the centuries following arose for example the great commentary on the Korān (printed in Teherān) by Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī died between 548 and 552 (1153—1158), *Madjma' al-Bayān* and *Djāmi' al-Djawāmi'* which is still in use along with the quite concise *Tafsīr* of al-Ḳummī 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥāshim (Teherān 1301), which dates from the time of Kulīnī and gives the special Shi'ā features in moderate compass. Al-Faḍl, who belonged to a family with literary traditions was in Tūs the centre of a learned Shi'ā circle which included for example Ibn Shahrāshūb and Abū Faḍl Shadhān b. Djabrīl, author of one of the many Shi'ī *K. al-Faḍā'il wa 'l-Manāqib* (Tabriz 1304). By moving to Sabzawār al-Faḍl contributed to the spread and consolidation of the Shi'ā in Persia; but he is buried in the sanctuary of Riqā in Tūs. A leading personality in the next century was Dja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. Ya'qūb b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī, called al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ (d. 676 = 1277). His influence in Baghdād extended to the immediate entourage of the last Abbāsīd al-Musta'šim. His circle included several members of the Saiyid family of the Banū Ṭā'ūs, also distinguished for its literary activity. To this family also belonged the then *naḳīb* Abū

'I-Kāsim 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Ṭā'ūsī, the author of the still very popular little books of prayers, passion, guides for pilgrims and amulets, like the *al-Mudjtāna min al-Du'ā'* (Bombay 1317) and *al-Iḳbāl* (Teherān 1314). To Dja'far al-Ḥillī also the modern Shi'ā owes one of its most popular handbooks, the *Sharā'i' al-Islām* which has been continuously commented on in Persian and Arabic (Calcutta 1839, Teherān 1274, part i., ed. and transl. by Kasembeg, St. Petersburg 1862). While Dja'far al-Ḥillī secured permanent importance for his work on *Furūḳ*, his countryman Ḥasan b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, called al-'Allāma for short, is regarded as the great authority on *Uṣūl*. His father before him had been represented as such in the presence of Dja'far to the philosopher, mathematician, astronomer and ardent Shi'ī Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672 = 1273) when this confidant of Hülāgū went to Hilla near Babel, which had long been strongly Shi'ī; Nāṣir al-Dīn himself, the "Khawāḍja", is not exactly renowned for his theological writings although these are still studied among the Shi'īs in spite of the fact that they are not easy to understand; but he is one of the most dazzling figures in Shi'ā politics. He assisted in winning the Assassin strongholds of Alamūt and Maimundīz for the Mongol Khān, entered Baghdād with the latter's army and induced this pagan to execute the last caliph. He thus still has in the eyes of the Shi'ā the merit of having destroyed two of its worst enemies, the *ghulāt* and the "wicked" 'Abbāsīds, the betrayers of the holy family. His constructive work for the Shi'ā was taken over by Ibn al-Muṭahhar, who was brought by him into contact with the family of the Khān and later attached himself to Khān Uldjaitū as leader of the Shi'īs. He disputed before the latter with the Ash'aris, "sophists", and wrote pamphlets against them and against the Sunni law-schools, and converted to the Imāmiya the Khān himself who had been baptised when a prince, later became a Hanbali, then a Shāfi'ī. Some twenty of the works of Ibn Muṭahhar are still in use, for example the *Nahāj al-Mustardjīdīn* on theological principles (Bombay 1303) with the commentary of al-Mikdād b. 'Abd Allāh al-Suyūrī, who was trained in philosophy; the *Kashf al-Fawā'id* (Teherān 1305) is a commentary on the *Ḳawā'id al-Aḳā'id* of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī who was his teacher. For the fuller understanding of the middle school of Shi'ā his two volumes *Mukhtalif al-Shi'ā* (Teherān 1324) are most important.

Ibn al-Muṭahhar was neither the first nor the last to thrust the fundamental doctrines into the foreground. They generally play a more essential part among the Shi'īs than among the Sunnīs for the gate of *idjtihād* is not closed to the former. The learned faḳīh in Persia claims the title of a *muḳhtahid* who gives his fetwās and bases his teaching on the material basis of the Qurān and Sunna through the formal factors of analogy, the search for connections and approval, and by recognition of the above mentioned consensus of the spiritual aristocracy. There is thus at all times a kind of invigorating unrest in the Imāmī theology and jurisprudence, the matter of which otherwise has a tendency to rigidity. Ibn al-Muṭahhar had given his doctrines formulation in the disputes which he waged, especially against a daughter's son of the old Shaikh al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b.

Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī al-ʿIdjlī, who appeared to him to destroy the *idjtiḥād* arbitrarily. In the xith (xvith) century a reaction came from the opposite side through the Mullā Muḥammad Amin al-Astarābādī (d. 1033 = 1623), whose views are still much disputed. As he only allows the Shīʿī Sunna as a source of law beside the Qurʾān, although he also worked on commentaries to the "Four Books", he and his followers are called *Akhbārī* in opposition to the Uṣūlī who favour the *Idjtiḥād*. In his polemics which he conducted from Mecca he was very severe. He refuses to rate the *idjmāʿ* higher than the consensus of the Jews, Christians or philosophers. His activities however enlivened the discussion on *ḥiyās*, *istiḥsān*, *istiḥāb* and on the legal force of a unique tradition in the same way as the attacks of Ibn Ḥanbal or Dāūd al-Zāhiri had done among the Sunnis. The matter of the disputed principles among the Shīʿīs is of course put in the foreground in keeping with the system; as is the recognition which he demands of the authority of the dead, *taḥdīd al-maiyit*, the subjection to the principles of the holy Imāms laid down in the Sunna.

The conception of the passion has always remained alive in the Shīʿa. Out of the multitude of Shīʿī learned men special honour is therefore given to the one who combines the fame of an author with the glory of martyr. Four martyrs are particularly famous. The first *shahīd* is Muḥammad b. Makki al-ʿAmilī al-Djazīnī, the author of the Fiqh book *al-Lumaʿ al-Dimashḥīya*. Betrayed by seceders, he was imprisoned in Damascus and executed with the sword on the fatwā of the Shāfiʿī and notably also of the Mālikī *qāḍī*, impaled and burned, according to most authorities in 786 (1384). The second *shahīd* is Zain al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Taḳī al-ʿAmilī al-Shāmī. After fruitful activity in Damascus, Baalbek and Ḥaleb and after much travelling, he was put to death about 966 (1557) in Constantinople or on the way there for delivering a Shīʿī legal opinion. In addition to several legal eschatological and edifying writings his *Commentary on the Lumaʿ* (2 vols.) has been printed (Tabriz 1287). The third *shahīd* is usually held to be Saiyid Nūr Allāh also (Nūr al-Dīn) b. Sharif al-Dīn al-Marʾaṣhī al-Shushtari. His well known biographies, the Persian *Madjālis al-Muʾminīn* (Teherān 1268 etc.), have been used by Ethé and Horn for the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (vol. ii. 214, 252). His *Iḥkāk al-Ḥaḳḳ* (Teherān 1273) was destined to be fatal for him, on account of its polemics or more accurately apologetics directed against Sunnī writings like *al-Ṣawāʾiḳ al-Muḥriḳa ʿatā Ahl al-Rafḍ wa ʿl-Zandaqa* (Cairo 1307, 1308) of the Shāfiʿī Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitāmī. The fanatical Emperor Djahāngīr had him whipped to death in 1019 (1610) (cf. also Horovitz in *Isl.* iii. 63); his co-religionists used quite recently to visit his tomb in Akbarābād (Agra). The honour of being the fourth *shahīd* is given to Muḥammad Mahdī b. Hidāyat Allāh al-Isfahānī but he is surpassed in importance by his pupil Saiyid Dildār ʿAlī b. Muʾīn al-Nāsirābādī, d. 1325 (1819), who expounded his theology in *ʿImād al-Islām* (printed in India in 1319). In more recent times Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī al-Ḳazwīnī, attained martyrdom, an opponent of *Shaiḳh* Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī (see below) and of the Bābis, from among whom came his murderer in 1263 (1847).

The first two *shahīds* were Syrians, the third lived in India. But Persia had become the centre of the Shīʿa under the Ṣafawids from 907 (1502). The temporary persecutions under the Afghans from 1135—1142 (1722—1729) and under Nādir (1148—1160 = 1736—1747) made no difference to this. A man whose family had the same native place and the same Ṣūfī tendencies as the ancestor of the new ruling house, Ḥusain b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Ardabīlī al-Ilāhī (the theologian) immediately adopted Persian culture as such and wrote his tractates and commentaries in Persian. In the still mainly Sunnī country he was often forced to lead the life of a *muhājir* (wanderer) between Tabriz, Shirāz, Herāt etc. The necessary vitality was imported into the Persian Shīʿa from outside which is also important for the problem: Persia and the Shīʿa. Those concerned were mainly Shīʿīs from the Southern Syrian mountains of ʿAmil (Muḳaddasī, p. 161, 12, 162, 3; 184, 8 always writes: ʿAmila). The last Serbedār ʿAlī Muʾaiyid of Sabzawār is said to have offered an asylum to an ʿAmilī, the First *Shahīd*. These rustic scholars came into the Ṣafawid kingdom in increasing numbers. They settled there and receiving continual accessions to their numbers retained the traditions of their home. Further Shīʿīs came from Bahrain. This is why we find so frequently in the nisbas of Persian Shīʿīs, ʿAmilī or Bahrānī, or names showing the origin more definitely like Karakī in the one and Aḥsāʾī in the other. We can mention very few names for this later period here. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥurr al-ʿAmilī al-Mashgharī had a great success with his first book *al-Djawāhir al-Saniya* (Teherān 1302) because in it he collected, for the first time it is said, the Shīʿī "ḥadīth ḳudsi" (utterances of God not in the Qurʾān). But later the extravagance, volume and speed of his literary output, brought upon him sharp criticism even from theologians used to wholesale production; his 6 volume *Tafṣīl Wasāʾil al-Shīʿa ilā Masāʾil al-Sharīʿa* (Teherān 1288) with a special index *man tā yaḥḍuruḥu ʿl-Imām* is still however of value on account of the great mass of tradition he has worked into it and the fact that he gives the authors. Ibn al-Ḥurr only migrated at the age of 40; after long pilgrimages he settled in Tūs and Isfahān. Among natives the leading family in its day was the *Madjlisi*. Their most notable representative Muḥammad Bāḳir b. Muḥammad Taḳī, d. 1110 or 1111 (1698—1700), was appointed *Shaiḳh* al-Islām by Shāh Sulaimān I. He aimed at reaching the people and wrote about half his works in Persian; he also translated edifying writings in Arabic by Abu ʿl-Ḳāsim al-Ṭāʾūsī. His own largest work is called *Biḥār al-Anwār*, a great encyclopaedia of law and theology in 25 volumes, which has been printed in Tabriz and Teherān. Several were translated into Persian, for example the thirteenth on the Mahdī, by order of *Shah* Nāṣir al-Dīn.

The attitude to those Ṣūfīs, who do not require an imām as mediator, and to whom the spiritual union with God attainable by every believing lover is something at the opposite pole from the inheritance of the "divine part" in the chosen imām, is naturally a hostile one, and also the reverencing of saints in the two schools is of course very different in origin and aim. The most notable encounter between the two was the active part taken by the

Imāmī Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī (d. 311 = 923) in the destruction of Hallāj, who indeed had severely injured the Shī'is by his claim to be the wakīl of the hidden lord of the age (see the article HALLĀJ and L. Massignon, *al-Hallāj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922, i. 138 sqq.). The attitude to the philosophers is at least one of suspicion, since, as the case of the *Ghulāt* warned the Imāmīs, scholasticism might undermine them. But there are many offshoots, mystics and philosophers who profess to be conscientious Shī'is and are not to be disposed of simply by the usual polemics. All the centuries therefore show examples of a fundamental revulsion together with those of mutual attraction. Khwādja Naṣir al-Dīn himself the author of the mildly Sūfī work *Anṣāf al-Ashraf* (Teherān 1320) is in spite of the verdict of Ibn Bābūya, Mufid, Shaikh Tūsī and Ibn al-Muṭahhar, an admirer of Hallāj; Radjab b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfīz al-Bursī is, it is true, censured as the "renewer of Sūfism" since he built up his system on "deceitful fanciful interpretations" and ultra-Shī'ī "exaggerations", but his books like *Mashārik al-Anwār* written about 800 (1397) were used even by such an enemy of the Sūfis as Maḍjlīsī, although with caution, for the *Bihār*; and the fair-minded concede to Mullā Ṣadrā i.e. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī, d. between 1040 and 1050 (1630—1641), that in the "Explanation of the Throne-Verse" (Sūra ii. 256) he has kept himself free from Sūfī fancies; his commentary on the *Uṣūl al-Kāfi* of Kulīnī, the *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib* (Teherān, n.d.) is also used and his version of the fourfold ascent to God in *al-Aṣfār al-arba'a* or *al-Hikma al-muta'aliya* (Teherān 1282) is tolerated, but it is always objected to him that his commentary on the *Hikmat al-Ishrāq* of the mystic Suhrawardī has too much of the language and sentiments of the mystics. His pupil Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā al-Kāshshī, called Muḥsin-i Faiḍ, author of the Shī'ī commentary on the *Kur'ān al-Ṣafī* (Teherān 1276) vigorously defended himself against similar reproaches in *Inṣāf fi Bayān Tarīkh al-'Ilm li-Aṣrār al-Dīn* (in the collected *Rasā'il*, Teherān 1301) and as a matter of fact he is cited by his pupil Saiyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Djazzā'irī against the Sūfis. There is a better foundation for the orthodoxy of the two teachers of Mullā Ṣadrā, the two friends at the court of 'Abbās I, Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Bahā'ī al-Dīn or Bahā'ī al-'Āmili (d. 1030 = 1621) and Muḥammad Bākīr al-Astarābādī (d. 1041 = 1631) called Mīr Dāmād, as son of the "son-in-law" of 'Alī b. Abd al-'Alī al-Karakī, i.e. also an 'Āmili and one of the many commentators on the *Sharāf al-Islām*. In spite of his many sided interests, Bahā'ī, who was also Shaikh al-Islām, as a true Shī'ī revived a very old Shī'ī feature, the ritual interdiction of meat killed by the "people of a book" in the *Risāla fi Tahrim dhabā'ih ahl al-Kitāb*. His *Djāmī-i 'Abbāsī* (Tabriz 1309, Bombay 1319) contains decisions in the vernacular on all heads of the law relating to worship. Mīr Dāmād although he also revered Hallāj showed himself a good Shī'ī in his *al-Rawāshīh al-samawiya fi Sharḥ al-Aḥādīth al-Imāmiya* (pr. 1311), and in *al-Kābasāt* (Teherān 1314) he reconciled his philosophy with orthodoxy, acknowledging that God had existed from all times and is eternal and that the world is transitory. Philosophical discussions were further enlivened by the fact that they were

interwoven with specifically theological problems. There were therefore both Uṣūlīs and Akhbārīs among the scholastic Mutakallimūn. The conflict occasionally became so fierce, as recently as last century, that, for example in Kerbelā', books were only handled in a wrapper of cloth lest a member of another school might have used them. One of the chief leaders in the feud was Shaikh Aḥmad b. Zain al-Dīn al-Aḥsā'ī, a Bahā'ī as his name shows. A theologian, poet, astronomer, and mathematician he fought against Sūfis and philosophers and especially for *idjtihād* and *idjmā'* against the Akhbārīs (cf. his *Djawāmi' al-Kalām* or *Ḥaiyāt al-Nafs*, Tabriz 1276). A much too philosophical belief in the resurrection which to the rigidly orthodox seemed ill founded, brought him on and his school, the Shaikhīya (cf. SHAIKHĪ), the reproach of sectarianism, and as was later the case with Radjab (see above) the responsibility for the heresy of the Bābīs. They themselves like their offshoot, the Bahā'īs, saw to it that even in quite recent times, the feud was vigorously maintained by deed and pen. Nor was there a lack of other polemics. Maḍjlīsī was not the last to write against the Jews. War was waged on Christianity after the arrival of missionaries beginning with H. Martyn in 1195 (1781) and later C. G. Pfander's missionary pamphlet *Miswān al-Ḥaqq* and in recent years the activities of the societies for distributing the Bible.

Popular expression of the Shī'a creed is found in the legends of martyrs, *maḳātīl*, and passion-plays, *ta'ziyāt*. The apocrypha are also numerous; the frequently printed songs and sayings of 'Alī (cf. Fleischer, *Alis 100 Sprüche*, Leipzig 1837); the collection of his utterances in the *Nahj al-Balāgha* of Muḥammad al-Riḍā, a brother of Shaikh Murtaḍā; also many little books of prayers like the *Ṣaḥīfa* of 'Alī, those of the fourth Imām 'Alī Zain al-'Abidin and those of the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā; also the *Ḥadīth kudsī* of 'Alī collected by Bahā'ī al-'Āmili and finally commentaries on the *Kor'ān*, which are attributed to the sixth Imām Dja'far Ṣādiq or the eleventh like the *Tafsīr al-'Askari* (Teherān 1315), which the younger Ibn Bābūya still used freely, though many later authorities express doubts as to their authenticity.

Bibliography: There is no thorough account of the Shī'a. Besides the works here quoted and those mentioned in the articles referred to, the catalogues of Arabic and Persian manuscripts should be consulted (cf. also Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*); E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in modern Times*, 1924, p. 353 sqq., where also Shī'ī biographies and bibliographies are utilised; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen* 2, ed. Bamberger, Heidelberg 1925, p. 196 sqq.; Gobineau, *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale* 2, Paris 1866, p. 63 sqq.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 55 sqq.; Bamberger in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvi. 126 sqq.; Nöldeke in *Isl.* xiii. 70 sqq.; Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, 1918, see Index; Buhl, *Alidernes Stilling til de Shī'itiske Bevaegelser under Umajjaderne* (Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskabs Forhandlinger, 1910, N^o. 5). — As a systematic introduction the following are recommended in addition to sources mentioned in the text: Muḥ. b. 'Omar al-Kāshshī, *Ma'rifat Akhbār al-Riḍā*, Bombay 1317; al-Nadīshī, d. 450 = 1058, *Ma'rifat 'Ilm al-Riḍā*, Bombay 1317;

al-Tūsī, *Asmā' al-Riḡāl*, Teheran 1271 and *Fihrist Kutub al-Shī'a* (ed. by Sprenger and Mawlawī 'Abd al-Haqq, Calcutta 1853—1855); Ibn Shahrāshūb, d. 588 = 1192, *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā'*, MS. Berl. 10047 incomplete; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Hillī, *Khuḷāṣat al-Maḳāl* (also called *K. al-Riḡāl*), Teheran 1310; Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Akhbārī, al-Astarābādī (d. 1208 = 1619) *Man-haḡḡ al-Maḳāl*, Teherān 1307; Ibn al-Hurr al-'Amilī, *Amal al-'Amil fī Dhikr 'Ulamā' Djabal 'Amil*, ibid. 1307; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (Pers.; written 929 = 1523, Bombay 1273 etc.); al-Tafrishī, *Naḡd al-Riḡāl* (written 1015 = 1606, Teherān 1318); Yūsuf b. Ahmad al-Bahrānī, d. 1187 = 1773, *Lu'lu'at al-Bahrain* (Teherān 1269; Bombay n.d.); Muḥ. Bākīr al-Kh'wansārī, *Rawḡat al-Djannāt* (written 1287 = 1870, Teherān 1306); Muḥammad b. Ṣādiḡ b. Mahdī, *al-Nuḡjūm al-Samā'* (Pers.; Lucknow 1313); 'Iḡjāz Husain al-Kantūrī, d. 1286 = 1870, *Kashf al-Ḥudūd wa 'l-Astār* (ed. by Hidayet Husain and Denison Ross, Calcutta 1330). — On the Imāms: Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibīyīn* (Teherān 1307; first half also on the margin of Fakhr al-Dīn Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Nadjaḡī, *al-Muntakhab fī 'l-Marāthi wa 'l-Khutab*, Bombay 1314); Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥanna, d. 818 = 1415, *'Umdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318; 'Abd Allāh b. Nūr Allāh (wrote in 1240 = 1824 etc.), *Maḳtāl al-'Awālim*, 1295. — Traditions: Yahyā b. al-Hasan b. al-Bitrīk, d. 600 = 1284, *Khaṣā'is Wahy al-Mubīn fī Manāḡib Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, 1311; do., *al-'Umda fī 'Uyūn Shīkh al-Akhbār*, Bombay 1309. — Recent works on the doctrine of Nūr: Al-Husain b. Murtaḡā al-Yazdī al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *al-Raḡḡ al-Manshūr wa-Lawāmi' al-Zuhūr*, Bombay 1303. — Sunni polemics with reference to internal disputes; Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, d. 1270 = 1853, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tuhfa al-ithnā 'ashariya*, 1301.

(R. STROTHMANN)

SHIBĀM, the name of several towns in South Arabia.

1. **Shibām** Ḥarāz. A mountain two days' journey W. of Ṣan'ā' and S.W. of Menākha, according to E. Glaser 8700 feet and to A. Deflers 8050 feet high. The lofty peak of the mountain commands the town of Menākha, the Gibraltar of the Yemen. The little town of Shibām lies close under it built up against the cliffs; it is a fortified place with massive stone houses, which was taken by the Turks in 1871 and with Menākha was the strongest bulwark of their power in the Yemen. The country round the little eyry is well cultivated and cereals and coffee grow well on the terraced fields; from the summit of the Djebel Shibām, a splendid view is obtained over the whole massif of the Ḥarāz.

2. **Shibām** al-Kaṣṣa in the Djawf. This is perhaps the **Ḍaw** mentioned in the South Arabian inscription, Halévy, 344, 20 (from al-Baiḡa' in the Djawf) and 444, 2 (from Barākish).

3. **Shibām** Kawkabān. The town lies at the foot of a small spur of the Djebel Sirwahb (a part of the Djebel Ḍulā' called Lubākha. On this little ridge N.W. of Shibām lies the fortress of the town of Shibām, of which there only remain the surrounding wall and a few other ruins at the present day. West of Shibām there is another old building called Dafrān, higher than Labākha but

also on the eastern slope of the Djebel Ḍulā' close against the rocky wall.

The town is separated by the Wādī Nabḥān into a southern and northern part and according to Deflers is 8800 feet above sea-level. It is surrounded by a wall and has 2500 inhabitants but it is said to have been much larger formerly. The inhabitants told Glaser that several places which now lie outside the town were once within its limits and had been markets, namely 'Erret Shukrī (the poultry-market), 500 yards from the town in the direction of Ṣan'ā', 'Erret al-Baṭṭa (oil-market) on the road to 'Ayāl Srēh in the north, two red mounds which are supposed to have been ancient palaces of the Ḥimyars, and al-Mallāḥī (salt-market) on the road to 'Amrān, eq-Da'fa (butter-market) between the modern Jewish quarter, which lies on the north slope of the Lubākha, el-Dja'serī (joined to eq-Da'fa but a little higher and built against the Djebel Ḍulā'), el-'Ader (pottery-market), consisting of a temple with a poorly housed school and mud-houses. The town is said to have had at one time four gates (Bāb el-Fedjrēn, Bād el-Ahdjir, Bāb el-Shukbī, Bāb Metbā'). The chief mosque is a splendid old square building which in Glaser's opinion is as old as the Sabaeen period. The tower is now much decayed and crooked but marvellously hewn black blocks 18 inches by 15 are used for the mosque which the natives say was a palace of the Ḥimyars. The other mosques are also said to be ancient. Glaser mentions Kubbat Shemsī on the road to Kawkabān. Mesdjid el-Gḥail, Mesdjid Yū'es near the Jewish village with old walled cisterns, Mesdjid Meshhed, Mesdjid el-Ziyādī, Mesdjid Ḥāfet Khallake, Mesdjid el-Ma'berī. The three gates of the town are Bāb el-Ḥadīd and two smaller ones called Bāb el-Mugharr. On the southern slope of Lubākha are numerous chamberlike caverns of sandstone, reached by breakneck narrow steps along the cliff. They lie in tiers above one another, are of different sizes, some large, some small, and are hewn out of the sandstone, quadrangular in shape. The entrance is formed by a hole 3 feet by 2 and the floor of the chamber is 3 feet below the entrance. In one of these chambers Glaser found a grave so that they were probably used for burials. Shibām is connected with Kawkabān by an old artificial path formed of steps. The country round the town is very fertile. Cereals, — barley, maize and durra, — beans, mustard, clover, and the better kinds of fruit grow very well here and a mine here still yields the famous Yemen carnelian, amethyst and alum.

The settlement is undoubtedly very old. The ancient south Arabian inscription Glaser, 110, 2, sq. speaks of the Akyān of Shibām and the later name Shibām Bait Akyān mentioned also by al-Hamdānī and others is no doubt connected with this. The town is also mentioned in the great inscription of Sirwāḥ (Glaser 1000 A. 15). The citadel of Shibām was the original centre of the Dhū al-Rumḥāin. The town is said to have been originally called Yahbis and then to have been called after Shibām b. 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad b. Djuṣham b. Ḥāshid, who lived there. The Sukḥaim at a later date lived there who were descended from Yaṣḥum b. Bidā' b. Dhū Khawlān. From them the town gets its epithet of Sukḥaim. Al-Hamdānī was still able to see in the town splendid columns of ancient date which supported a throne. The fortress was still considered impregnable after his time.

Ya'fur b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hiwālī was besieged in it in vain by the generals of al-Mu'tasim al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil. Ibn Rosta's statement that the district then contained 500 palaces and at least 40 villages is of course an exaggeration. A silver mine was also worked here at this time. When Ḥasan Pasha ruled in the Yemen, the castle was in ruins. He built the village of Ghīrās from the masonry of the ruins.

4. Shibām in the Wādī al-Kasr in Ḥaḍramūt, one of the largest towns in the country, which is now under the Sulṭān of Mukallā. Th. Bent estimates the number of inhabitants at 6,000, Wrede at 20,000 but the latter figure is certainly much too high. The town lies in the lowest part of the valley, on an eminence which has arisen out of the ruins of a series of earlier settlements, the brick buildings of which have supplied the material for its formation. The eminence commands the whole surrounding country and forms one of the best strategical points for miles around. In the south lies the plain of Suḥēl el-Bilād which is enclosed by the Djebel Khibbe which runs in a west-southwesterly direction right across in front of the town. The southern half of Suḥēl el-Bilād is well covered with palm-trees but at an earlier date the palm-groves were still more extensive. Cereals grow in the fields and excellent fruit and vegetables are grown while indigo is also much cultivated. The town contains not less than 30 mosques and 2 palaces. The one built by the grandfather of Sulṭān Munassar of Mukallā is a large well preserved building and the gateway is a masterpiece of the mason's art. The pillars in the lofty rooms are splendidly executed and the vast doors are covered with fine carving. The windows are artistically proportioned; bolts, doors and window-frames are finely carved. The palace of the Djem'adār 'Abd Allāh is also beautifully decorated and makes a pleasing impression. A high clay wall about 20 feet high runs from the two palaces around the whole town. Outside the town lie brickworks, oil-presses, indigo factories and limekilns, in which the business energy of the populace finds its outlet. Many houses — there are 600 — and a number of mosques are however now in ruins.

The settlement of Shibām undoubtedly goes back to a very ancient date. The name of the town שִׁבְאָם appears on a fine ancient South Arabian inscription which Bent brought back from Ḥaḍramūt which came from Sē'un and on an inscription of the third century A.D. A number of graffiti scratched in the rocks about 2 hours' journey from Shibām are further evidence that the town was inhabited in ancient times. A cave with South Arabian inscription, probably a tomb, is said to exist in the neighbourhood. Shibām is said to have been founded by the people of Shabwa, who abandoned the latter and settled in Ḥaḍramūt (cf. SHABWA). Al-Bakri knows the town by the name al-Djarīma "the large", as the most favoured town in Ḥaḍramūt. Its inhabitants however did not have a very good reputation, if we may believe Ibn al-Mudjāwir. In the wars which the Banū Kinda waged in Ḥaḍramūt, Shibām suffered a good deal and a considerable part of its mosques were destroyed. Idrisi and Abu 'l-Fida' have confused Shibām in Ḥaḍramūt with Shibām Kawkabān, as C. Niebuhr long ago pointed out.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHIBARGHĀN, called by the Arab geographers *Shaburkān* and *Sabūrkan*, is a town of northern Afghānistān, situated in 36° 35' N., and 65° 45' E. It was formerly one of the three chief towns of the district of *Djūzdjān*, the others being *Yāhūdiya* and *Fāryāb*. The oldest form of the name is *Asapuragān*, from which it has been conjectured that it was an ancient seat of the *Asa*, or *Asargarti*. 'Azizī describes it as the capital of *Djūzdjān*, but this position is usually accorded to *Yāhūdiya*. It lay on the old high road from *Balkh*, from which it is distant nineteen parasangs, or sixty-five miles, to *Marw al-Rūd* and *Herāt*, and is frequently mentioned in the *Zafar Nāma* and other historical works. According to *Mustawfi* its climate was temperate and grain was sold cheap in its market, but he adds, somewhat disparagingly, that some little corn and fruit were grown there. *Marco Polo*, on the other hand, says: "It has great plenty of everything, but especially of the very best melons in the world. They preserve them by paring them round and round into strips and drying them in the sun. There is also abundance of game here, both of birds and beasts". The dried melons of *Shibarghān* were exported not only to *Herāt*, but also to *India* and *China*, where they were famous. The town and its neighbourhood are watered by underground channels (*kanāt*) from the mountains. Early in the nineteenth century, when *Afghānistān* was in disorder, *Shibarghān* was the capital of a small *Uzbek* state, but it long since lost its independence and is now a mere district of the kingdom of *Afghānistān*. It contains some 12,000 inhabitants, and the land about the town is richly cultivated, though it is on the verge of the desert.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHIBLĪ AL-DAWLĀ NAṢR B. ṢĀLIḤ B. MIRDĀS of the family of *Mirdāsids* (see the account of them in the article on the history of *Aleppo* [ḤALAB, ii., p. 230] and also the article *MIRDĀS B. ṢĀLIḤ*), inherited the town of *Aleppo* after the death of his father *Ṣāliḥ* in the battle of *Ukkhuwāna* on the *Jordan* in 420 (1029) while his brother *Thimāl* received the citadel. *Naṣr* has won a place in history by his victories over the *Byzantines* in the defence of the northern marches. After *Ṣāliḥ*'s death the *Byzantine* governor *Spondil* (not *Niketas* as the *Arabic* historians say) of *Antioch* thought the moment had come, by destroying the two *Mirdāsīd* rulers to free the southern province of the *Byzantine* empire from the continued attacks, the so-called summer campaigns (*ṣaifiya*) to which the *Arabs* felt themselves bound in fulfilment of the *Holy War* ordered by the *Koran*. *Spondil* who in spite of his incapacity held the important post of governor of *Antioch* was completely defeated by the brothers *Naṣr* and *Thimāl* in the same year (420). In this year the Emperor

Basil died and his ambitious successor the Emperor *Romanos III* hoped to gain glory from a campaign against these two princes and set out for *Syria* with a huge army which included *Bulgarian* and *Russian* auxiliaries. In the meanwhile *Naṣr* who wished sole control of *Aleppo* had taken advantage of the absence of his brother to seize the citadel. *Thimāl*, thoroughly roused at this act of violence, won the *Arab* tribes over to himself and advanced on *Aleppo*. Thus threatened *Naṣr* sent his nephew as an envoy to the Emperor in *Antioch* and asked him for assistance, promising to recognise him as suzerain and to pay him tribute. But it did not come to fighting between the two brothers, as the tribes, who saw the necessity of uniting in face of the danger threatening from the Emperor, negotiated a peace between them. *Naṣr* remained, as was only right from the political and military point of view, sole lord of *Aleppo*, and *Thimāl* was given *Rahba* and *Balis* in compensation. Strengthened by the help of the *Arabs*, *Naṣr* withdrew his allegiance to the Emperor. The latter therefore (421 = 1030) advanced on *Aleppo* via *Antioch* and pitched his camp north of the town in *Tabbāl*. A body of cavalry which he sent out to reconnoitre was wiped out by the *Arabs*. Thus encouraged, the *Beduins* began to harass the camp itself, to intercept the men sent to bring provisions and water, so that the Emperor was ultimately so hard pressed that he had to retire hurriedly and leave vast booty to the *Arabs*. He is said to have been in such danger on the flight that he put off his tiara to avoid recognition. The victory of the *Arabs* brought no great results. The new governor of *Antioch* was, it is true, also defeated but *Naṣr* preferred to make terms with the Emperor. He sent an envoy to *Constantinople*, who was well received and sent back with rich presents for *Naṣr*. The latter bound himself to pay the Emperor tribute of 500,000 dirhems. Peace reigned henceforth between the two rulers. *Naṣr* was also able later to gain the favour of the *Fātimid* Caliph *al-Zāhir* and his successor, or of his vizier, in 427 (1035) by rich presents from the *Byzantine* booty so that he was confirmed in the possession of *Aleppo* and could rest in peace and security. Only the old enemy of the *Mirdāsids*, *Anushtikin al-Dizbiri*, intrigued against *Naṣr* and succeeded in gaining a promise of the Emperor's neutrality in a war against *Naṣr*; *Anushtikin* again succeeded in uniting the *Arab* tribes of *Tay*, *Kalb* and *Kilāb*. Thus reinforced he took the field against *Naṣr*. In the battle of *Latmīn* *Naṣr* was killed, his head brought to *Anushtikin*, who is said to have deeply lamented his death. *Anushtikin* became lord of *Aleppo* and it was not till four years later, after his defeat and death that *Thimāl* regained it for the *Mirdāsids*.

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he died there in 334 (945). At first an official (and *walī* or deputy-governor of Demāwend) at the age of 40 he became a convert to asceticism under the influence of Khair Nassājī, a friend or *Djunaid*; he brought into mystic circles in Baghdad the enthusiasm, at times cynical, of a dilettante, bolder in words than deeds. The tragic end of the trial of his friend al-Hallājī [q. v.] frightened him; he denied him before the vizier and went, it is said, to accuse him at the foot of the scaffold (309 = 922); in the end whether deliberately (through remorse or to avoid possible persecution) or unconsciously (through an excess of asceticism) Shiblī affected a bizarre mode of life, cultivating eccentricities of speech and action which caused his internment in the lunatic asylum in Baghdad; there he used to discourse readily on mysticism in presence of distinguished visitors.

He has left no works, but his sayings (or "al-lusions" *ishārāt*) figure in the classical collections on *Shāṭḥ* [q. v.] as do his deliberate eccentricities, his ridiculous penances, humiliating or painful, such as putting salt in his eyes to prevent himself from sleeping. In the legend of al-Hallājī the part attributed to Shiblī is very important. He seems to have revered him in secret after denying him in public. In dogma, his ideas are those of *Djunaid*; in law he followed the Mālikī school, which saved him in his lifetime and caused him to be canonised after his death in legal circles, as a rule very hostile to Sūfism. In the classical transmission of *khirka* (cf. *ṬARĪKA*) Shiblī figures as a link in the chain, between *Djunaid* and Naṣrābādī, the latter indeed was his pupil.

His tomb is still venerated at the A'zamiya in Baghdad, beside the *madfan* of Abū Ḥanīfa.

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(L. MASSIGNON)

AL-SHIBLĪ (from *al-Shibliya*, a village in Ushrūsana in Transoxania): SIRĀDĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤAFṢ 'UMAR B. IṢHĀQ B. AḤMED AL-GHĀZNAWĪ AL-DAWLATĀBĀDĪ AL-HINDĪ AL-HANAFĪ, celebrated *Fakīh*. He was born about 714 (the date 704 must be wrong). He studied *Fikḥ* with Wadḥīh al-Dīn al-Dihlawī al-Rāzī, Shams al-Dīn al-Dūlī al-Khaṭīb, Sirādī al-Dīn al-Thakāfi al-Dihlawī, Rukn al-Dīn al-Badā'ūnī, pupils of Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Tanūkhī (d. 670), *Ḥadīth* with Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr al-Djawharī and others. In 740 he came to Egypt and became deputy for Djamāl al-Dīn al-Turkmānī as *Hākim*; through the influence of Yilboghā he was then appointed *Kādi 'l-Askar*; after the death of Turkmānī in Sha'bān 769 he became chief *Kādi* (*Kādi 'l-Kuḍāt*) of Egypt and held the office till his death on Rājab 7, 773. He had also Sūfī tendencies; in Mecca he associated with Khidr and he was later a follower of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (cf. below).

His best known works are: 1. *al-Tawshīḥ*, a commentary on the *al-Hia'ya* of al-Marghīnānī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 376, N^o. 24); 2. a second commentary on the *al-Hidāya* in syllogistic form;

3. *al-Shāmil fī 'l-Fikḥ*, dealing with *furū'*; 4. *Zubdat al-Aḥkām fī 'l-Khilāf al-A'imma al-A'imā*; 5. a commentary on the *Badī' al-Niḥām fī Uṣūl al-Fikḥ* of al-Sā'atī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 383, N^o. 49, 2); 6. a commentary on the *al-Mughnī fī 'l-Uṣūl* of al-Khabbāzī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 382, N^o. 48); 7. *al-Ghurra* (this seems to be the correct form of the title) *al-munifa fī Tardīḥ Madḥ-hab Abī Ḥanīfa*; 8. *Kitāb fī Fikḥ al-Khilāf*; 9. a commentary on the *al-Ziyādāt* of al-Shaibānī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 172, N^o. 2); 10. an unfinished commentary on his *al-Djāmi' al-kabīr* (identical with the *Mukhtaṣar al-Talkhīs*, ibd., N^o. 3 preserved in his autograph; the work is said to have originally included also *al-Djāmi' al-ṣagḥir*); 11. a commentary on the *al-Tāyīd* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (cf. Brockelmann, i. 262, N^o. 8); 12. a work on *Taṣawwuf*; 13. a commentary on *al-Manūr fī 'l-Uṣūl* of al-Nasafī (cf. Brockelmann, ii. 196, N^o. 1, i.); 14. a commentary on the *al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-Fatāwā* of al-Buldadī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 382, N^o. 47, 1); 15. *Lawā'ih al-Anwār fī 'l-Radd 'alā man ankar 'ala 'l-'Arifīn Laṭā'if al-Asrār*; 16. *'Uddat al-Nāsik fī 'l-Manāsik*; 17. a commentary on the *'Aḳida* of al-Ṭahāwī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 174, N^o. 7, 7; where on MS. is quoted); 18. *al-Lawā'ih fī Sharḥ Djāmi' al-Djāwāmi'* (of al-Subkī; cf. Brockelmann, ii. 89, N^o. 1); 19. finally gives a collection of his *fatwā's*. On manuscripts of the surviving works cf. Brockelmann, ii. 80, N^o. 9.

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(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SHIBLĪ NU'MĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD, Urdū writer and historian, was born during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, in a village, 8 miles away from A'zamgarh, U. P., in which his ancestors had been living as *zamindār's* for about 300 years. His father, Shaikh Ḥabībullah, was a *wakīl* at A'zamgarh with a good legal practice. Shiblī, after having been educated in Islāmic sciences at home, under the famous scholar Muḥammad Fārūq of Ġirāīyākōt, made a further study of *fikḥ* under Mawlāwī Irshād Husain at Rāmpūr; in 1289 (1872) he went to Lāhōr, where he specialized in Arabic literature under the eminent Arabist, Professor Faiḍ al-Hasan. After his return from Lāhōr, he specialized in *ḥadīth* under Mawlāwī Aḥmad 'Alī of Sahāranpūr, and then went to Dēoband, where he learnt *Farā'id* in about 6 weeks.

In 1880 he passed the *wakīl's* examination, practised law at A'zamgarh and Bastī but for a few months, acted as copyist and *amin* in the A'zamgarh district for a short time, and took to indigo trade; but nothing suited him. While staying with his younger brother who was being educated at 'Aligarh, Shiblī was introduced to Sir Saiyid Aḥmad who made him a teacher in the Collegiate School and soon after appointed him as one of the professors of Arabic and Persian (February 1, 1882). His coming in contact with Sir Saiyid had a very healthy influence on the young man's literary activities, and he very soon learnt to utilize the store of knowledge he had gathered

during the past years of his life. In 1892 he undertook a journey to the Near East to get acquainted with the literary and educational conditions there, and visited Constantinople, Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo and other places. He was given a literary pension by the Nizām of Ḥaidarābād in 1314 (1896) and resigned his Professorship in 1898; was Director of the Department of 'Ulūm-u Funūn, Ḥaidarābād (April 1901—January 1905), Hony. Secretary of the *Dār al-'Ulūm* of the *Nadwat al-'Ulamā'*, Lakhna'ū (1905—1913); was also, for sometime, Hony. Secretary of the *Andjuman-i Taraqqī-i Urdū*. He died in 1914, and, just after, his pupils established, in his memory, the *Dār al-Muʿannifin* at Aʿzamgarh, with a library and a publishing house, and with the monthly journal "*Maʿārif*" as its organ. Shibli's works are: Urdū: *Musalmānōn ki gusashṭa Taʿlīm*, Āgra 1887; *al-Maʿmūn*, a biography of the *Khālifa*, Āgra 1887; *Sirat al-Nuʿmān*, a biography of Abū Ḥanīfa, Āgra 1891; *al-Djīya*, on the origin of the word, Āgra 1891 (Engl. translation, 'Aligarh); *Kutubkhāna-i Iskandariya*, Āgra 1891 (Engl. translation, Ḥaidarābād); *Safar-nāma*, Āgra 1893; *al-Fārūḡ*, 'Umar's biography, Kānpūr 1899; *al-Ghasālī*, the *Imām's* biography, Kānpūr 1903; *Ilm al-Kalām*, 'Aligarh 1903; *al-Kalām*, Kānpūr 1903; *Sawānīḥ-i Mawlānā Rūm*, Lakhna'ū 1902; *Muwāṣana-i Anis-u Dabir*, a criticism of two Urdū poets, Āgra 1906; *Shi'r al-'Adjam* i.—iv., 'Aligarh 1909—1912, v. (unfinished), Aʿzamgarh 1919; *Sirat al-Nabī*, i.—iii., Kānpūr 1919—1920, iii. (unfinished), Aʿzamgarh; *Kulliyāt-i Urdū* (Poems); *Rasā'il-i Shibli*; *Maḳālāt-i Shibli*; *Maḳātib-i Shibli*, 2 vols. (all published lately, Aʿzamgarh). Persian: *Kulliyāt* (Poems), Aʿzamgarh. Arabic: *al-Djīya*, 'Aligarh; *al-Intiḳād 'ala 'l-Tamadḍun al-Islāmī li Dīrūdī Zaidān*, Lakhna'ū.

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(A. SIDDIQI)

SHIGHNĀN. [See SHUGHNĀN.]

SHIHĀB AL-DAWLĀ. [See MAWDUD.]

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN. [See MUḤAMMAD B. SĀNĪ.]

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MAḌJID, an Arab navigator of the xvth century, author of sailing instructions for the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the western China Sea and the waters of the Malay Archipelago.

When Vasco da Gama had reached Malindi on the east coast of Africa in 1498, he was able to get a pilot there who took him direct to Calicut. The incident is briefly recorded by one of the sailors in the expedition (*Roteiro da viagem de Vasco da Gama em MCCCCXCVII*, 2nd ed., ed. by A. Herculano and Castello de Paiva, Lisbon 1861, p. 49); and in greater detail by the Portuguese historians of the xvth century, notably by Damião

de Goes (*Chronica do serenissimo Rei D. Manuel*, Coimbra 1790, i., Ch. xxxviii., p. 87), Castanheda (*Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portuguezes*, 1833, Bk. i., end. of chap. xii and beginning of ch. xiii., p. 41) and Barros (*Da Asia*, Decade i., Bk. iv., ch. vi., p. 319—320 of the little edition of 1778) who give the name of this pilot as: *Malemo Canaqua* in Castanheda and Goes, *Malemo Cana* in Barros, i. e. *mu'allim kanaka* or "master of astrological navigation".

This story is confirmed by an Arabic text: *al-Barḡ al-yamānī fi 'l-fath al-'Oḡhmānī* (MSS. nos. 1644—1650 and 5927, Arabic collection of the Bibl. Nat. [1]) by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (1511—1582, cf. above), but the pilot there is called Aḥmad b. Mādjīd. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn records that, after several unsuccessful attempts, a Portuguese caravel arrived in the Indian Ocean: "[Before they reached the west coast of India and while they were on the east coast of Africa,] the Portuguese continually sought information regarding this sea [of Western India] until a skilful sailor named Aḥmad b. Mādjīd put himself at their disposal; the leader of the Franks called *Almilandī* (= Portuguese *Almirante* = "Admiral") had become friendly with him and he used to become intoxicated with the Portuguese Admiral. This sailor being intoxicated showed the route to the Admiral, saying to the Portuguese: "Do not approach the coast in this part [of the east coast of Africa north of Malindi], steer straight for the open sea; you will then reach the coast [of India] and be sheltered from the waves". When they followed these directions, a large number of Portuguese ships avoided shipwreck and many ships reached the sea of western India" (MS. 1644, fol. 56, l. 9 sqq.).

The story of the intoxication seems to be a complete invention; it seems that it was a pious fiction intended to excuse an action which the Muslims of Mecca where Ḳuṭb al-Dīn lived must have regarded as treachery. On the contrary it is more likely that the Arab *mu'allim* agreed to pilot the flagship of the Portuguese squadron on the promise of a handsome reward for his services. The Portuguese reports, which had no reason to conceal the fact, give quite a different story to this Arabic text.

Barros, who gives the most detailed account of the event, says that while Vasco da Gama was at Malindi some banyans from the kingdom of Cambay in Gujarat came to visit the Admiral. These Hindus, who paid homage to an image of the Virgin (taking her for a Hindu goddess) were thought by him to be members of one of the Christian communities which existed in India in the time of St. Thomas. With them came a Moor (= Muslim) of Gujarat (*sic!*) called Malemo (= *mu'allim*) Cana (= *Kanaka*). The latter as much for the pleasure he took in the company of our men as to please the king (of Malindi) who was looking for a pilot for the Portuguese, agreed to set out with them (to show them the route to India). After discoursing with him, Vasco da Gama was very satisfied with his knowledge, especially when the Moor had shown him a map of the whole coast of India arranged as those of the Moors are with meridians and parallels (= degrees of latitude and longitude) in great detail without indicating the rhumbs of the winds. As the squares (formed by the intersection) of these meridians and parallels were very small (the direction of) the coast by

the two rhumbs N. S. + E. W. was very exact without the map being overloaded with the quantity (of signs indicating the direction) of the winds and the needle, as on our Portuguese map which served as a basis for the others. Vasco da Gama showed the Moor the great wooden astrolabe which he had with him and other astrolabes in metal, with which the altitude of the sun was taken. The Moor displayed no astonishment at seeing such instruments. He said the (Arab) pilots of the Red Sea used instruments of brass, triangular in form and quadrants to take the height of the sun, and of the (pole-)star which they used most in their navigation. But, he added, he and the sailors of Cambay and the whole of India sailed with (the help of) certain stars, southern as well as northern, and other notable stars which crossed the centre of the heavens from east to west. They did not take their altitude with instruments like those (that Vasco da Gama showed him) but with another which he used himself, and he brought it at once to show him (on this instrument cf. Reinaud, *Introduction Générale à la Géographie des Orientaux* in *Géogr. d'Aboulféda*, i., p. cxi. sqq.); it was an instrument made of three plates. As we are dealing with the shape and method of using this instrument in our *Geographia (universalis)*, a work unfortunately now lost) in the chapter devoted to instruments of navigation, it is sufficient to mention here that the instrument in question is used by the Moors for the operation for which we use in Portugal the instrument called by the sailors *arbalestrille*, which is also dealt with, along with its inventors in the chapter just mentioned (of the *Geographia Universalis*). After this discourse and others which they had with this pilot, Vasco da Gama had the feeling that he had found a great treasure (*parecia-lhe ter nelle hum grão thesouro*). In order not to lose him, he put to sea as soon as possible and sailed for India on April 24, 1498" (*Da Asia*, Decade i., Bk. iv., Ch. vi., p. 318—321, of the edition of 1778).

According to Goes and Castanheda (*loc. cit.*) the pilot in question was "a Gujarat pilot", according to Barros "a Muslim of Gujarat", the description of him by the two Portuguese historians is a bilingual expression: — *malemo* = Arabic *mu'allim*, in nautical language — "master of navigation" and *Canaqua* = *Kanaka*, the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *gaṇaka* = "astrologer" (cf. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. M. Longworth Dames, Hakl. Soc., 1921, ii. 61/62 with v. Ronkel's correction in *Museum*, 1925, No. 1, p. 18). On the other hand this *malemo canaqua* is undoubtedly the same person as Aḥmad b. Mādjīd of the *al-Bark al-yamānī*; and we know from himself that the celebrated *mu'allim* was an Arab of Arab descent, and born at Džulfār. The mistake made by Goes, Castanheda and Barros or rather by their sources is obvious but I am not able to explain it.

We know Ibn Mādjīd from other sources also. In the preface to his collection of sailing instructions entitled *al-Muḥīṭ*, the Turkish Admiral Sīdī 'Alī says: "During a stay of five months which I made at Baṣra (in 1554) which lasted till the beginning of the monsoon, and during my three months' voyage from Baṣra to India, from the beginning of the month of *Shābān* to the end of the month of *Shawwāl* (July 2 = Sept. 27, 1554), during these eight months I never missed an opportunity of talking day and night on nautical matters with the pilots of the coast

and the sailors (of the country) who were on board my ship. Thus I learned how the old pilots of Hormuz and Hindustān: Laīḥ b. Kahlān, Muḥammad b. *Shādhān* and Sahl b. Abān used to sail in the Indian Ocean. I also collected the books that had been written by modern (pilots), like Aḥmad b. Mādjīd of Džulfār in the province of 'Omān and Sulaimān b. Aḥmad (cf. the article *SULAIMĀN AL-MAHRĪ*), a native of a town called *Shīhr* in the land of Džurz (Southern Arabia), as well as the books entitled: *Fawā'id*, *Hāwīya* (by Ibn Mādjīd, see below), *Tuḥfat al-fuḥūl*, *Min-hādī*, *Kiladatu 'l-shumūs* (by Sulaimān al-Mahrī); and I studied each one thoroughly. For as a matter of fact it was exceedingly difficult to navigate the Indian ocean without these works. The (foreign) Captains, Commanders and sailors do not know how to sail here and a pilot is always indispensable for them because they have not the necessary knowledge. I therefore have thought it at least a duty to write down all that is best in these books and to translate it into Turkish and then to write a good book so that those who consult it may attain their goal without needing a pilot and not have to seek advice from a pilot. My translation from these Arabic documents was finished in a short time with the help of the Powerful King (Allāh). As my books contain all the extraordinary things about navigation it has been entitled *al-Muḥīṭ*, "what surrounds our coasts, what includes all in itself" (*Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Muḥīṭ*, transl. M. Bittner, with preface and 30 maps by W. Tomaschek, Vienna 1897, p. 53). Sīdī 'Alī mentions Ibn Mādjīd later (p. 51) and speaks highly of him; he calls him the "reliable among the sailors, the *mu'allim* of the sea of India, most worthy of belief among modern (writers of sailing instructions)".

So far as one can judge from the published extracts, the *Muḥīṭ* of Sīdī 'Alī is only the Turkish version, often mediocre, of a part of the route-book and sailing instructions of Ibn Mādjīd and of Sulaimān al-Mahrī. Neither Maximilian Bittner nor his predecessor, von Hammer, endeavoured to trace the Arabic texts, the titles of which are briefly given by the Turkish admiral and their authors. No literary history mentions them but they appear in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes de la Bibl. Nat.* under 2292 and 2559 (the former was acquired by the Bibliothèque in 1860, the latter according to a note made by the Syrian priest Joseph Ascari was already in the Arabic collection in 1732); these two valuable manuscripts contain all the works used by Sīdī 'Alī and other texts which he does not appear to have known.

The MS. 2292 which is a copy of the original is in 181 folios of 270 × 180 mm, 19 lines to the page and contains 19 route books and nautical treatises by Ibn Mādjīd copied in the following order by a scribe who troubled little about chronology:

1. *Kitāb al-fawā'id fī uṣūl 'ilm al-baḥr wa 'l-ḥawā'id*, folio 1—88^a (it is the text called *Fawā'id* by Sīdī 'Alī). This work in prose, divided into xii. chapters, is dated 895 (1489/1490). The early pages deal with the legendary origins of navigation and of the magnetic needle. Ibn Mādjīd then deals with the 28 lunar mansions; the stars corresponding to the 32 rhumbs (*ḥān*, plur. *akḥnān*) of the compass; of the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean; the latitudes of a number of harbours in the Ocean and Western China Sea;

the landmarks ('*alāma*, '*ishāra*') formed by birds and the outline of the coast; the landfalls (*nataḥha*, class. Ar. *nadaḥha*) of the west coast of India; the ten famous large islands (Arabian Peninsula, island of Komr or Madagascar, Sumatra, Java, al-*Ḥūr* or Formosa, Ceylon, Zanzibar, Bahrain, Ibn Gāwān in the Persian Gulf and Socotora); monsoons favourable for the voyage with the date in the Persian computation of each monsoon. This treatise concludes with a description of the Red Sea which gives in detail its anchorages, shallows, banks and reefs. "The style of the work", says de Slane (*Catal.*, p. 401), "is very prolix and full of technical terms the meaning of which was only known to those who sailed the Indian Ocean". This is only partly true. The texts of MSS. 2292 and 2559 have been certainly prepared by sailors and for sailors. Technical terms abound in them, as might be expected, and the nautical vocabulary which they have yielded to me will be an important addition to the Arabic dictionaries (2).

II. *Ḥāwiya al-ihṭiqār fī uṣūl 'ilm al-bihār* (this is the text mentioned by Sidī 'Alī under the title *Ḥāwiya*) occupies ff. 88b—117a. The text in *radjās* verse is divided into 11 sections (*faṣl*). After a brief prose introduction of 20 lines the first section begins, dealing with signs of the proximity of land which pilots ought to know. The second section deals with the lunar mansions and rhumbs, the third with the knowledge of the years, Arabic, Coptic, Byzantine and Persian, the fourth with the knowledge of the *bāshī* or correction to be made in the position of certain stars, the monsoons (*sic!*) of the *bāshī*, the months in which the stars appear, the fixed character of their latitudes, and their disappearance, the dates being represented in the Persian way; the fifth, the sea-routes on the coasts of Arabia, of the *Hidjāz*, of Siam (i. e. in the language of Ibn Mājjid, the west coast of the Malay Peninsula which in those days all belonged to Siam), of the extremity of the land of the negroes (lit.: of the negro coast); the sixth, the sea routes on the coast of Western India, down to the countries situated below the wind (i. e. according to Ibn Mājjid, east of Cape Comorin), like the island of Billiton on the east coast of Sumatra, [the land of the] *Maharādja* = Sumatra (cf. ff. 101b—103ab) and China, Formosa; the seventh, the sea-routes along the coast of the eastern islands, Sumatra, the *Fāl* or Laccadines, Madagascar, Yemen, Abyssinia, the land of the *Somālis*, of al-*Aṭwāh* in southern Arabia, and of *Makrān*; the eighth, the distance of the sea-ports of the Arabian coast from those of Western India; the ninth, the latitudes of the harbours of "the Surrounding Sea (*baḥr al-muḥīṭ*) which runs deeply into the north, i. e. of the sea of Western India"; the tenth, on navigation in the strict sense of the word, on the knowledge of currents of deep seas and of "the Surrounding Sea which runs far in between the coasts of the land of the negroes, India and China", i. e. the Indian Ocean of our maps; the eleventh deals with nautical astronomy.

The *Ḥāwiya*, which is frequently cited in the preceding treatise (i.) is thus dated on folio 116b: "this poem was finished in the month of the pilgrimage at *Djulfār* (in the S. W. of the Persian Gulf), the native land of the Lion of the Sea (surname of Ibn Mājjid), among countries on the day of the Ditch (*yawm al-Ḥadīr*) (3), the finest of days which is specially consecrated to good

works and to fasting, and it was, my friend, in the year 866 A. H.", i. e. 18 *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* 866 = Sept. 13, 1462.

Folios 117b—123a are blank.

III. An *urđjūsa* on the navigation of the Gulf of Berbera, the Gulf of Aden of our maps, from folio 123b—127a; it is dated 890 (= 1485).

IV. A treatise in verse preceded by an introduction of 33 lines in prose entitled: "Book on the *ḥibla* of Islām for the whole world". This poem, says the author, has been prepared "especially for those towns which are near the sea and for towns frequented by travellers". It is dated 893 = 1488 and occupies ff. 128a—137a.

V. An *urđjūsa* on navigation along the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, fol. 137b—139b; n. d.

VI. An *urđjūsa* on the *Banāt na'ṣh* (αβγδεζη of the Great and Little Bear), ff. 139b—145b; dated 900 = 1494—1495.

VII. An *urđjūsa* entitled "The treasure of the *ma'allim* or masters of navigation and treasures of the science of unknown things about the sea, the stars, the planets, their names and their poles". This is not dated but from the context is before 1489, fol. 145b—147b.

VIII. An *urđjūsa* dealing with the landfalls (4) on the west coast of India and the coast of Arabia from 25° N. to 60° N.; n. d.; ff. 147b—154b.

IX. An *urđjūsa* rhymed in *m*, n. d., dealing with certain northern stars, ff. 154b—156b inclusive.

X. *Urđjūsa muḥammad* dealing with certain northern stars; n. d.; ff. 156b—157b.

XI. Poem in 13 lines rhymed in *n* on the Byzantine months; n. d. (before 1489).

XII. *Urđjūsa* entitled *Ḍaribat al-dar'ib*, "The obligation of obligations" dealing with its utilisation of certain stars for navigation; n. d.; ff. 158a—163a.

XIII. *Urđjūsa* entitled "*Urđjūsa* attributed to the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, dealing with the knowledge of lunar mansions, their exact position in the heavens, their form, their number; a complete description"; before 1489; ff. 163a—165b.

XIV. Rhymed poem in *r* entitled "The Meccan poem" dealing with sea routes from *Djedda* to Cape *Fartak* (South Arabia), *Kālikūt*, *Dābul*, the *Konkan*, *Gujarat* (Western India); to al-*Aṭwāh*, *Hormuz*...; n. d.; ff. 164b—169b.

XV. Rhymed *urđjūsa* in *r* entitled *Nadīratu 'l-'abdāl* "The Rarity of the Generous" or al-*Wāḥī*, *Dhubbān* and al-*Uyyūḥ*; ff. 169b—171a (before 1489).

XVI. Poem rhymed in *b* entitled "The Golden Poem", ff. 171a—176a; before 1489. It deals with "the investigation of reefs, great depths and what one should do there and shallows; signs indicating land like birds and winds, land-falls on capes during the monsoon from the South-West, landfalls in wind from the West". It is mentioned folio 40³, l. 10 and dated from the reign of the Mamlūk Sultan *Ashraf Saif al-Dīn Kā'it Bey* (873—901 = 1468—1495).

XVII. *Urđjūsa* dealing with the observation of al-*Ḍafda'* 'the Frog' = α of the Southern *Piscis* or β of the *Whale* according as it is the first or second *Frog*. This poem rhymes in *n*, and is called al-*Fē'ika*; it occupies ff. 176a—178a and was written before 1489.

XVIII. *Urđjūsa* rhyming in *'*, called al-*Balīgha* 'The eloquent', dealing with the observation of the stars *Canopus* and *Arcturus*; it occupies ff. 178a—179b. — n. d.

XIX. Nine brief sections (*faṣl*) in prose, not dated, dealing with soundings in different parts of the Indian Ocean, &c.; ff. 179^b—181^b and last.

The second MS. in the Arabic collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, N^o. 2559, is a small 4^o of 215 × 150 cm., 187 folios of 15 lines to a page; it contains the following treatise by Ibn Mādjīd:

XX. *Urdjūza* entitled *al-Sabʿiyya* (divided into seven sections) because it deals with seven branches of nautical lore; ff. 93^a—103^b; dated 888 (1483). At the end it is referred to as "the great *Urdjūza*". "The Golden poem" (cf. XVI above) is reproduced on ff. 103^b—109.

XXI. A *ḥaṣīda* rhyming in *ḥ* dealing with astronomy; ff. 109^b—111^a; before 1489.

XXII. *Ḥaṣīda* entitled "..... and (*sic*) observations regarding it and the stars which are useful for landfalls and the description of the landfall points and of the coasts from Din to Dābul"; ff. 111^a—116^a. The proper title of this nautical poem is given on f. 116^a in the following verse: "I have called this *ḥaṣīda* 'The good path of the *muʿallim* because it is faultless'. At the end he says: "End of the *ḥaṣīda* called *al-Hādiyya* (which directs into the good path)"; before 1489.

The first nautical treatise in prose (I) contains also quotations of verses taken from ten other treatises by Ibn Mādjīd which have not come down to us (XXIII—XXXII).

Chronologically these thirty two treatises may be thus classified:

- (a) 1462. *Hāwiya* (II).
- (b) 1483. *al-Sabʿiyya* (XX).
- (c) 1485. The poem on the Gulf of Aden (III).
- (d) 1488. The poem on the *Ḳibla* of Islām (IV).
- (e) 1489—1490. The Book of Useful Information (I).
- (f) 1494—1595. The *urdjūza* (VI).

The texts VI, XI, XIII, XVII, XXI—XXX are quoted in *c* and *a* which places them in the period before 1462. XV is earlier than XVI and XIV which refer to it. IX is earlier than XV and XVI and XII than XIV. VIII, X, XVIII and XIX contain no hint to enable one to date them, even approximately.

The period during which Ibn Mādjīd published his thirty nautical texts lies between an uncertain date before 1462 and 1489/90. The most important work of the celebrated *muʿallim*, for size as well as its practical nature is undoubtedly his Book of Useful Information (I). It contains 178 pages (folio 1^b—88^a with 48 bis) of 19 lines to the page, i. e. 3382 lines, to which are to be added marginal notes of one or several lines on 27 pages. Concluded in 1489/90 this book seems to be a compendium of the known knowledge of theoretical and practical navigation. It is therefore more and better than the result of personal experience and labour; we must regard it as a kind of synthesis of nautical science of the latter years of the middle ages. Ibn Mādjīd is at the same time the earliest of modern writers of nautical guides. His work is admirable. The description of the Red Sea, for example, has never been surpassed or even equalled, neglecting the inevitable errors in latitude, by any of the writers of nautical guides for sailing boats. The information given on the monsoons, local winds, routes and latitudes for crossing the whole Indian Ocean are as precise and detailed as could be expected at this period.

Indonesia is less well known to him than the continent and islands of the Indian Ocean. By an error, which is inexplicable, Java is placed lying north to south, contrary to its real orientation; and this same error appears again in the nautical texts of Sulaimān al-Mahrī (MS. 2559) who lived in the first half of the xvth century, from which it passed into the Turkish translation of Sidi ʿAlī. It is the only important rectification necessary.

MS. 2292 incidentally contains some biographical information about Ibn Mādjīd and his family. He was called Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mādjīd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Faḍl b. Buwīk b. Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusain b. Abī Maʿlaḳ al-Saʿādī b. Abī ʿl-Rakāʾib al-Nadjdī (f. 2^b, infra). He gives himself the title of "poet of the two *Ḳibla*'s (Mecca and Jerusalem), who has performed the pilgrimage to the two noble sanctuaries, the descendant of the Lions" (5) (f. 137^a, 65^a, 145^b and 147^b); "the Lion (*asad*) of the sea in fury (f. 88 *sq.*)". He also says on f. 117^a: "I, Aḥmad b. Mādjīd, am the Arab *muʿallim*".

According to certain passages in MS. 2292 the father and grandfather of Ibn Mādjīd were *muʿallim*, authors of nautical treatises and their son and grandson continued their work. "He who (sails in the southern Red Sea) sails on the route of the pilgrims to Mecca", he says on p. 78^a. "My grandfather knew it with accuracy and in detail; he yielded to no one in this respect. My father added the results of his revised personal experiences. His knowledge surpassed the knowledge of his father. When our hour came and when we had in our turn gone through these experiences for nearly 40 years, when we had corrected the scientific work of these two exceptional men, when we had put into writing the results of our own experience and our written observations, we saw appear facts and principles which no one had combined in our time and which are only found scattered through different writers".

My father, he tells us on p. 78^b, was called by the pilots, "the pilot of the two coasts" (of the Red Sea). He prepared the famous *urdjūza* called *al-Hidjāziyya* containing over 1000 verses. We have corrected the errors we found in it and have completed it methodically". There is another reference to this poem on f. 81^a.

Regarding a reef on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, adjoining the island of Marmā which lies to the south of the 20° Lat., Ibn Mādjīd says (f. 87^a) that most people call it "Mādjīd's reef" because his father had moored his ship to it. This is evidence of his fame among seafaring people of his day.

On several occasions Ibn Mādjīd shows full confidence in statements made by his father, differing with the usual practice of the pilots of the xvth century. "I have owed my safety," he says on f. 84^a, "to the information given me by my father rather than to that of the pilots". Further on he shows by an actual incident that his confidence in his father's knowledge was justified. "When we were moored there (between Asmā and Masnad, two islands on the Arabian Coast of the Red Sea to the south of the 17°) in 890 A. H. (= 1485), he says on p. 84^b, the *nākhūdha* and the pilot were agreed upon passing between the islands of Asmā and Masnad, but I did not agree with their opinion because I had read in a poem compiled by my father that "there is no

passage in the neighbourhood of these islands; therefore (he advised) keep away, avoid these islands, there are only reefs there and there is only one passage two fathoms deep". We discussed the question with one another, Ibn Mājjid continues, after quoting this from his father's book and I said to them "The best thing to do in my opinion is to send the *sambūk* (a kind of skiff) to go a day in front of us". The *sambūk* set out with the sounding lead and found two fathoms of water. The *sambūk* confirmed what I had said and returned passing between Masnad and Sāsūh. It found the passage and came back to us at the end of the day. And (the statements made in) my father's poem proved to be, in this place, the best part of my inheritance".

Regarding the legendary origins of navigation, the needle, the compass, the astrolabe, Ibn Mājjid says: "The first to build a ship (f. 2 v. infra of MS. 2292) was Noah. He built it on the advice of the Angel Gabriel, who had been sent to instruct him by the Almighty Creator. The ark was built in the shape of the figure formed by the five (*sic*) stars of the Great Bear; the stern of the ark corresponds to the third star (f. 3^a), the keel to the fourth, fifth and sixth stars and the stern to the seventh. Even now [1489] the people of Zang (eastern coast of equatorial Africa), of Ḳomr (Madagascar), of Mrima (the African coast opposite Zanzibar) and of the land of Sofāla call the fifth and sixth stars of the Great Bear *al-hirāb*, "the keel of the ship".

These two stars are observed for the determination of latitudes, at the moment of the culmination of *al-ṣarfa* (β of Leo), in the absence of the *far-rāḳid* (β and γ of the Little Bear) because they have the form of the keel of the Ark of Noah. Traditionists differ as to the length and breadth of the Ark. It is said to have been 400 cubits long, 100 cubits broad and 100 cubits deep, not including the height of the masts. It had two oars (in the stern to act as rudder). When the ark was finished and the flood came, Noah embarked with those who were to accompany him. It carried them and saved them from the deluge and shipwreck. The Ark is said to have sailed seven times round the site where the Ka'ba of Mecca was later to stand. This place was then a region of red sand where nothing was built. The deluge did not reach it."

"When (f. 3^b) the Ark was built and men had learnt the art of navigating along the shores of the sea in all the climes [of the earth] which Allāh divided among the children [of Noah]: Japhet, Sem and Ham [Son of Noah], who is the second Adam, each began to build ships in the maritime countries, the gulfs and shores of the sea surrounding the earth until the world reached the epoch of the 'Abbāsids (132 = 750) which dynasty had Baghdād as its capital in 'Irāk 'Arabi. All Ḳhorāsān belonged to them. The road from Ḳhorāsān to Baghdād is three or four months' journey in length."

"At this time (i.e. under the Abbāsids) there lived three famous men: Muhammad b. Shādhān, Sahl b. Abān and Laith b. Kahlān (not Ibn Kamilān). I have seen that written in a work [by Ismā'il b. Ḥasan b. Sahl b. Abān], the grandson [of Sahl], in a *rahmāni* (or *rahmāng*, Pahlavi *rāhnūmag* "book of the route") (Θ) dated 580 A.H. (1184/1185). They exerted all their efforts in composing this *rahmāni* which begins "We have expounded to

thee that...." None of it is in verse and the subjects dealt with are not linked together, which is not the case with a well composed work. Their book has neither finality or authority. It can be added to or have parts cut out of it. These men were compilers and not original authors. They only sailed on the Red Sea from Sirāf to the coast of Makrān (f. 4^a). They went from Sirāf to Makrān in seven days, from Makrān to Ḳhorāsān in a month. They shortened the way, for before their time, it was a journey of three months from Baghdād. They set themselves to enquire on every coast of the people of these coasts and they have left a narrative [of their voyage]".

"In their time among the celebrated *Mu'allim* were Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Aḥmad al-Maghribi, Mūsā al-Kandarānī, Maimūn b. Ḳhalīl and, a thousand before them (*sic*), Aḥmad b. Tabrīya [who had written nautical books]. They borrowed from the works of the latter and from those of the *Mu'allim* Ḳhawāshir b. Yūsuf b. Ṣalāḥ al-Afriki who had travelled in the year 400 (1009/1010) and the years adjacent to this date (and who had written a narrative) of what he had seen in travelling on the ship of Dabawkara the Indian. Among the famous *Nākhūdhā* of their time were Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Abi 'l-Mughairī (or Mughīrī). Their principal knowledge lay in the description of their coasts and their extent. The majority of the countries described formed part of the lands situated under the wind (i.e. lands east of Cape Comorin) and on the coast of China. Now these ports and towns (which they described) have disappeared. Even their names no longer exist. The indications given by them are no longer of any use for our period (xvth century), lacking as they do the solid basis of our modern knowledge and experience and our discoveries which are recorded in this book. For it is a book in which everything has been checked and verified by experience and there is nothing superior to experience. The point reached by the predecessors should be that from which their successor starts and here we are increasing considerably their knowledge and their works. We have paid tribute to their work in saying "I am the Fourth after the Three". Sometimes in the work we have produced in what concerns the sea, there is a single leaf which contains more perfection, accuracy, utility, valuable advice than [all] they have composed" (f. 4^b).

"The Three borrowed their good points and their ability from the above mentioned individuals and others also. They took from each his knowledge of the coast and sea with which he was familiar; they made a story of it but they are compilers and not writers recording their own experiences, and I know no Fourth (who could be mentioned alongside of them) except myself. I honour them when I say: "I am the Fourth [after these three famous authors]." I have honoured them by taking into account the fact that they are before me in the era of the Hidjra. Certainly after my death another will come and [there will be] men who will put each of us in our place. When I studied the work of my predecessors and found it feeble without reality or certainty, without order, I adopted what was worth keeping and recorded the discoveries I had made, my corrections and the results of my experience, year by year in the verses of the (nautical) poems and in this book [which has been published or finished] in the year 880 A.H. =

1475/1476⁽⁷⁾. Men experienced in nautical science have approved my work, used it and taken it as a basis to solve the difficulties presented to them, such as for example, the aspect of mountains, astronomical observations, names and knowledge of the stars, and the way to steer by them. The people of my time knew very little more than what the ancients had handed down to them regarding, for example, the proper sea-routes, the *tirfāl* (co-efficient indicating the length of the route to be traversed to a given cape to obtain the same displacement in latitude as in the route to the north) and the *ruhūdāt*. As to distances they did not know them. We have already spoken of this in the commentary on the nautical poem entitled *al-Dhahbiya* ⁽⁸⁾ and we shall refer to them again."

"In reality, the people of the early ages had plenty of courage in their hearts, but they only sailed with the help of the sailors of the coasts who were endowed with considerable energy, while the others feared the sea and had an aversion for it. The sailors equipped their boats excellently; they never allowed [the favourable period of] the monsoon to pass; they did not load their ships above what was usually done. We however know more and have had more experience than they. Every improvement in seafaring matters had an inventor. The maker of the Ark was, as we have said, Noah. As to the lodestone to which one trusts oneself, the art of navigation was not complete without it. It was David who invented it; it is the stone with which he killed Goliath. As to the lunar mansions and the signs of the Zodiac, the prophet Daniel wrote on this a book which was completed by [Naṣir al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī (d. 1261). But let us come back to our first subject, the stars [to which correspond] the rhumbs of the compass. Their names are found in an old book earlier than the work of the Lions, our predecessors. But these rhumbs and these *zām* (= 3 hours sailing) are not absolutely exact data (i.e. the direction of the courses which they give and their duration expressed in *zām* are only approximations and not certainties). As to the description of the coasts (f. 5b) which we know from experience, we have written it with care and we only give it after repeated personal experience. Our description of the coast is better than that of our predecessors...."

"As to the making of the house of the needle with the lodestone (i.e. the compass) it is said that Daniel was its inventor for he knew how to make use of iron and the properties of this metal. Others say that it was al-Khidr (cf. AL-KHADR) who invented the compass, when he set out to look for the well of life, when he penetrated into the land of darkness and the sea of darkness and when he travelled to one of the poles up to the place where he no longer saw the sun. It is said he found his directions with the lodestone. Others say that he found his direction with the help of light. The lodestone (f. 6a) is a stone which attracts iron. This is the only thing that it attracts. It is said that the seven heavens and the earth are held in suspension by the lodestone and the omnipotence of Allāh. Many other things are said on this subject."

"The first inventor of the *Kiyās* (or astronomical observation) with the astrolabe", Ibn Mājjid goes on (f. 14a, l. 3 *infra*, "was Idrīs [q.v.]. He was the inventor of the astrolabe with degrees. [The ancients] changed these degrees into *iṣba'* (finger).

They have recorded it in the story of the City of Copper⁽⁹⁾ and the astrolabe was included among instruments of navigation by others than the Three, Muḥammad b. Shādhān and his (two) companions; for the ships sailed the ocean by steering by astronomical observation (with the astrolabe) in the time of the Prophets — on whom be peace! —. Our Three (predecessors) only lived in the time of the 'Abbāsids. Such is the story given in histories written by their hands".

Ibn Mājjid pays a tribute to his predecessors, by saying on several occasions that he is the "fourth after the Three" or "the fourth of the Lions" but he does not fail to warn sailors against the gaps and errors in their works, with which he contrasts the extensive documentation of his own *Nautical Instructions*. "Canopus, he says (f. 31b of MS. 2292), rises far from the south pole on the 222nd day of *Nirūs* at dawn and sets on the 40th day of *Nirūs*. If you ask a sailor, he will never know that; unless he has studied this book, he will not be able to answer the question, even if he had read for a hundred years the works of Muḥammad b. Shādhān and his two companions". It seems from a passage in MS. 2559 (f. 126b, l. 5 *sqq.*) that the works of the Ancients, i.e. of the Three, were still consulted in the first half of the xvth century.

According to the text of Ibn Mājjid, the Three, Muḥammad b. Shādhān, Sahl b. Abān and Laith b. Kahlān, were neither *mu'allim* nor masters of navigation nor sailors, but only learned authors of route-books and nautical instructions who had used for their works the stories of sea-voyages. The passage in question in the *Book of Useful Information* (I), besides, gives two definite statements. — The Three or at least Sahl b. Abān lived in the first half of the xiith century A.D. and the above mentioned records of voyages contained more particularly the descriptions of the countries under the wind (East of Cape Comorin and of China). We can imagine that the works of the Three were based on records of travels in India, Transgangetic India, Indonesia and China, like that of the merchant Sulaimān, published in 851 which was revised and expanded by Abū Zaid Ḥasan about 916⁽¹⁰⁾. An amateur of geographical science, the latter lived in Baghdad and there collected all the information he could find in manuscripts or gathered from the sailors of his time, and it seems that this is what the Three did, whose continuer Ibn Mājjid calls himself, for he expressly points out that he differed from the others in writing of seafaring matters from a long personal experience.

According to Ibn Mājjid, the works of the Three mentioned towns and seaports which had disappeared in the xvth century. This reference is to ancient place-names which would have been of great use to us in identifying the geographical names preserved in Chinese text and in Ptolemy's lists. But we have now lost this source of information it is nevertheless important to know that it once existed. Anything is possible in the east, — even the chance discovery of a manuscript of the Three, of Aḥmad b. Tabrūya, or Khawāshir b. Yūsuf b. Ṣalāḥ al-Afriki. The acquisition by the Bibliothèque Nationale of the MSS. 2292 and 2559 is a lucky chance which one can always hope may repeat itself.

The *Kitāb al-Fawā'id* (I), the importance of which can be seen from the résumé and extracts given

above seem to be the work of Ibn Mājjid's ripe experience. We do not know the date of his birth. If he was 25 or 30 in 1462 when he wrote the *Hāwiya* (II) he would be 52 or 57 when the *Book of Useful Information* appeared (I) and 53 or 63 at the time when he finished the poem (VI) which is dated 1494—1495. Three or four years later, in April 1498, Vasco da Gama arrived at Malindi where Ibn Mājjid embarked as his pilot. We do not know the date of the mu'allim's death.

According to James Prinsep, the memory of Ibn Mājjid was still alive in India and the Maldives in the first half of the sixteenth century.

"I endeavoured therefore, says Prinsep to procure an Arabic compass, but not one could be met with in all the vessels — at length my friend Saiyid Husain Sidi found a drawing of it in one of the practical works on navigation — called the *Mājjid kitāb*, "Book of Mājjid" or, as my Maldive friend facetiously expressed it, the "*John Hamilton kitāb of the Arabs*" — in possession of a nakhoda, and without ceremony tore out the leaf to show it to me, as the captain was afraid of parting with the volume, without which doubtless he would have been greatly at a loss on his return voyage" (*Note on the Nautical Instruments of the Arabs*, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1836, ii, p. 788). The reference here is evidently to a nautical work analogous to MSS. 2292 and 2559, with the addition of plates showing the instruments used in navigation and perhaps charts; or perhaps it was even a copy of MS. 2292, whence it would have its name of *Mājjid kitāb* or "Book of Mājjid".

In his *First Footsteps in East Africa or an Exploration of Harar* (London 1856, p. 3—4), R. F. Burton says: On Sunday, the 29th October, 1854, our manifold impediments were pronounced complete. Friend S. threw the slipper of blessing at my back, and about 4 p.m. embarking from Maala Bunder (the part of the port of Aden reserved for native boats), we shook out our "muslin", and sailed down the fiery harbour. Passing the guard-boat, we delivered our permit; before venturing into the open sea we repeated the Fatihah-prayer in honour of the Shaykh Majid (*sic*), inventor of the mariners' compass, and evening saw us dancing on the bright clear tide....". Burton adds in a note: "It would be wonderful if Orientals omitted to romance about the origin of such an invention as the Dayrah or compass. Shaykh Majid is said to have been a Syrian saint, to whom Allāh gave the power of looking upon earth, as though it were a ball in his hand. Most Moslems agree in assigning this origin to the Dayrah, and the Fatihah in honor of the holy man, is still repeated by the pious mariner". There is every reason to believe that Shaykh Mājjid is not a saint belonging to Syria but simply the mu'allim Ibn Mājjid who has found a place in Muslim hagiography for the eminent services which his nautical works have rendered to navigators since the xvth century. The process is obvious and many similar cases are known.

In 1913 my regretted colleague and friend Paul Ottavi who lived for some fifteen years at Zanzibar and Mascat, had a search made in these seafaring centres for nautical texts by Ibn Mājjid and Sulaimān al-Mahri, but the very names of these two mu'allim were unknown to the Arab sailors there.

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Notes: 1. There are numerous copies in Europe and in the East.

2. A second copy of MS. 2292 has just been accidentally discovered in Damascus and has found a home in the Arabic Academy; cf. *Revue de l'Académie Arabe*, Feb. 1921, Damascus, p. 33—35. Another copy but incomplete of MS. 2559 was found at Djedda where our colleague Aḥmad Zeki Pacha had kindly had enquiries made on my behalf.

3. The use of this specifically Shī'a expression in place of the ordinary Arabic word seems to show that the author was himself a Shī'i or at least had an inclination towards the partisans of 'Alī.

4. Land-fall is here to be taken in the special sense of reconnaissance of a cape or land to enable one to ascertain the route.

5. Play of words on the name of his predecessor, Laith b. Kabalān (*laith* = lion in Arabic).

6. On this very important term, cf. *J.A.*, 1924, 209—215.

7. The book in question is however dated in all cases 895 A.H.

8. This commentary has not come down to us.

9. On the legendary City of Copper, cf. M. Gaudefroy—Demombynes, *Les cent et une nuits*, Paris 1911, p. 284—348 and the authors quoted.

10. Cf. *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le IX^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, arabic text by Langlès, transl. and notes by Reinaud, 1845. I have published a new translation entitled *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abū Zayd Ḥasan (vers 916)*, Paris 1922.

(GABRIEL FERRAND)

AL-SHIHR, the name of a town and district on the coast of South Arabia, which is still known as the Shehrāt coast. The learned Nashwān gives also al-Shahr as the dialectic pronunciation for al-Shihr, which latter he calls the correct form. This form is of interest because it recalls SARA, first suggested by A. Sprenger as the basis of the corrupt SABA in Theophrastus and Pliny; when the latter says the word means *mysterium*, this recalls Ibn al-Mudjāwir's derivation of the name Sahrā, which is applied to the Mahra people, from *sihr* "magic". That SARA is the coast district now called al-Shihr, which classical and Arab authors know as the land where the frankincense tree flourishes, is in any case certain. The name Xaqr and Xaer given by the Portuguese to this region, recalls the apparently older pronunciation Shahr, which means "coast". To the Arab geographers the name al-Shahr is synonymous with Mahra, the strip of South Arabian coast, which, according to Ibn Hawkal, is 400 parasangs long and about 5 broad, the eastern end of which is 100 parasangs from Maskat, while the western end is the same distance from 'Aden. Al-Ashghā and Sam'ūn are given as old names of this territory, which was not reckoned a part of Ḥaḍramūt proper, and the names al-Ashghār and al-Aḥkaf are also of frequent occurrence. That the inhabitants, as is still the case, spoke a peculiar, unintelligible dialect, was already known to the Arab geographers. The South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1899 studied this language thoroughly, and the comprehensive works of D. H. Müller and M. Bittner, also of W. Hein, A. Jahn and N. Rhodokanakis give us a complete survey of this peculiar idiom.

The coast of al-Shihr with its hinterland, has passed through various vicissitudes. At the beginning of the tenth century A.D., it was taken by Badr b. Tuwrik al-Kaḥrī from the Ghassānid 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, then later by the Portuguese who occupied the whole coast from 'Aden to Maskat. After holding this stretch of country for thirty-five years, the Portuguese were driven out by the Banū Kaḥṭān and all attempts to re-establish themselves failed. A fleet of twenty ships, sent to reconquer the lost territory, was sunk with every man on board, in a fearful hurricane. The Kaḥṭān ruled the country for fifty-five years, and then the coast was conquered by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥimyari. Various owners held the much disputed coast in succession until in 1866 Sultān Ḡhalib b. Muḥsin al-Kaḥrī seized al-Shihr, but lost it the very next year to the Ka'aiti, who gradually won the whole coast.

The town of al-Shihr, which lies in the centre of a sandy desert, is surrounded by a clay wall, with square watch-towers and round forts. Formerly one of the most important ports of Ḥaḍramūt, from which were exported the precious frankincense and the amber known as *'anbar shahrī*, and which conducted a busy trade with Mokhā, 'Aden, Maskat and al-Baṣra, it is now completely overshadowed by the much more favourably situated port of Makallā, as it only has an open roadstead for shipping. Remains of ancient civilisation and former prosperity are still to be found. The houses, now much ruined, as nothing is ever renovated, frequently show beautifully carved stonework in the doors and windows. The mosque has a very

picturesque situation, but has been much neglected; the minaret has a decided inclination to one side. The population is about 6000—10,000, and is mainly industrial. Dyed cottons are woven on primitive looms and loin-cloths, with gay and and pretty patterns. White cottons imported from India are dyed here with indigo and madder. Smiths make all kinds of weapons, notably strong knives, which have a particularly good reputation. Silversmiths, of whom there are many, find plenty of employment in decorating these arms with silver, according to the local custom, and making the ornaments beloved by the women. More elaborate articles are imported from India, notably valuable sword hilts. The bazaar of the town is quite insignificant. Coloured cottons and other goods of European origin like soap, candles, ironmongery, Indian cottons and silks, petroleum, matches, dried dates, rice, durra, wheat, coarse wheat flour, imported from India, coffee and tobacco are also dealt in here. As the flesh of goats and sheep is relatively dear, the main food is the small sardine-like 'aid fish, which is also used as manure and to make oil. Al-Mukaddasi long ago emphasised the wealth of al-Shihr in fish, and he reports that fish in his time were exported to 'Omān, 'Aden and even al-Baṣra and the lands of Yemen. The 'aid fish is probably identical with the little fish called *warḥ*, which according to Ibn Hawkal was the principal food of the inhabitants, and according to Idrīsī was dried and given to the camels as food, which Th. Bent also saw done in Ḥaḍramūt. At the present day, salted and dried shark is an esteemed article of export into the interior. The guild of merchants, however, has few wealthy members, and the foreign connections are mostly with India (Malabar), Central Africa and al-Baṣra. Gum-arabic and resin, especially frankincense are brought to the market by the Beduins and exported from here. The trade in those articles is, however, now quite insignificant, compared with what it was in antiquity.

In conclusion we may note that al-Aṣma'ī in al-Bakrī mentions a palace named al-Shihr in Ḥaḍramūt; how far this is correct cannot be ascertained. There is probably a confusion with the town on the coast, which however, as noted above, never belonged to Ḥaḍramūt proper.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHIKĀRĪ, a word formed from the Persian word *shikār* ("sport", in the sense of hunting or shooting) and meaning a hunter. There are many castes in India whose occupation is the snaring, trapping, tracking, or pursuit of birds and beasts, but the caste which has adopted or received the word *Shikārī* as its tribal name is found chiefly in Sind. A writer in 1822 said: "Shecarries are generally Hindoos of low caste, who gain their livelihood entirely by catching birds, hares, and all sorts of animals", but the *Shikārīs* of Sind seem to have abandoned the occupation from which they take their name. They are described as outcast immigrants from Rājputāna, found from Bangāl to the Panjāb, the origin of whose honourable appellation is unexplained, though they probably possessed, like other aboriginal races, a knowledge of wild animals and skill in tracking and were employed by the Musalmān nobility in quest of sport. They are now engaged in making baskets, and as sweepers and scavengers, and appear to correspond, in most points, to the Bhāngīs of Bangāl and Hindūstān. They eat carrion, and, even when professing Islām, are considered unclean, and not allowed to enter a mosque, unless they undergo a ceremony of purification by fire, after which they are classed as *Māṭchīs*. Those whose occupation is the taking of life are naturally held in small esteem in a land which has been permeated by the principles of Buddhism, Djanism, and Brahmanism, but the purification ceremony demanded by Muslims before admitting *Shikārīs* to their worship is an example of the extent to which Islām in India has been infected by the prejudices of Hinduism.

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SHIKĀRPFÜR, a town of Sind, situated in 27° 57' N. and 68° 40' E., was founded in the seventeenth century by the Dāūdputras, a tribe of warriors and weavers, who established their supremacy in Upper Sind and made their new town their capital. In 1701 it was captured by Yār Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Kalhora dynasty, with the aid of the Sirāi or Tālpūr tribe of the Balūṭ, and became, in turn, his capital, but the district in which the town is situated remained in the hands of the Dāūdputras until it was conquered in 1719 by Nūr Muḥammad, the son and successor of Yār Muḥammad.

In 1739 Thatha and Shikārpūr, with all that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus, were ceded by Muḥammad Shāh of Dīhlī to Nādir Shāh, who in 1740 invaded Sind to punish Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora for concluding with Muḥammad Shāh's governor of the province an agreement which

infringed his sovereign rights. Nūr Muḥammad was obliged to surrender and to relinquish his possession of *Shikārpūr* and Sibi, which Nādir Shāh handed over to the Dāūdputras, but in 1754 Muḥammad Murād Yār Khān was recognized as governor of the whole of Sind by Ahmad Shāh Durānī, to whom the province was tributary, and remained thereafter in the hands of the rulers of the province.

Shikārpūr has long been famous, both under British and under native rule, for the enterprise of its merchants, who carry on an extensive trade not only with other parts of India, but also with Persia and Central Asia, where many of them reside for long periods. The import trade of the Kirmān province of Persia, in tea, sugar, and other commodities is almost entirely in the hands of *Shikārpūr* merchants, who have taken advantage of the situation of the town on one of the great routes from Sind to Khurāsān viā the Bolān Pass, but since the middle of the nineteenth century, it has lost much of its importance owing to the construction of the North-Western Railway and its extension to Kwetta (Quetta). It is still, however, a considerable entrepôt. Its great covered bazar is famous throughout Asia, and is continued by a modern structure, the Stewartgandj market.

Bibliography: R. F. Burton, *Scinde Revisited*, London 1877; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxii. 389 (1908). (T. W. HAIG)

SHIKESTE. [See i., 391b.]

SHIKK 1. *Shikk* is the name of two diviners who lived shortly before the rise of Islām. According to the *Synopsis of Marvels*, *Shikk* the elder was the first diviner among the Arabs of 'Ariba. He is quite a fabulous personage. Like the Cyclops, he had only one eye in the middle of his forehead or a fire which split his forehead into two (*shakka* to split). He is also mixed up with *Dajjdāl*, Antichrist, or at least *Dajjdāl* is of his family. He is said to have lived chained to a rock on an island where volcanic phenomena occurred. The second *Shikk* called al-Yashkarī was the most famous of his time along with *Ṣaṭīḥ*; he expounded a vision of Rabi'a son of Naṣr the Lakhmid prince of Yemen, foretelling the conquest of Yemen by the Abyssinians, its liberation by Ibn Dhī Yazan and the coming of the Prophet.

2. According to Ḳazwīnī the *Shikk* are a kind of *Shaitān* forming part of the group of *Mutashaiyatīna*; they are in the shape of half a man with one arm and one leg. The *Nasnās*, other halves of men, are produced from *Shikk*s and whole men. These *Shaitāns* appear to travellers. It is said that 'Alkama b. Ṣafwān b. Omayya met one of them one night near Ḥawmān and after an exchange of high words, the man and the djinn killed one another.

Bibliography: *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, transl. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1898, p. 145 and 152; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, ed. and transl. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, iii. 364 and 395; al-Kazwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848—9, i. 371. — On the *Kāhīn* in general cf. *Chronique de Tabari* (Bel'ami), transl. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867, ii. 169. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SHILLUH (in Berber: masc. sg. *ashelhai*), the name given to the Berber speaking peoples of Sūs, of the High and Anti-Atlas (South of Morocco). This is the name they give themselves; the word is widely used in Morocco; it

is often used by Europeans as a synonym of Berber-speaking, and is applied by them to people of the Middle Atlas also, and among them it is taking the place of *amasigh*.

The language called *tashelhait*, like the Berber language generally, is found in the form of many local dialects closely connected with one another, none of which has risen to the level of a language of culture. These dialects are among the most conservative of the Berber dialects; in phonetics they are occlusive, with however a tendency in the dental to affrication (e.g. *Ida gunidif*); in morphology they show many clear traces of archaism (cf. the verbs of quality in particular). M. Lévi-Provençal has recently discovered an Arabic manuscript 800 years old containing a number of Berber expressions from this region. This valuable manuscript, in view of the scarcity of old Berber texts, gives confirmation of the stable character of these dialects.

This district, especially Sūs, is one of the most striking in Barbary from the literary point of view. The poets there are particularly renowned and one of them, who may however be quite a legendary individual, Sidi Hammu, has so to speak become the symbol of poetry and all the popular verses are attributed to him. This literature is mainly oral; there are however a few Berber manuscripts in the Arabic alphabet; this is one of the few districts in Barbary in which they are found.

This region has had no unity from the point of view of historical continuity. A few places are known from the part they have played at particular periods, e.g. Tinnel, Tazerwalt (cf. the separate articles).

Bibliography: a. Study of the language: there are a certain number of books all practically of the same period by H. Stumme. The chief one is *Handbuch des Schilphischen von Tazerwalt*, Leipzig 1899. M. Destaing has undertaken a study of the dialects of the Ida u Semlal in five volumes, one of the best enquiries into the Berber language — only the first volume has so far appeared: *Tachelhit du Soûs, I, vocabulaire Français-Berber*, Paris 1920; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents d'Histoire Almohade* (in the press).

b. Literature: Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920 (esp. p. 349 sqq.). (ANDRÉ BASSET)

SHĪN, thirteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, whose numerical value is 300. It is distinguished from *sin* by three diacritical points, cf. I, 381 sqq. For linguistic particulars see *sĪN*.

SHINĀSĪ (derived from the Persian *shinās*, the verbal stem of *shinākhten* "to know"), poetical name or *takhalluṣ* of a number of Turkish poets (five in Hammer). See Index to Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* and to Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*; cf. Rieu, *Catal. British Museum*, p. 101.

The best known of the writers bearing this name is IBRĀHĪM SHINĀSĪ EFENDĪ, who is according to some the father and according to others one of the first pioneers of modern Turkish literature (given new life as a result of the *Tanzimāt*). The son of an artillery captain, a native of Bolu, Shināsī was born at Constantinople in 1242 (1826—1827) and soon afterwards lost his father, who was killed in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828—1829. His mother who became an invalid had

him admitted as a clerk in the General Artillery Office (*Tophkhāne-i 'amire*), where he attracted the attention of his superiors by his poems, *kaşidas* in honour of the grand vizier Rashīd Pasha and other statesmen and his chronograms (*tārīkh*), more or less complicated (*tāmm, müdjuvher* and *mülemma*), for tombstones, for fountains and other monuments. A French officer, the Count of Châteauneuf, who was later to become a Muslim under the name of Nūri Bey, taught him the elements of the French language. The young civil servant poet thus found himself chosen among the first students who were sent to France. In his petition addressed to Marshall Fathī Pasha (*Tophkhāne müshiri*) Shināsī asked to be sent to Paris in order to perfect himself in the study of the French language (*lisān-i 'aṣab ül-beyān-i fransevi*), and asked for a pension to be paid to his mother during his absence. The decision of the Council of Ministers (*medjlis-i wükela*), approved by Rashīd Pasha, which gave him 5,000 piastres for his travelling expenses and a pension of 300 piastres monthly for his mother, is dated the end of the month Rabi' al-awwal 1265 (January 1849) but may have appeared after a certain delay. Tradition has it that Shināsī took an active part in the Revolution of 1848, hanging the Republican flag on the Pantheon, and that he associated with scholars and men of letters such as Silvestre de Sacy, Renan and Lamartine. He stayed abroad for five years.

On his return to Constantinople, Shināsī was appointed a member of the first Council of Public Instruction, created in accordance with the plan which he had brought back from Paris. He worked also on the Finance Commissions with the object of elaborating certain administrative reforms, but having lost his protector Muṣṭafā Rashīd Pasha (who died in 1274) and being in bad odour with the bureaucrats, who even reproached him for not wearing a beard, he quitted the government service and took up journalism.

He began by collaborating in the *Terdjümān-i ahwāl*, the first non-official Turkish newspaper, founded on the 6 Rabi' al-akhir, 1277 (October 22, 1860) by Agiāh Efendi, *mütearrif* of Izmit. Shināsī was the chief editor of this organ. But soon afterwards he was able to found a journal under his own name, the *Taṣwīr-i Efkiār*, which, thanks to the energy of Shināsī's successors, Abu 'l-Ziyā Tawfīk and his son, was to survive with slight changes of title (*Taṣfir-i efkiār*, *tevhid-i efkiār*) until its recent suppression by the government of Angora (March 6, 1925). Shināsī's paper which, according to its sub-title, was an organ for information and public instruction appeared at first in a very modest and impersonal form; the first number alone contained a preface of several lines, signed by the author. Appearing twice weekly and printed on four pages, in a much reduced "format" the *Taṣwīr-i efkiār* had four rubrics: Home news (*hawādisāt-i dākhiliye*) mostly official appointments, foreign news (*khārdjiye*), advertisements (*ʿilānāt*) and a feuilleton (*tefriḳa*). In these feuilletons were published the works of Subhī Bey (one of which is on numismatics), lectures by Aḥmad Wafīk on the philosophy of history, and older works such as the *Misāl ul-haḳḳ* of Kīatib Čelebi. They also contained translations from Buffon, by Abu 'l-Čhāzī (*Sheḳere-i türki*). The *Taṣwīr* supported the

Courrier d'Orient (edited in French) by Pietri against the *Rüşnâme*, the supplement of the *Djerride-i hawadis* in which Sa'îd Bey (the future grand-vizier Küçük Sa'îd Pasha) wrote. Begun à propos of a sale of coal to the Admiralty the polemic took a literary character on the subject of an Arabic barbarism committed by Sa'îd Bey who had employed the expression *mes'ele-i mebhüse 'anhâ* (instead of *mebhüs 'anhâ*) "the affair in question". It required the intervention of the Syrian Ahmad Fâris Shidyâk, the editor of the Arabic newspaper *Al-Djawi'ib* to cause *Shinâsi* to triumph before the public.

Shinâsi also collaborated in the *Djerride-i 'askariya* "Journal Militaire" founded by the minister of War Fu'ad Pasha, and in the "Courrier d'Orient", whose editor Pietri he had got to know through the offices of a friend of his Paris days, the Albanian Sa'îd Sermedi Bey. After Sermedi had been arrested and exiled to St. Jean d'Acre because his ideas were thought to be too advanced, *Shinâsi* took fright and fled with the aid of Pietri, on board a French ship, in order to take refuge in Paris. He did not return to Turkey until after the death of the grand-vizier, who was hostile to him. He himself died in September 1871 in the prime of life.

Apart from his journalistic activity the literary activity of *Shinâsi* is not very extensive. Consisting mainly of scattered articles, it has not been collected into *külliyât* (complete works).

In 1859 he published a pamphlet entitled *Extraits de poésies et de prose traduits en vers du français en turc*, Constantinople, Eastern Press, 11 pages of French text and as many of Turkish text in 16° (contains short extracts and isolated verses of Racine, Lamartine, La Fontaine, Gilbert and Fenelon) — 2nd edition, press of the *Taşwîr-i Efkiâr*, 1287 (1871/1872). — This small work is important because it was the first translation into Turkish of literary works of the West (practically all French works).

The poetical works of *Shinâsi* were published 1287 (1871/1872) in another little book entitled: *Müntekhabât-ı esh'âr*, "Selection of Poems", by Abu 'l-Ziyâ Tawfîk (*Taşw. Efk. Press*).

This selection of poems combined with the "Extracts" just mentioned above was reprinted by the same editor under the title of *Diwân-ı Shinâsi* on the 1st Muharram 1303 (October 10, 1885), with the authority of *Shinâsi*'s son and again later in 1310 (1892/1893), 118 pages in 16mo.

The poetical works of *Shinâsi* do not contain anything revolutionary nor do they give evidence of great poetical talent; they are panegyrics, chronograms, ghazels, satires, hymns (*itâhî*) etc. But they include two or three rhymed fables and a bold innovation, confined however to two verses only; this is an attempt to write a poem with Turkish words only (*Sâfi Türkçe*). Here is the meagre result of this attempt:

Göve-mi erdi başım yer yüzüne geldim-se?

War-mî baş bendiyleyin yıldız düşkümlü kimse?

"Having come on this earth has my intellect soared to heaven?"

"Does there exist a man whose star is as ill-omened as mine?"

(It should be noted that the metre which has been adopted [*remel*] is still borrowed from the old prosody).

In dramatic art *Shinâsi* was also a pioneer writing the first comedy or rather the first Turkish vaudeville, under the title *Şa'ir evlenmesi*, "A Poet's Marriage". Feeble in itself, this work has independently of the merit of novelty, that of criticizing the old-fashioned matrimonial customs; it deals with a fraudulent attempt to substitute in the place of a veiled bride, an uglier sister. It has been translated into German by Vámbéry.

Shinâsi, besides, collected in 1268 (1851/1852) about 2,000 Turkish proverbs to which he added some Arabic, Persian and French equivalents. This collection appeared under the title of *Durûb-u emsâl-i osmâniye*, at the Taşw. Efk. press in 1280 (1863) and in 1287 (1870—1871). Finally in 1301 (1883/1884) Abu 'l-Ziyâ brought out a third edition, which he enlarged by bringing it up to 4004 proverbs (cf. *J. A.*, 1863, ii. 269, 143 and 1871, ii. 147, 22).

The influence which *Shinâsi* exerted on the development of Turkish literary movements cannot be compared to that of his young rival and protégé Nâmîk Kemâl, but his part was considerable in the restoration of the language itself. He contributed a great deal to simplifying the language by bringing it nearer the spoken language and by combatting scholastic influence of Arabic and Persian so as to make Turkish a language adapted to the requirements of modern civilisation.

In the field of syntax, this reform consisted in writing shorter sentences. Küçük Sa'îd Pasha (then President of the Senate) said in his *Gazetadji Lisânî* (*Şabâh*, 1327 [1913], 144 pp. in 16mo) that the credit of having first used short sentences was not due to *Shinâsi* and that Rashîd Pasha had done so in his youth, when he was *ameddâji* "referendar", but afterwards came back to the old turgid style. The real initiative is said to have come from the *Fenerli* or Greeks of the Phanar employed in the civil service by the Turks and this movement is said to have begun as early as 1245 (1829/1830). Sa'îd Pasha adds that this need not lessen the real credit of *Shinâsi* who was able to rid the Turkish language of obsolete lumber and rejuvenate it by contact with Western literature (*op. cit.*, p. 106—107).

A letter written by *Shinâsi* to his mother from Paris, dated 30th *Kiânûn-ı sâni* 1269 (1853), is regarded as a model of the modernised style (reproduced by Abu 'l-Ziyâ Tawfîk in his *Nümûne-i edebiyât*).

'Abd al-Halîm Mamdûh also thought that Kemâl Bey and Abu 'l-Ziyâ had exaggerated the scope of the literary influence of *Shinâsi*. He thinks that he was not only surpassed by his immediate successors but was also preceded by important reformers like 'Akîf and Pertew Pasha. *Shinâsi* is nevertheless the founder of literary criticism in Turkey.

The writer of this article has sought in vain for traces of *Shinâsi*'s stay in Paris. A lucky chance may one day make his researches more fruitful. An examination should also be made of the Turkish dictionary in thirteen volumes which *Shinâsi* is said to have left in manuscript — part in the National Library of Budapest and part in the Library at Vienna (cf. also 'Abd al-Halîm Mamdûh).

Bibliography: The best documentary study on *Shinâsi* is that of Vladimir Gordlevski, *Očerki po novoy osman'skoy literatur'e*, Moscou 1912 (Russian; Travaux de l'Institut Lazarev, fascicule xxxix.), 146 pages gr. in 8°. Cf. also

Abu 'l-Ziyā Tawfīk, Constantinople 1879, 2nd ed. 1886, *Nūmūne-i edebiyāt*, p. 253; 'Abd al-Halīm Mamdūh, *Tārīkh-i edebiyāt-i osmāniye*, Constantinople 1306, p. 93—99; Sa'īd Paṣṣa (cf. above in the text of the article); *Mebhūsātūn 'anhā*, pamphlets N^o. 23 and 24 of the collection *Kütüb-khāne-i Ebū-s-Ziyā*; Aḥmad Rafīk, *Shināsīn berāyi tahsīl Parise gitmesi, Türk tārīkh-i endjūmeni mejmū'at*, of 1st May 1341 (1925), p. 215—216; Paul Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902, p. 10—12 (cf. p. 5, the bibliography of this work); L. Bonelli, *Della lingua e letteratura turca contemporanea*, Venice 1892; Safar Bey, *A travers la littérature turque (II)*, *La Revue*, formerly *Revue des Revues*, 1st September 1907.

(J. DENY)

SHINTARA (or *Shantara*), Arabic name of the modern Cintra, a little town in Portugal, at a height of 700 feet above sea-level, 16 miles N.W. of Lisbon. It was quite prosperous under Muslim rule and the Arab geographers remark on the fertility of the country round; its apples were universally famous. Cintra always shared the destinies of its great neighbour Lisbon as long as it was in the hands of the Muslims; it was reconquered in 1147 by Alfonso Henriquez, king of Portugal. After it had become Christian again, it was the favourite residence of the Portuguese kings; it was in the palace of Cintra that Dom Sebastian decided in 1578 upon the expedition against Morocco which ended disastrously on the banks of the Wādī 'l-Makhāzin near al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabir.

The modern Cintra is dominated by the ruins of an old stronghold of the Muslim period. Of this fortress now called *Castello dos Mouros* built at a height of 1430 feet, there only remain two masses of masonry with the remains of a chapel and baths.

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SHĪR. [See ASAD.]

SHĪ'R (A.), poetry. The earliest literature of the Arabs is poetical but the most ancient poems are not older than 500 A.D. We know nothing about its origin. We are told the name of the man who made the first *ḡaṣida*, but in matters historical the Arabs abhorred a vacuum. Throughout the pre-Islāmic period poetry is governed by the same set of conventions, the stereotyped beginning, conventional epithets, stock similes, a limited and arbitrary choice of subjects. These suggest a long previous history. Indeed one poet complains that his predecessors have left him nothing to say. On the other hand, the words: "Let us weep as Abū Humān wept", suggest that the poet was following a new fashion in his art. It is obvious that poetry is closely connected with the rhymed prose (*sadq*) of impassioned speech and it is probable that some of its measures had their origin in the song of the cameldriver or horsemen. There was something uncanny about poetry, as the name shows. The poet was *shā'ir*, the man of extraordinary knowledge, who knew things hid from common men, was in the council of unseen powers, had a familiar

spirit. This comes out most clearly in the branch of the art called *hiḍā'*, commonly but badly translated satire. This was in origin a spiritual attack on one's enemies, supplementing the material assault of sword and lance, an attempt to destroy them by the use of supernatural powers. The declamation of such verse was accompanied by symbolic actions. This is another link with *sadq*, the speech of soothsayers and wizards. Though in historical times the belief in the magical power of poetry was largely lost, yet verses that seem to us pointless had a shattering effect on those at whom they were directed.

Formally, Arabic poetry consists of metre and rhyme. With one exception, *raḡjaz*, all metres consist of a double line with the rhyme at the end only. Metre is quantitative and considerable freedom is allowed in the substitution of long for short syllables and *vice versa*. Indeed it is better to say that certain syllables are fixed long or short and the others are allowed to vary. In two metres the classic rule that two short syllables equal one long is followed. Pre-Islāmic poets used 15 metres and another was added later. They did not use the *raḡjaz* for long poems. There was a feeling that it was doggerel not rising to the dignity of poetry and it was chiefly used in *extempore* verse. In addition to these, poets sometimes experimented with other metres but they did not find favour and are treated as irregularities. The rhyme may include as many as three syllables. Throughout a poem all the double lines have the same rhyme and the opening line has it also in the single line. Only one poetic form was known, the *ḡaṣida*; a poem with one rhyme and one metre, from 30 to 120 lines long. No satisfactory explanation of this name is known. Many fragments of *ḡaṣida*'s exist and it is probable that they were never more than fragments. At first the *ḡaṣida* had no fixed plan save that it nearly always began in a deserted camping ground which the poet recognized as the scene of a passage of love with some fair one (the *nasīb*). On this may follow a description of his camel of a journey — preferably by night — through the desert, an antelope hunt or indeed almost anything the poet chooses. His own warlike prowess or that of his tribe is a common theme. Often it is hard to say that the poem has any purpose. The poet speaks because he must. Later the *ḡaṣida* was bound by fixed rules. The regular sequence of subjects was the amatory prelude, the description of a camel, the journey and finally the main subject; usually the praise of some great man with a view to touching his pocket. Two aspects of life are shown. A frivolous side where men drink, gamble away their goods and give presents to the girl who fills the wine-cup and sings, thus upholding the fame of their tribe for generosity, and a serious side where the chief spends his substance in feeding the needy and all are ready to rush to arms to defend their honour. Although an Arab was always ready to fight, he was not necessarily in a hurry to be killed, and said so without shame. The poets were fond of commonplace moralizations on the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death. Arab theory recognized the elegy (*raḥḥā'*) as a special branch of the art but without sufficient reason. The form was the same but for the omission of the erotic introduction which was felt to be unsuitable. While but for the lamentation over the dead and the call

to vengeance (if he had died a violent death), the subject-matter is very like that of other poems. Very often women composed elegies; some poetesses were famous. It seems that religion had very little place in the life of the Arabs. A mild fatalism is the limit of their experience.

Each line of verse had to be complete in itself. So Arab poetry is essentially atomic; a string of isolated statements which might be accumulated but could not be combined. Sustained narrative and speculation are both alien to it. It is descriptive but the description is a thumbnail sketch; it is thoughtful but the result is aphoristic. The poet looks on the world through a microscope. Minute peculiarities of places and animals catch his attention and make his poetry versified geology and anatomy; untranslatable and dull. Forceful speech is his aim and the result is — to Western minds — often grotesque or even repulsive. The comparison of women's fingers to the twigs of a tree, or to caterpillars, are examples. There is little connexion between the lines or parts of a poem. The only bond of union is the personality of the poet. Indeed it is the poet rather than the poetry who is admired. A freeman among his peers, he enjoys life to the full, often coldly calculating, yet, when his narrow code of honour calls, ready to risk all for a friend or the stranger who has claimed his protection. Behind all is the constant shadow of starvation and death; but they cast no permanent gloom on the picture. Most of the poets so described were Bedouin but there were others known as town-dwellers. As a class they differed from the Bedouin type. They show signs of acquaintance with books, prefer other metres to the favourites of the Bedouin and their subject-matter includes fables and historical tradition. Their language, too, inclined more to prose; a sentence might run into two or even three lines of verse. The men of Madina were held to be the best of these poets. Both Jews and Christians were poets and their verses are often indistinguishable from the work of the pagans. The homes of the various Arab kinglets — especially Hira — were centres of poetic activity. Thither came the Bedouins eager to get something from the patrons of literature. They also met at the several fairs where matches of rival poets took place.

Bedouin poetry was preserved by oral tradition. The poet declaimed his own verses and was followed by a professional reciter (*ṣāwī*) who learned and declaimed them. Many a poet began as *ṣāwī* of another. This raises the question of the genuineness of Arab poetry. It is generally assumed that it was not written down till one hundred years A.H. In that time the natural infirmity of human memory and the peculiar character of Arabic make great changes probable. The lack of connections inside a poem help. Often different versions of a poem exist and it is impossible to tell which is the original. We cannot be certain what were the exact words of a poem, all we can say is that the philologists who collected the remains of pre-Islāmic literature during the second century read a certain text. We know too that there was at least some forgery. The conclusion is that the great mass of the poems are genuine or at least ancient, though it may not be possible to prove this conclusively for any one poem. (It has recently been argued that writing was much more common than is generally believed, that the poets were acquainted

with that art and that some variant readings can only be explained on the hypothesis of written copies.) A few dialectical variations are preserved but for the most part poets used one language throughout the peninsula. Possibly the wealth of vocabulary is due to the inclusion of words from the many dialects; though their origin is now forgotten. There are some signs that the language of everyday was dropping the inflections used in poetry; had begun the series of changes that produced the vernaculars of to-day. When scholars began to take an interest in poetry for its own sake they gathered the remnants into diwans "collected works" of individuals or tribes or in anthologies some of which contained complete poems and others fragments.

Islām made a great change; partly due to religion, for poetry was the devil's *Ḳur'ān*; but chiefly through the change of circumstances. The centre of interest had moved outside Arabia and desert life had not the same appeal. It is almost impossible for one who does not live the life of the desert to appreciate its poetry. Some kept up the old tradition, finishing their poems with praise of the caliph or some other great man whose patronage was desired. Some kept the amatory prelude and then went straight to the business in hand. Others broke from tradition and composed fragments (*ḳiṣ'a*, q. v.) treating of one subject only, it might be love, religion or philosophy. In some of the later poets we can admire the verbal skill that fills a volume with extravagant and sometimes blasphemous adulation, with scarcely a repetition; but the utter emptiness and lack of ideas is revolting. The rule of one poem one rhyme is still observed, no new form is invented. A mystical poem contains over 700 lines with the same rhyme. It took several centuries for these changes to be made. Another innovation was that the despised *radjāz* metre was used for long poems; the authors using all their skill in the handling of words to counterbalance the simplicity of the metre, with the result that they are often unintelligible. Tradition says that in the time of Hārūn a slave girl started the fashion of making verse (pedants did not consider it poetry) in the language of the people. This style was called *lahn*. In Spain it was raised to literary rank in the *radjal*, a short poem in stanzas. A variety of this but in fully inflected speech was the *muwashshah*. At first this was a poem in four or five line stanzas the last line uniting the stanzas by a common rhyme. Each stanza had its own rhyme and one metre was used throughout. The next step was the use of more than one rhyme and metre in each stanza. Sometimes the bonding line was in *lahn*. For the most part however Spanish poets followed the older custom; though they tried various experiments in rhyme. In subject-matter they broke away from tradition and their work is much more congenial to Europeans than that of the poets of Arabia. Perhaps the most interesting features are a conception of love that suggests the romances of chivalry and an almost modern sensibility to natural beauty.

The early poets knew nothing of the theory of metre. This was discovered by Khālīl b. Aḥmad [q. v.]. It is said that the idea came to him as he heard a smith working with his hammer. The critics hardly thought of a poem as a whole; for them it was a string of detached beauties. It is true

that poets were praised for their skill in certain branches of their art e.g. for the description of the ostrich; but as a rule criticism dealt with details and words only. It tended to be finicking. One is praised for his skill in managing the transition from the *nasīb* to the description of the camel and another is blamed for putting words of ill omen in the opening verse of a poem. In other ways also criticism ran wild. Some held that the pre-Islāmic poets were — by that fact alone — raised high above all others. It was men of this type who denied to Mutanabbi and others the title of poet because they did not observe the early conventions. With no critical principles to guide and a tendency to imitate the old, modern Arabic poetry is not inviting; especially as it is written in what is essentially a dead language.

It would be absurd to attempt even an outline history of Persian poetry in the space available. The utmost possible is a description of the forms of verse. The Persians borrowed their metres from the Arabs though they have other favourites. They also borrowed the *ḡasida* and *ḡifa*, about which it is not necessary to say more. The *ghazal* is really a *ḡifa* of a dozen lines or so with complete freedom in the choice and treatment of subject. It has less continuity and a looser connection of ideas than the *ḡifa*, though it is usually a love poem. Of native forms the chief are the *mathnawī* and *rubāʿī* or *dū-bait*. The former consists of two long lines in the metre named *ramal* trimeter catalectic rhyming at the end of the double verse, a sort of heroic couplet. It is the form used for long poems whatever their subject may be. The *dū-bait* is two long lines with the first second and fourth half-lines rhyming and occasionally the third. The metre used is one of the many variants of the *hazāʿij*. A *dū-bait* is always independent, they are never combined into a longer poem.

The same desire as was felt in the west produced variants of the monorhymed poem which are all classed as *musammat*. These consist of stanzas of anything from four to ten lines in the same metre, each stanza having its own rhyme. Some forms have a refrain with a separate rhyme. The earliest Persian poetry dates from shortly after 900 A.D. and since then the language and the forms of verse have changed very little. Fashions have changed, now simplicity has been in vogue and now fantastic conceits, but the outward form remains the same.

Turkish and Urdu poetry are little more than imitations of the Persian. Urdu, however, does show some signs of Indian influence both in form and subject-matter; to a small extent in earlier times and to a much larger extent during the last few years.

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(A. S. TRITTON)

SHĪR 'ALĪ, BĀRAKZĀI, Amīr of Afghānistān, was the third son of the Amīr Dūst Muḥammad and succeeded his father, in accordance with his will, on June 9, 1863. His overtures to the Government of India on his accession were, unfortunately, coldly received. The Amīr found it necessary to march, almost immediately, into the Khuram district to compel his brother 'Azīm Khān to swear allegiance to him and early in the following year both 'Azīm Khān in Kuram and Afḡal Khān, the eldest brother, in Balkh, rebelled. Muḥammad Rafīq, the Amīr's most able officer, defeated the former and compelled him to flee to India, and the latter submitted to Shīr 'Alī and was pardoned and restored to his post, but his son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, fled to Bukhārā, whereupon Shīr 'Alī imprisoned Afḡal Khān. Early in 1865 Sharīf Khān and Amīn Khān, two other brothers, rose in rebellion at Kandahār and 'Azīm Khān returned from India to Kuram. Muḥammad Rafīq again expelled him and Shīr 'Alī marched towards Kandahār. He met and defeated the rebels near Kalāt-i Ghilzāi, but was stupefied with grief at the loss of his eldest son, Muḥammad 'Alī, slain by Amīn, who was also killed. He pardoned Sharīf and was roused from his lethargy by the news that 'Abd al-Raḥmān had returned from Bukhārā, corrupted the state officials in Balkh and Muḥammad Rafīq, and, having been joined by 'Azīm, entered Kābul on March 2, 1865. Shīr 'Alī marched against him, but was defeated, and fled with no more than 500 horse. The governor of Ghaznī refused to admit him, and released Afḡal Khān, who joined his son and was proclaimed Amīr in Kābul. The Government of India recognized him as ruler of Kābul, but he died almost immediately and was succeeded by his brother, 'Azīm Khān. In January 1868, however, Shīr 'Alī returned from Afghān Turkistān, entered Herāt, and in June was received as a deliverer in Kandahār. His army marched on Kābul and compelled 'Azīm to flee once more to India, where he died in exile. In January, 1869, 'Abd al-Raḥmān was defeated and expelled, and Shīr 'Alī re-established himself as Amīr of Afghānistān. In 1869 he met the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, at Ambāla, but received little beyond vague expressions of goodwill, instead of the offensive and defensive alliance which he sought. Again in 1873, alarmed by the Russian conquest of Khīwa, he sought an alliance from the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and on receiving another rebuff rejected proffered subsidies and entered secretly into relations with Russia. In 1876 Lord Lytton was authorized to offer Shīr 'Alī the alliance which he had sought, but the offer came too late. The Amīr ostentatiously received a Russian envoy and, though warned that war would be the result, turned Sir Neville Chamberlain, who was accredited as British envoy, back from his frontier. On November 20, 1878, the British Government, after vainly awaiting an apology, declared war, and on February 21, 1879, Shīr 'Alī

died, and was succeeded by his son, Ya'qūb Khān.

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SHĪR SHĀH, FARĪD AL-DĪN, founder of the Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, was the son of Hasan Khān, of the Sūr tribe of Afghāns [q. v.] who received from Sikandar Lodi the fief of Sahsārām in Bihār. Shīr Khān pursued his studies assiduously at Djawnpūr, and afterwards, in the administration of his father's fiefs, obtained a minute knowledge of all the details of revenue administration. He was presented to Bābur, but, alarmed by the instinctive dislike which the emperor conceived for him, fled from his court. His successes against the Sulṭān of Bengal rendered him virtually independent in Bihār, and though Humāyūn invaded Bihār and Bengal and seemed to have established his authority there, Shīr Khān was secure in Rohtās, and when Humāyūn was recalled from Bengal by the rebellion of his brother Hindāl, followed him, and on June 26, 1539, inflicted a severe defeat on him at Āwsa, on the Ganges. Shīr Khān assumed the royal title in Bengal, and in the following year marched on Āgra. Humāyūn met him at Kanawdj on May 17, 1540, but was again defeated, and, after a short stay in Āgra, fled towards Lāhor, pursued by Shīr Khān, now Shīr Shāh. Humāyūn fled into Sind and his brother Kāmran to Kābul, and Shīr Shāh remained master of northern and eastern India. He secured his northern frontier by building in the Nandana hills a fortress which he named Rohtās, after his stronghold in Bihār, and then, marching into Bengal, distributed that province among petty sief-holders, his own career having proved the danger of entrusting it to one powerful governor. In 1542 he established his authority in Mālwa and, leaving Shudjā'at Khān there as governor, returned to Āgra in 1543. In 1544 he attacked the Rādja of Jodhpūr, and defeated him, but by so narrow a margin that he remarked, alluding to the poverty of the soil, "that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of millet". In 1545 he besieged a Hindū chieftain in the strong fortress of Kālingjar, and on May 22, as he was watching the effect of the bombardment, a live shell or grenade fell into the powder magazine by which he was standing and he was terribly scorched by the explosion. He lay in great agony, directing the assault in his intervals of consciousness, until he was informed that the fortress had fallen, and then died. He was succeeded by his son, Islām Shāh.

The sycophantic chroniclers of the Timūrids have done scant justice to "Shīr Khān" as they call him, one of India's greatest rulers, and his fame is overshadowed by that of Akbar, to whom he was superior in some respects and inferior in few. On 1800 Indian leagues of road, from Sonārgāon to the Indus and from Āgra to Māndū, he built 1800 caravanserais, each with a mosque and full establishment. Cooked and uncooked food were provided for Muslims and Hindūs, post-horses were in readiness and fruit-trees planted beside the roads refreshed the traveller. Such was the order maintained by him "that an old woman with a basket of gold might sleep securely at night in the open plain without a guard". The historian Budāoni thanks God that he was born

in the reign of so just a king, and to his subjects, as to himself, it was matter for regret "that he did not obtain his kingdom until the time of evening prayer".

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SHĪRĀ, Sirius, Greek Σείριος, i.e. the brilliant, the brightest star in the constellation of Canis Major (*al-Kalb al-akbar*) known as a *Canis Majoris*. It shines with a white light and surpasses with magnitude 1.6 all other fixed stars in brightness. That the Arabic word Shī'rā comes from the Greek Σείριος, has been proved by I. I. Hess (cf. I. I. Hess, *Über das präfigierte und infigierte ε im Arabischen*, in *Z. S.*, 1924) as *r* in a foreign word gives *ε* in Arabic. As further evidence that Shī'rā is a foreign word in Arabic, Hess calls attention to the fact that this name of Sirius is unknown in the interior of Arabia; Beduins and settled Arabs alike call it *al-Mirzam*, which is found in the Bishārī language as *Mirdim*.

As might be expected, so striking a star plays an important part in Muslim astrology, and the possibilities of prophecy from the course of Sirius are exceedingly numerous. Its rising at the same time as the moon has always been a favourite conjunction with the astrologer. The moon may rise in any of the twelve zodiacal circles, but not so Sirius, on account of its fixed position with regard to the fixed stars. But its ascension may coincide in time with the risings of the moon just mentioned. We possess an astronomical writing by the celebrated Hākimī astronomer, Ibn Yūnus (d. 1009) entitled *Fī Ahkām al-Shī'rā yamāniya* (Gotha, A., 1459).

[Hermes, the wise one says, "When the rising of the moon coincides with that of Sirius in the Ram, the changing fortunes of men will be good at the beginning of the year; they will be hale and healthy and free from bodily ills, but only until the fifth day before the entry (of the joint rising), then illnesses will come again; in that year all quadrupeds with young will miscarry, the dismissals and deposition of governors will be frequent and the King of Romans will die quite suddenly in that year on the 3rd of the month (H)atūr".

(C. SCHÖY)

SHĪRĀZ, a town in Persia, capital of the province of Fārs in a vast plain to the south of Ispahān. It was conquered by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Uthmān b. Abi 'L-'Āṣī at the end of the caliphate of 'Omar; it was rebuilt by Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Hakam b. Abi 'Aqil al-Thakafī, cousin and lieutenant of al-Hadjdjādī in the reign of the Caliph Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik on the ruins of an ancient city which belonged to the province of Ardashīr-Khurra, the capital of which was Gūr (Djūr), the modern Firūzābād. Its walls were built by the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār Sulṭān al-Dawla, from 436 to 440 (1044—1048), who gave it twelve gates (Muḥaddasī, p. 430 only gives eight, with their names);

these walls were repaired in the middle of the viiith (xvth) century by Maḥmūd Shāh Indjū, the rival of the Muẓaffarids. In 795 (1393) Timūr arrived in front of the town and was attacked by Shāh Maṣnūr the Muẓaffarid, who lost his life there. It was taken by the Afghāns in 1137 (1724). Karīm Khān Zand [q.v.] made it his capital surrounded it with walls and ditches, paved its streets and erected fine buildings there, notably the great bazaar. It was laid in ruins by the earthquakes of 1813 and 1824. It had at one time an ancient citadel called Shāh-Mobaḍh (Iṣṭakhri, p. 116). In the early centuries of Islām it still retained two Zoroastrian fire-altars, one called Kārniyān and the other Hormuz; there was also a third outside its gates called Masūbān in the village of Barkān (Iṣṭakhri, p. 119).

The wine of Shirāz is famous; it comes from the village of Khullār or Kullār, also noted for its honey and its millstones. Water is brought to it by the Ruknābād canal, sung by Ḥāfiẓ and built by Rukn al-Dawla the Būyid, father of 'Aḍud al-Dawla and by the canal from the tomb of Sa'di. The city has three principal mosques: 1. Djamī 'Atīk, built by 'Amr b. Laith in the second half of the third (ninth) century; 2. the new Mosque built by the Salghurid Atābeg Sa'd b. Zangi, in the second half of the vith (xiith) century; 3. Masjid Šonkor, built by the first Atābeg of the Salghurids. There are also many saints' tombs which have earned for this city the name of Burdj al-Awliyā "citadel of the saints", notably that of the 'Alid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kāzim, and those of the mystic poets Sa'di and Ḥāfiẓ, to the north of the city. There are the gardens of Dilgushā and Hafttan. The city manufactures mosaics called *khātami-kūri*, dress materials, gauze, brocades, silk-floss. It was the birthplace of the poets Athīr called Shafī'a, Ahlī, Boṣṣaḥ (Abū Ishāk Hallādjī), Ḥāfiẓ, Sa'di, 'Urfī, Bābā Fighāni, Māni, Majd al-Din Hamgar, and of the religious reformer 'Alī Muḥammad called the Bāb.

There is also a village of the same name north of Samarkand 4 parasangs, about 16 miles from it (Quatremère, *N. E.*, xiv. 490; *J. A.*, Jan. 1852, p. 83; Burnes, *Voyage à Boukhara*, iii. 207).

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AL-SHIRĀZĪ, ABŪ ISHĀK IBRĀHĪM B. 'ALĪ B. YUSUF AL-FIRŪZĀBĀDĪ, a Shāfi'i jurist, born in Firūzābād in 393 (1003). To study Fikh he went to Shirāz in 410, then to Basra and in Shawwāl 415 (Dec. 1024) reached Baghdād, where he completed his studies in the *Usūl* with Abū Ḥatīm al-Kāẓimī (d. 440) and in the *Furū'* with Abū 'l-Taiyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450). In 430 (1038/1039) he began to teach in Baghdād (Subki,

iii. 177); the fame of his learning soon became so great that students sat at his feet from all over the Muslim world. Many of his pupils held office as Qādis and preachers in the east of the Caliph's empire. In 459 (1067) the vizier Nizām al-Mulk appointed him to open the first public Medrese founded by him in Baghdād, the Nizāmiye. But as Shirāzī did not appear, it was opened by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh; when his pupils threatened to go over to the latter, he finally accepted the chair. Here he taught till his death (Ibn al-Ṣābi' in Ibn Khallikān, i. 304). When the dispute between Abū Naṣr b. al-Ḳushairī (d. 514) and the Ḥanbalis in Baghdād on the teachings of al-Ash'arī came to such a pitch that blood was shed, Shirāzī energetically took the side of the Ash'aris and persuaded the vizier to incarcerate the Ḥanbalī Shaikh (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 71; Subki, iii. 98 sq.; iv. 251). His journey to Nishāpūr on a mission from the caliph in Dhu 'l-Hijja 475 (May 1083) is evidence of his great prestige; it was like a triumphal procession. At Nishāpūr the Imām al-Ḥaramain came out to receive him and carried his cloak. He held disputations with him, in which the Imām al-Ḥaramain recognised the superiority of his opponent. Shirāzī died soon after his return to Baghdād on Jumādā II, 21, 476 (Nov. 5, 1083) and was buried in the cemetery at the Bāb Abrāz with great honour — the caliph pronounced the burial prayer. The Nizāmiya was closed for a whole year by its founder's command, as a sign of mourning. The vizier Tādj al-Mulk (d. 486) had a *türbe* built and a madrasa near it (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 147).

His principal writings are: 1) *Kitāb al-Tanbih fi 'l-Fikh*, written in the year 452/453, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, a legal compendium on which commentaries have been frequently written; 2) the comprehensive *Kitāb al-mudhḍhab fi 'l-Madhḥab*, composed in 455—469, still unprinted, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 214; 3) *Kitāb Tadhkirat al-Ma'sūlin*, an Ikhtilāf-work in several volumes on the teachings of the Ḥanafi's and Shāfi'i's which has apparently not survived, Ḥājjījī Khalifa, No. 2848; 4) *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahā'*, short biographies of jurists of the first two centuries and of the four Madhāhib down to his own day, a work often cited by the later biographers, e.g. al-Nawawī, al-Subki, Ibn Khallikān, al-Ḳurashī, as well as many times copied without mentioning the source (I am preparing an edition).

Bibliography: al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb G.M.S.*, xx., fol. 435v; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 349; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x. 38, 71, 81 sq., 85; al-Nawawī, *Biograph. dictionary*, p. 646—649; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i. 5 sq.; al-Subki, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfi'ya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iii. 88—111, 275—280; Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'iten*, No. 452 (= *Abh. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* xxxvii. [1891]); Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 387, cf. also i. 324, No. 2. (HEFFENING).

AL-SHIRĀZĪ, ABŪ 'L-ḤUSAIN 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD, a mathematician, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. He studied Greek mathematics and astronomy. In his time there was already available a good Arabic version of the *Conic Sections* (κωνικά) of Apollonius of Perga by Hilāl b. Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī (d. 883/884) and Ṭhābit b. Ḳurra al-Harrānī (826—901). With the help of this he prepared a synopsis of the contents of the *κωνικά*, the Arabic version of which

is in Oxford (Bodl. 913, 987, 988). There is also attributed to him a compendious version (*Mukhtaṣar*) of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, from which Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (1236–1311) [q.v.] prepared a Persian translation of the *Maǧīstī*. The Arabic versions of the *Conic Sections* of Apollonius are of great value for the history of mathematics because the three last of the seven books of this important work only survive in Arabic, while the eighth book of the *ḥawāṭ* (Arab. *Makhrūṭyāt*) had already disappeared from knowledge by the time of the Arab translator.

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, p. 126, 158; L. M. Ludwig Nix, *Das fünfte Buch der Conica des Appollonius von Perga in der arabischen Übersetzung des Thābit ibn Corrah*, Leipzig 1889, p. 3–7 (not free from typographical errors). (C. SCHÖV)

AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, ŠADR AL-DĪN (d. 1640) is one of the great unknown men in the history of human thought. Holding a humble and poorly paid post as a teacher he found time and energy to build up his own philosophy, ordering and shaping the whole knowledge of his time from new points of view. The great problems, which the older philosophy handed down to his period were solved by him in his own way. His world-system is a theory of being. The real things of the world around us are "individua of being", similarly limited sections of an endless primordial being, emanating from God as the primordial light like individual rays. From this fundamental principle, Shīrāzī thinks out the whole arrangement of reality in a new fashion: what we take for "entity" in things is the separation of the individual rays of the "being" and what we take for "existence" in them is the presence of this ray. This gives a new solution of the age-long great problem of being and existence, each being a different aspect and side of the same metaphysical reality.

The idea of the transmigration of souls was still quite alive in his time. He transformed it according to his own metaphysics of existence; according to its spirituality the soul of man attains to a higher stage of existence, likeness to God and union with God. The principle of this evolution is according to him gnosis, the higher form of knowledge which by the creation of its content in man supplies the defects and wants of his being and thus makes for perfection. The cognition of our mind is an act which is influenced by the active intelligence and possesses relationship in essence with the creative activity of God. God is not only the primordial being but also the centre of values. The reflection of these primordial values are the things of creation. If we therefore find in the world and its confusing multiplicity reflections of truth, goodness, beauty and loveliness, these are the reflection of God, which shines upon us and points the way to God. The path to ethical perfection is thus at the same time indicated.

The three great intellectual aspects of Islām converge in Shīrāzī for he is at once theologian, philosopher and mystic, taking up and equating the ideas of these movements. His special tendency however is the typical Persian mysticism of "illumination" (*ishrāk*) as Suhrawardī developed it, which he based on Aristotelian proofs through Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī; he developed the system further (in the doctrine of entities whose immu-

ability he disputes). The objections of the Indian monistic type of Muslim mysticism, he also overcomes by his thesis of the emanations of being. That philosophy did not die out in Islām after 1100 but still flourished at a late period is proved by the existence of Shīrāzī. He gathered together the higher culture of the brilliant epoch of Shāh 'Abbās into a synthesis planned on a large scale.

Bibliography: Horten, *Die Gottesbeweise bei Schirazi*, Bonn 1912; do., *Das philosophische System des Schirazi*, Strassburg 1913; do., *Die Philosophie des Islam*, Munich 1924, p. 93 sq., 124—126 et passim. (M. HORTEN)

AL-SHĪRĪNĪ, YUSUF B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-DĪWĀD B. KHĪDR, an Egyptian writer of the xth (xviith) century and author of a work entitled *Ḥass al-Ḳuḥūf bi-Sharḥ ḥaṣid Abī Shādūf*: "The tossing of heads in the commentary of the poem of Abū Shādūf". No biographer devotes a notice to him. Al-Shīrīnī tells us incidentally that in 1075 (1664/1665) he was on the road from the Nile (Saīd) to al-Ḳoṣair (al-Ḳoṣēr) on the Red Sea (cf. the commentary on verse 13, *ya dandīf*, Būlak, 1308, p. 152).

Among his teachers he mentions Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Ḳalyūbī (d. end of Shawwāl 1069/1659) and Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Sandūbī, who is said to have engaged him to compose the poem and to write a commentary on it afterwards (cf. p. 215).

In the first which is a kind of introduction, the author describes the *fallaḥ* (peasants) of the Nile valley and gives anecdotes in which he records their coarse customs, speaks of their food which no man to any degree civilised can smell or touch, describes the marriage ceremony among them etc. The first part ends in an *urđūsa* in literary language in which he sums up the various customs of the *fallaḥ* which he has just described.

The second part is a poem of 47 verses (and not 42 or 52) in the Egyptian dialect attributed to an imaginary Abū Shādūf in which each verse is followed by a full commentary in the classical language, spiced with facetious digressions sometimes fairly long, anecdotes very often sarcastic, quotations in verse and prose of which those in the spoken language are more numerous than those in the literary language.

Al-Shīrīnī, a moralist in his own way and a highly educated man as well as a poet (cf. his *Muwashshah*, p. 193), describes from careful observation the customs, especially the bad ones, and particularly the vices not only of the peasants of the Nile valley but of his contemporaries in the cities; his gauloiseries suggest a comparison with Brantôme. His book has been lithographed in Cairo without indication of place and date and at Alexandria in 1289 and printed at Būlak in 1274 and 1308 and Cairo in 1322.

Bibliography: Van Dyck, *Iktifā' al-ḳanū'*, Cairo 1313, p. 294; Vollers in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1887, xli. 370 sqq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 278; C. Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*, Milan 1913, p. 482. (M. BEN CHENEB)

SHĪRK (also *ishrāk*, A.), association, especially associating a companion to God — honouring another besides God, polytheism. In the oldest sūras of the Ḳur'ān, during the so-called first Meccan period, the conceptions *shīrk* and *mushrikūn* do not occur. Muḥammad was probably at first exclusively concerned with his own fate, being

completely under the ban of the imminent Last Judgment, and only with the increasing hostility on the part of the unbelievers did he begin to take an interest in them. In the latter parts of the *Qur'ān* they are often mentioned, and regular disputations with the *Mushrikūn* sometimes occur; in particular they are continually threatened with the Last Judgment; the *mushrikūn* will then receive their punishment (*Sūra*, xxviii. 62 *sqq.*). They think their idols will intercede for them with Allāh, but these cannot do this (*Sūra*, vi. 94; x. 19; xxx. 12; xxxix. 4 and 39); quite the contrary, for they will accuse their worshippers on the Last Day (*Sūra*, xix. 84 *sq.*; x. 29 *sq.*) and they will become fuel for hell with them (*Sūra*, xxi. 98 *sq.*). The *mushrikūn* are not grateful to God for saving them from the perils of the sea (*Sūra*, xix. 65). The believers are to keep away from them and not to marry the *mushrikāt* (*Sūra*, ii. 220) but they are not to revile the unbelievers but endure them unless the latter in their turn attack Allāh (*Sūra*, vi. 108). In the year 9, however, Muḥammad finally casts off the *mushrikūn* (*Sūra*, ix. 3, cf. however earlier *Sūra*, xv. 94 *sq.*); the *mushrikūn* are unclean (*Sūra*, ix. 28). The believers are not to pray for them, even if they are their nearest relatives (*Sūra*, ix. 114 *sq.*). Muḥammad had already earlier expressly declared *shirk* to be the sin for which God has no forgiveness (*Sūra*, vi. 51, 116; xxxi. 12) and rejected it as absurd (*Sūra*, xxi. 22).

This development is very similar to that of the conception of the *kāfir* [q. v.] in the *Qur'ān*. *Kāfir* is the most usual term for the unbelievers, and comprises both *mushrikūn* and the "people of a book". Thus *Sūra* xcii. 5, says "those who are unbelievers, the possessors of a scripture as well as the servants of idols will dwell eternally in Hell-fire". The commentators on this passage differ in their views. Some hold the view that the people of a book are to be included among the *mushrikūn* and that here we have the narrower term used first, and then the more comprehensive one. Other commentators have distinguished the people of a book from the idolators in the narrower sense and this corresponds to the use of the phrase which later became predominant. But everywhere in the *Qur'ān* *shirk* is used in direct contrast to the profession of the oneness of God, which has been given its most pregnant expression in *Sūra* cxii. (*Sūrat al-Tawhīd* or *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*) and according to one but rather artificial explanation, a definite variety of *shirk* is made impossible by each single verse of this *sūra*.

In the *Ḥadīth* literature, *Shirk* has usually the same meaning of "an external obscuring the belief in the oneness of God". The *mushrikūn* are — as in the above mentioned *Qur'ānic* passage — ungrateful to God and say in their vain boasting, "if we had not our dogs we would be robbed", and so on.

For the rest, the hostile feeling against the *mushrikūn* in the period of the great conquests is reflected in the rest of the *Ḥadīth* literature. Before the battle the *mushrikūn* received the demand to adopt Islām; on one occasion Muḥammad even prays to God for right guidance for them; on another he curses them and calls down fire on their houses and tombs, and wishes for subsidences and earthquakes. According to one *ḥadīth* the believer very rarely falls before

the *shirk*, and the Prophet says, full of confidence, "*Shirk* is in my community more difficult to find than a black seed on a hard rock in the darkest night" — or he says to Abū Bakr, "I will tell a word to thee, the utterance of which protects thee against any *shirk*: O, God, I take refuge with Thee, lest I wittingly give thee a companion, and beseech Thy pardon if I have done it unwittingly".

In the *Fikḥ* books, *mushrik* is the proper legal term for unbeliever, although *kāfir* is often also found. The unbeliever according to the *Fikḥ* is in general regarded as an outlaw and of little value. Unbelievers, especially if hostile, can be killed without punishment, while on no account can a believer be put to death for the sake of an unbeliever. On this point in general, cf. the article *KĀFIR* and on special points *DIHĀD* and *DĀR AL-ḤARB* for the laws of warfare, and the articles *DHIMMA*, *KHARĀDJ* and *DIZYA* for the constitutional law. On some points the unbelievers are allowed to make legal arrangements among themselves, as for example in the law of marriage: — Unbelievers are at liberty to arrange the marriage of their children as they please; unbelievers can be witnesses at a marriage between believers; unbelieving husband and wife must be divorced if one of the two adopts Islām. Law of Inheritance: — Bequests from one unbeliever to another, even of different religions are quite as valid as in the case when either the testator or legatee is a Muslim; but in no case can anything be bequeathed to an enemy unbeliever. The *Kāfi* has to prevent the appointment of an unbeliever as executor to a will. On the law of slaves cf. the articles 'ABD and *MUKĀTABA*; and the article *TAḲIYA* on the cases of urgent necessity in which a believer is permitted to conceal his faith.

The broadening of the Muslim outlook in the wars of conquest had naturally quite early brought about a recognition of the fact that all *mushrikūn* are not the same and are not to be treated alike. In the books on *Milal wa-Nihāl* we find more or less full accounts of the different foreign religious systems, which term includes also the philosophers, star-worshippers and atheists, and in the apologetic literature, we occasionally find systematic expositions of the various foreign religions. Attempts are not wanting which explain psychologically the origin of idolatry. From such considerations the conception of *shirk* came to be divided into many varieties, with which we cannot deal here. But these researches had a practical legal significance inasmuch as through them the oaths came to be formulated, by which members of strange religions were sworn, to get a binding promise from them, especially in the case of recognition of the authority of Muslim State. An interesting collection of such formulae for oaths for the Mamlūk period is given by Kaḷkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṭhā*, xiii. 200 *sqq.*

In the course of the dogmatic development of Islām the conception of *shirk* received a considerable extension through the circumstance that the adherents of many sects had no compunction about reproaching their Muslim opponents with *shirk*, as soon as they saw in them any obscuring of monotheism, although only in some particular respect specially emphasised by themselves, and in the later systematised dogmatic works, which, as a rule in connection with *tawhīd*, go into its

opposite *shirk*, one can trace in almost any sentence what sectarian view is referred to or refuted, and then trace the path by which the present formulation has come about. *Shirk* nowadays is no longer simply a term for the unbelief prevailing outside of Islām, but has become a reproach hurled by one Muslim against another inside of Islām.

The Mu'tazilis, for example, called their opponents mushrikūn in as much as they, by adopting eternal attributes of the Deity, postulated their existence as eternal existence beside God. The attributes rather, they say, do not exist for themselves, but are inseparably one with God and not different from Him, and expressions like "God is all-knowing", "God is mighty", "God is living", simply mean "God is".

Quite in the same spirit, the Almohads, whose special programme was the *tawhīd*, accused their opponents of *shirk*, because they held the doctrine of the non-creation of the Qur'ān and their *tawhīd* includes the demand to recognise its uncreatedness; only in this way is it possible to exclude the Qur'ān from being a second eternal being besides God. Mushrikūn to them also are the anthropomorphists who make God possess physical human qualities and thus affect his *waḥdāniya*. According to their strict view, they alone are professors of the oneness of God (*mu'ahhidūn*) in the true sense, the whole of the rest of the Muslim world is *mushrikūn* to them and the Christians *Ahl al-Kufr*. (The Ismā'īliya also were fond of calling themselves *mu'ahhidūn* but this was not a distinctive name for them; for them every one who associates another with his Imām, is like one who associates another with God or the Prophet, i. e. is unclean).

The *shirk* theory of the Wahhābīs went to the greatest extreme. Their hostility is directed against *shirk* which in their view infects the whole of orthodox Islām in the form of the cult of prophets, saints, and tombs. Besides, there have not been wanting in orthodoxy and elsewhere (cf. e. g. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 189; cf. Strothmann, *Kultus der Zaiditen*, p. 67 sq.) those who condemn the cult of saints for reasons of *tawhīd*, and at bottom it is only tolerated as a concession to the overwhelming practice of the people. The Wahhābīs also consider themselves the only *mu'ahhidūn*, all other Muslims are *mushrikūn* and they alone are called to the *ihyā' al-sunna*. The old sunna and the picture of the character of the Prophet and therefore the very heart of Islam has indeed been falsified by the worship of saints. Therefore they attack the very holiest places of Islām of the Sunnis and Shī'īs, because these in their eyes are regular strongholds of idolatry.

According to the theorists of the Wahhābīs, they directed their opposition in detail against 1. *shirk al-'ilm*: prophets and saints have no *'ilm al-ghaib* except when it is revealed to them by God, who alone possesses it. It is *shirk* to credit or ascribe knowledge to them or to soothsayers, astrologers and interpreters of dreams. 2. *shirk al-ta'arruf* is the assumption that any one except God has power. Whoever then regards a saint as an intervener with God commits *shirk*, even if it only, he thinks, serves to bring him nearer to God. Any kind of intervention (*shafā'a*, q. v.) is therefore rejected on the authority of Sūra xxxix. 45; the Prophet himself will only receive from God permission to intervene on the Last Day and

not before. 3. *shirk al-'ibāda*: the reverencing of any created thing, the grave of the Prophet, the tomb of a saint, by prostration, circumambulation, giving of money, vows, fasting, pilgrimage, mentioning the name of a saint, praying at his grave, kissing certain stones, etc. 4. *Shirk al-'āda*: superstitious customs like *istikhāra*, belief in omens, in good or bad days, etc., in personal names like 'Abd al-Nabī, asking soothsayers for advice, etc. 5. *Shirk fi 'l-adab*: swearing in the name of the Prophet, of 'Alī, of the Imāms, or Pirs.

Shirk has a special meaning in Muslim ethics, notably in al-Ghazālī. To the refined ethical conscience "every kind of worship of God which is not absolutely disinterested" is *shirk*. Thus the hypocritical practice of religion which is performed for the sake of reward, i. e. to gain the admiration or applause of men, is *shirk*, because it associates consideration for men with the thought of God. Similarly arrogance and egoism are a kind of *shirk*. Numerous grades of this *shirk* are further distinguished, and it is called also *shirk ṣaghīr* or *shirk aṣghar* in contrast to crude and obvious polytheism, *shirk 'aẓīm*; the ethical value of an action is based on the degree of admixture or omission that clouds the pure intention, *ikhhlās* [q. v.].

Just as the term *ikhhlās* for the Sūfīs now has the meaning "exclusive devotion to God", so *shirk* has for them come to have the meaning "being prevented by something from exclusive devotion to Him". For example the mere illusion of the soul (*nafs*) that it has something good in it and has a certain worth is a secret idolatry (*shirk khafī*). It is the same with the assertion "I know God", because here we have an admission of the duality between the subject, which knows and the object of knowledge. For the Sūfī seeking union with the deity, difference of rites and religions loses all significance, and this does not exclude Islām, and the following bold saying is ascribed to Tilim-sānt, a pupil of Ibn 'Arabi, that "the Qur'ān is absolute *shirk*; profession of oneness is found only in our (i. e. Sūfī) speech" (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 171).

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, index s. v.; Muh. A'lā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ii. 770 sqq.; Fagnan, *Additions*, p. 88; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, i. 129 f, 225, 229; Weitbrecht-Stanton, *The Teaching of the Qurān*, index under Idolatry and Idols; Hamilton, *Hidāya*, index: Infidels; Abū Yūsuf, *Kit. al-Kharāj*, Būlak, 1302, p. 73 sqq., 118 sqq.; *Il Muhtaṣar o Sommario del diritto malechito di Ḥalīl ibn Eshāq*, transl. Guidi-Santillana, index: guerra santa, kitābī; "Corpus Iurus" di Zaid ibn 'Alī, ed. Griffini, index: Muṣrik; al-Naffīsī, *Ḳanāṭir al-Khairāt*, i. 227, 231, 252, 289; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ash'arī*, p. 16 sqq.; Goldziher, *Materialien zur Kenntnis der Almohadenbewegung*, Z. d. M. G., xli. 68; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. Mushrik, *Shirk*, Wahhābī; R. Hartmann, *al-Qoshairī's Darstellung des Sūfītums*, p. 15 sqq., 59 and 77; H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, i. p. 45 sqq., 64 sqq., 68 sqq.; Obermann, *Der . . . Subjektivismus al-Ghazālī's*, p. 154³, 263. (WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

SHIRKA (or **SHARIKA**; the former is according to al-Faiyūmī, *Miqbāh* and the more usual form in the Turkish legal language). *Shirka* originally implied simply that a thing belonged to several

persons in common in such a way that each one had ownership in every smallest part of it in proportion to the share allotted to him. This idea seems to be a general Semitic one. It is found similarly in the Talmudic שְׁכִירָה, cf. L. Auerbach, *Jüd. Obligationenrecht*, § 45. Like this conception *shirka* was also later transferred to the different forms of trading companies. The jurists therefore understand primarily by *shirka* common property (*shirkat al-amlāk*) which arises for example through inheritance, gift or indissoluble combination. One joint owner can only deal with his share with the approval of the others; the second kind of *shirka* is the company which is based on contract i.e. on offer and acceptance (*shirkat al-ʿuqūd*).

The conditions for its foundation are ability to give and undertake a commission (*wakāla*) or money or goods representing it. The *shirka* is a trading company; the profits are divided either into equal parts or in proportion to the shares. The relation of companies to one another is a relation of confidence (*amāna*). The company is dissolved (1) by the declaration of the wish of a member (renuntiatio), (2) by secession from Islām or departure into the *Dār al-Ḥarb* (cf. capitis diminutio) and (3) through death or mental disease (cf. Dig. 17, 2, 4; 17, 2, 63, 10; Basil., xii. 1, 4). The heir can only continue the company through a new contract of association (cf. Dig. 17, 2, 35, 36, 37 = Basil., xii. 1, 35, 36, 37).

The Ḥanafis know four kinds of companies: (1) *Shirkat al-Mufāwāḍa*, when the shareholders are equal in respect of capital, right to disposal, shares in profit and loss, if every shareholder is not only "authorised agent" of the others but is also "surety" for them. Mufāwāḍa with slaves and unbelievers is not permitted. The Mālikis do not recognise this form; by mufāwāḍa they understand a company in which the shareholders are only general agents for each other: profit and loss are divided among them in proportion to the amount of their shares. (2) *Shirkat al-ʿInān*, capital and profits in indefinite shares; the quota of profit may be greater than the quota of capital in recompense for the work of management. Each member is responsible for his own transactions only and has only the right to demand from the other shareholders their share. This corresponds to what the Mālikis call mufāwāḍa, while by *ʿinān* they mean a company in which the right of the shareholders to dispose of the capital is limited. (3) *Shirkat al-Ṣanāʿi* (or *Sh. al-ʿAbdān* or *Sh. al-Taḥabbul*) when artisans combine on a common task. All the members are bound to carry out the work. Even if only one works, the others yet have a share in the profits. Among the Mālikis however illness of some duration makes their contract invalid. (4) *Shirkat al-Wuḍʿūh* (or *Sh. al-Dhimam* or *Sh. al-Mafāʿis*) only permitted among the Ḥanafis. The members work without capital and sell on credit.

The Shāfiʿis only recognise the *Sh. al-ʿInān* but they only allow this company in the case of indissolubly combined things (e.g. money, cereals) and allow the distribution of profit and loss only in proportion to the shares in the company. Historically it is probable that this *Sh. al-ʿInān* is the older form; there is evidence of it in the pagan period from the poet al-Nābigha al-Djāʿidī. On the other hand the *Sh. al-Mufāwāḍa* (societas)

quaestus) seems to have been taken over from Roman-Byzantine law. It is vigorously condemned by al-Shāfiʿi (*Umm*, iv. 206) and disowned by Abū Ḥanīfa also; on the other hand it is recognised by Ibn Abī Lailā, al-Shaibānī, and Abū Yūsuf. Sufyān al-Thawrī (in Sarakhsi, *Mabsūṭ*, xi. 153) is unique in making even a legacy to one of the shareholders become the property of the company (lucrum ex fortuna) which suggests the societas omnium bonorum (cf. Dig. 17, 2, 3, 1; Basil., xii. 1, 3, 1). The classification and doctrine of the Ḥanafis have been bodily adopted in the Turkish civil law (*Medjelle*, art. 1045, 1060 sqq.; 1329 sqq.).

On the other forms of companies see the separate articles: MUDĀRABA, MUZĀRAʿA, MUSAKĀT.

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(HEFFENING)

SHIRKŪH, ABU 'L-HĀRITH ASAD AL-DĪN, son of Shādhī, and brother of Aiyūb b. Shādhī, the father of Saladin. At first a general of Nūr al-Dīn, prince of Aleppo and of Damascus, he became vizier of the last Fātimid Caliph al-ʿĀḍid, and in the last capacity bore the honorary title of Malik Maṣṣūr.

We first meet with Shirkūh at Takrit, where his brother Aiyūb was governor in the name of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, and it was after a murder committed by Shirkūh that the whole family had to abandon the town, and offer its services to the prince of Aleppo, Zankī, who accepted them. Shirkūh remained at the court of the son of Zankī, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and at his command, went to take Damascus which his brother Aiyūb was defending in the name of the Būrid princes. The matter was arranged without a blow being struck; Aiyūb kept Damascus, but on behalf of Nūr al-Dīn who gave the territory of Ḥimṣ to Shirkūh as an appanage. Such was the origin of the Aiyūbid principality of Ḥimṣ, which later passed to his descendants.

When in the year 558 (1163) Nūr al-Dīn was asked by Shāwar [q.v.] to assist him in gaining the vizierate, Shirkūh was put at the head of the Syrian expeditionary force. With an army very inferior in number to the forces gathered by the vizier Dirghām, Shāwar and Shirkūh obtained a brilliant victory near Tell Baṣṭa. Whatever may have been at first the designs of Shirkūh with respect to Shāwar, this battle marks an important point in the relations of the two men; Shirkūh seemed afraid of the spirit of intrigue which animated Shāwar. The assurance, verified in the result, which was given by Shāwar that he had means of information in the army of Dirghām was disturbing. With the installation of Shāwar in the vizierate the quarrel broke out openly; Shirkūh was unwilling to quit Egypt before the execution of the agreement concluded with Nūr al-Dīn. Fighting resulted on several occasions and the different encounters which took place in the suburbs of Cairo, went against Shāwar, who appealed for help to the Franks. Shirkūh, besieged in Bilbais, had to capitulate. Before the end of the year 559 (Nov. 1164) he returned to Damascus.

In the year 562 (1167) Shīrkūh again invaded Egypt to fight Shāwar for a second time; the latter was still allied with the Franks. He won the battle of Bābain, which had been forced upon him by his adversaries. This very bloody victory did not lead to any final decision. Shīrkūh found a base at Alexandria which he occupied with ease and where he installed his nephew Saladin as governor. This whole effort proved useless, because Shāwar succeeded in recapturing the town after a long siege and brought about the departure of Shīrkūh.

He had to be recalled two years later by the Caliph al-ʿĀdīd when the Franks besieged Cairo; the third invasion was to prove decisive. After the departure of the Franks, Shīrkūh threw in his lot with Egypt and refused to yield to the pressing appeals of Nūr al-Dīn, who was unwilling to be deprived of his services. After the assassination of Shāwar, he accepted the office of vizier to the caliph al-ʿĀdīd, but it is not known if in his heart he was considering a dynasty of his own. The contrary can be believed, and it may be supposed that the idea of it came to Nūr al-Dīn, who determined to strike a double blow, to bring back his officers to his allegiance and whilst bringing them back to the Sunna, to reign in Egypt, which he would annex to his Syrian kingdom. Because of his relationship with Saladin, the question ought to be raised in an article on Shīrkūh but there is nothing to indicate a definite attitude on the part of the latter.

His attainment of power coincided with a rising of the populace of Cairo, who pillaged even the offices of the vizierate. Shīrkūh, who according to the account of William of Tyre was "vielz, patiz de cors et mout gras" joined his nephew Saladin. Historians praise his ability; although a Sunni, he wisely allowed the Egyptians, to remain faithful to their own religious opinions. His power was, moreover, of too short a duration to give a new political system to the Empire. Shīrkūh died very suddenly after being vizier for a little more than two months, on the 22 Djumādā II, 564 (March 23, 1169). He died, the victim of his violent appetite, which was the cause of frequent indigestion accompanied by suffocation; as is generally the case in the East, poison was also spoken of. In accordance with his expressed desire his remains were transported to Medina, but not until sixteen years later.

His successors included a certain number of Mamlūks, who were known at the beginning of the Aiyūbid régime under the name of *Asadiya*. The same *nisba* was used to name the madrasas which he had built at Aleppo and at Damascus.

Bibliography: Cf. the article AIYUBIDS, and also SHĀWAR; Abū Shāma, i. 8, 10, 15, 46—48, 55, 58, 67, 81, 96, 107—109, 120, 122—124, 129—132, 137, 141—147, 154—162, 166—174, 178, 180, 210—211; ii. 67, 218; Ibn Shihna, *Taʾrikh Ḥalab*, p. 112, 119; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Hist. d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, p. 230; Derenbourg, *Oumāra*, ii., Fr. part., index, p. 396; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Bulāq, i. 284—285, ii. 502; Yāqūt, *Iʿshād*, ed. Margoliouth, ii. 247; Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-aʿshā* iv., p. 112, x. 6, 80—90; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 76; Makrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 343; Abū 'l-Mahāsīn, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, iii. 56; 'Alī Pāshā, *Khiṭaṭ djaʿāda*, i. 19; von Kremer in *S.B.A.K. Wien*, 1850, iv. 305, 308; Sauvaire, *Descr. de Damas*,

J.A. 1894, i. 304, 387—388, 451, 474; ii. 492; Helbig, *Al-Qāḍī al-Faḍīl*, p. 55—56.

(G. WIET)

SHĪRWĀN, also written Shirwān and Sharwān (e.g. in Yāqūt, iii. 282, 7, according to al-Samʿānī, ed. Margoliouth, f. 333a), a district on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, east of the Kura, originally a part of the ancient Albania or the Arrān [q. v.] of the early middle ages. According to Iṣṭakhri, p. 192 = Yāqūt, iii. 317 19, the road from Bardhaʿa [q. v.] led via Shirwān and Shamākhiya (in Yāqūt: Shamākhi) to Derbend [q. v.]. The distance between Shamākhiya and "Sharwān", according to Iṣṭakhri, was three days' journey: in some MSS. and in Yāqūt we have "Shāberān" for "Sharwān"; in the anonymous *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, f. 33^b, Shāberān (there written Shāwerān) is described as the capital (*ḥaṣaba*) of Shirwān. This road as well as the towns on it did not lose their importance until the Transcaucasian railway had been built. Shāberān is still mentioned as a town as late as 1578 in the report of Turkish conquests of that year (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 485). In the seventeenth century a new town Kuba or Kūba appears as the capital of the Khān of this region, about fifteen miles N. W. of Shāberān; by 1770 Gmelin only found "miserable" ruins in Shāberān of the old, now completely deserted town (S. G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Russland zur Untersuchung der drey Naturreiche*, iii. 36); its importance as a trade centre had passed to Kuba. As late as 1851, the governor of Derbend, Worontsov, travelled to Tiflis via Kuba, Shemakha and Gandja (*Arkhiv Knyazya Worontsova*, xl. 405).

Shamākhi, Russian Shemakha, the later capital of Shirwān, is said to have been founded in the Muslim period and to have taken its name (Balādhuri, p. 210) from Shammakh b. Shudjāʿ, king of Shirwān, during the governorship of Saʿīd b. Salm (the contemporary of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, cf. Yāqūt, *Taʾrikh*, ii. 517 sqq. and al-Ṭabarī, iii. 648). As the territory of the Shirwānshāh (see below) Shirwān included the lands from the Kura to Derbend; the same frontiers are given in the Mongol period for Shirwān (in Hamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 92, 7). The capital Shemākha was then as later of importance, especially as a centre of silk manufacture and of the silk trade.

After the abolition of the Shirwānshāhs by the Ṣafawīs, Shirwān formed a province of Persia and was usually governed by a Khān, who is often called Beylerbey or Emīr al-Umarāʾ. The inhabitants several times rebelled against the Shīʿī dynasty and as Sunnis appealed for help to the Sulṭān of Turkey. With other Caucasian lands Shirwān was taken by the Turks in 1578, held after a series of battles with varying results, and finally ceded to the Sulṭān by the peace of 1590. Under Turkish rule Shirwān was divided into fourteen sandjaks; it included Shakī in the north-west and Bākū in the south-east, i. e. practically the whole of mediaeval Shirwān. Derbend, which had long been separated from Shirwān, formed a separate governorship. Persian rule was not definitive restored till 1607. In the seventeenth century, Kuba and Sālyān were given as a separate principality to the Kaitak, who had migrated southwards (cf. i., p. 989 sq.). In 1722 the Khān of Kuba, Ḥusain 'Alī, submitted to Peter the Great and was confirmed in his dignity. By the treaty between Russia

and Turkey of the year 1724, the coast territory with Bākū, now occupied by the Russians, was for the first time politically separated from the rest of Shirwān, which was left to the Turks with Shemākha as capital. This division was retained as regards administration even after both parts were reunited to Persia. By the treaties of 1732 the coast lands north of Kura still remained to the Russians and the other parts of Shirwān and Dāghestān to the Turks; it was only after Nādir Shāh had taken their conquests from the Turks by force of arms (capture of Shemākha, Oct. 22, 1734) that the coast lands were ceded to him voluntarily by the Russians (treaty of Gandja, March 10/21, 1735). After the death of Nādir Shāh, Persian rule could no longer be enforced in these regions; several independent principalities arose; the name Shirwān was now limited to the territory of the Khān of Shemākha, which was later under Russian rule divided into three administrative districts (Shemākha, Gökçai and Djawād). Fath 'Alī Khān of Kuba (1758—1789) succeeded in bringing Derbend as well as Shemākha under his sway, so that, as Dorn observes, "a true Shirwānshāh arose in him". During the last years of his reign, Fath 'Alī flattered himself with the idea of bringing Persia itself under his sway and ascending the throne of the rulers of Irān. When the Kādžars had succeeded in restoring the unity of Persia, the sons of the Khān were no more able to maintain their independence than the other Caucasian chiefs and had to choose between Russia and Persia. General Zubow, who had been despatched by Catherine II, had already reached the Kura below Djawād (1796) when he and his army were recalled by the Emperor Paul. The Khān of Shirwān (Shemākha), Muṣṭafā, who had already entered into negotiations with Zubow, submitted to the Russians in 1805, who occupied Derbend and Bākū next year (1806), but soon afterwards he made overtures to the Persians and sought help from them. By the peace of Gulistan (October 12/24, 1813), Persia gave up all claim to Derbend, Kuba, Shirwān and Bākū. Nevertheless Muṣṭafā continued to have secret dealings with Persia. It was not till 1820 that his territory was occupied by Russian troops; the Khān fled to Persia and Shemākha was incorporated in Russian territory. The outbreak of hostilities again in 1826 was taken advantage of by Muṣṭafā and by an earlier Khān of Bākū, Ḥusain, for an attempt to stir up their subjects against Russia, but without success. Since 1840 the former territory of the Khān of Shirwān has been united with Kuba and Bākū to form one administrative area (at first the "Caspian territory"; from 1846 the "government of Shemākha"; from 1859, after the destruction of Shemākha by one of the earthquakes frequent there, the "government of Bākū"). At present the ancient Shirwān forms a part of the Soviet republic of Aḏharbāidjān with the capital Bākū; the division into "governments" is abolished, but that into "circles" retained. The old capital of Shirwān, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, had a larger population than Bākū; according to Ritter's *Geographisch-Statistisches Lexicon*⁵, 1864—1865, Shemākha had 21,550 and Bākū 10,600 inhabitants. In the eighties the relationship was reversed (E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888, p. 342 and 396: Bākū 45,679, Shemākha 28,545); Shemākha is now quite a small town compared with

Bākū (1917: Bākū 231,000; Shemākha 27,800).

Bibliography: See especially B. Dorn, *Geschichte Shirwans unter den Statthaltern und Chanen von 1538—1820* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker*, ii. = *Mém. de l'Acad.*, etc., Ser. 6, *Sciences politiques*, etc., v. 317—433).

(W. BARTHOLD)

SHIRWĀNSHĀH, a title of the rulers of Shirwān, probably dating from the pre-Muḥammadan period (Balādhuri, p. 196 *infra*). In the history of the conquest this ruler is called simply king (*malik*) or lord (*ṣāhib*) of Shirwān (*ibid.*, 204 and 209). Yazīd b. Usaid al-Sulamī, governor of Armenia under the Caliph Maṣṣūr, took possession of the naphtha-wells (*naffā'a*) and saltworks of Shirwān (*mallaḥāt*); the eastern part of the land was therefore at that date of greater importance than the western (cf. what is said above on Shāberān as the capital of Shirwān). The title Shirwānshāh is said to have been afterwards assumed by the descendants of the Arab governor Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaibānī. Yazīd himself died in 185 (801—802); when and why his descendants moved their residence to Shirwān is not known; according to a later source (*Shahrīzāde*, *Matn al-Tawārīkh*, written in 1173 [1759], quoted in Dorn, *Schirwan-schahe*, p. 544, cf. now Brockelmann, ii. 429) one of them, Haitham b. Khālīd, declared himself independent during the troubles that followed the death of the Caliph Mutawwakil in 247 (861) and assumed the title of Shirwānshāh. His dynasty (usually called Mazyadid) is said by the same source to have ruled till 460 (1067/1068). Contrary to this, Maṣ'ūdi (*Murūdj*, ii. 69) says that in his time, i. e. shortly before 332 (943—944) after the death of the Shirwānshāh 'Alī b. Haitham, the Irānshāh (according to Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 119, this is the reading, i. e. "lord of Arrān in the narrow sense"; the manuscripts usually have Līrānshāh) Muḥammad b. Yazīd, a descendant of the Sāsānids, seized the land of Shirwān and assumed the title of Shirwānshāh; he is said to have also held Derbend (*Murūdj*, ii. 5) and thus united the whole of the ancient Albania into a political unit once more. Contrary to what was stated above, i., p. 460 *sq.* that Maṣ'ūdi's statements are confirmed by no other source, we can now quote the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (written in 372 = 982—983), f. 33a, according to which the three lands Shirwān, Khūrsān and Irān were at that time under the rule of one sovereign who had the titles of Shirwānshāh, Khūrsānshāh (in Balādhuri, p. 196 *infra*, called Djursānshāh, as king of the Lakz, i. e. of the Lesgians, cf. above i., p. 887 *sq.*) and Irānshāh. His capital was the camp of his armies (*leshkerhā*), 1 farsakh from Shamākhi. The dynasty of the Kesrānids was probably founded by Muḥammad b. Yazīd (Banū Kesrān) and the centre of the principality transferred to Shamākhi, which later always appears as the capital of the Shirwānshāh. The rule of this house was perhaps interrupted for a short time by the Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azdi mentioned as Shirwānshāh by Ibn Hawkal (p. 250, 8 and 254, 12); in no other literary sources is this name mentioned, but it is found on undated coins which from the epigraphy must belong to the fourth (tenth) century.

The next historical references to the Kesrānids refer to their relations with the Seldjūk Sultāns (Houtsma, *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. 139 *sqq.*) In the reign of

Malikshāh (465—485 = 1072—1092) Fariburz is mentioned as king, lord of Shirwān (*al-Malik Ṣāhib Sharwān*), and we still have coins struck by him. When Malikshāh was in Arrān, Fariburz after some resistance paid homage to him and pledged himself to pay a tribute of 70,000 dinārs; by later negotiations this tribute was reduced to 40,000 dinārs (the tribute which the above-mentioned Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azdī had to pay the ruler of Ādharbāidjān Marzbān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir was a million dirhams). Under Sultān Maḥmūd (511—525 = 1118—1131) Shirwān was occupied by the Sultān's troops; the Sultān was asked by the leaders to come there himself; after his arrival the Shirwānshāh (his name is not known) went to him and hoped to obtain justice from him but was imprisoned. The people of Shirwān with whom the prince was very popular tried to procure his release, but without success. This state of affairs encouraged the Georgians to invade Shirwān but they were driven out by Maḥmūd. The population suffered very much from the occupation of their country and these events became known as the "devastation" (*takhrīb*) of Shirwān. The campaign took place in the first and last years of office of the vizier Shams al-Mulk, who was put to death by the Sultān's orders in Rabi' I, 517 (April 29—May 28, 1123) in Bailakān (probably on the way back to Persia from Shirwān).

The same campaign appears in quite another light in Ibn al-Athīr, x. 433 sq. (cf. above i., p. 943). The campaign is said to have been caused by the invasions of the Georgians and the complaints of the people, especially of the town of Derbend. Soon after the arrival of the Sultān in Shamākhī a large Georgian army appeared before the town, which terrified the Sultān; soon afterwards however a quarrel broke out between the Georgians and their allies, the Kīptāk, as a result of which the enemy had to retire "as if defeated" (*shibha 'l-munḥazimīn*; they had therefore not actually been defeated). The Sultān remained for some time in Shirwān and returned in Djumādā II, 517 (July 27—Aug. 24, 1123) to Hamadān.

Neither the Muslim nor the Georgian sources (in Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i. 368) nor the coins give us definite information regarding the name of the Shirwānshāh concerned. According to Fariburz, the name of his son Manūčahr still appears on the coins under the Caliph Mustazhir, i. e. before 512 (1118); the next ruler Afridūn, probably a brother of his predecessor (no coins of his are known), is said by Georgian sources to have fallen about 1120 in a war between Shirwān and Derbend; he is referred to as a "martyr" (*shahīd*) by the poet Khākānī. His son Manūčahr II was according to his coins a contemporary of the Caliph Muktafi (530—555 = 1136—1160) and is said by Khākānī (in *Khanikow, Mém. Asiat.*, iii. 122) to have reigned for thirty years, so that he cannot have been dethroned in 517 (1123).

The dynasty's greatest period was under Manūčahr II and his successors. Manūčahr took the title not only of Shirwānshāh but also "Great Khākān" (*Khākān-i Kabir*); from this title is taken the *takhalluṣ* of his panegyrist Khākānī. But the Shirwānshāh continues to appear on his coins simply as a vassal of the Seldjūk of the 'Irāk; it is only after the death of the last of this dynasty (Toghrol b. Arslān, d. 590 = 1194) that we find on coins and inscriptions only the name of the

Caliph as suzerain mentioned in addition to the name of the Shirwānshāh (usually with high-sounding titles). Shirwān at that time was actually completely dependent on the Georgian kings, who took the title Shirwānshāh themselves. Matrimonial alliances were several times concluded between the Kesrānids and the Georgian royal house. The son and successor of Manūčahr II, Akhsitān, no doubt owed to his powerful relative, ally and suzerain, king Georgius III, his victory over a Russian fleet at Bākū and the reconquest of Shirwān and Derbend [q. v.]. On the other hand the lands of Shakki, Kabala and Mūkān, were later taken from the Shirwānshāh by the Georgians (Nasawī, *Sirat Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, p. 146 and 174). Political conditions in the first half of the xiiith century are not quite clear; neither the Shirwānshāh Rashīd mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr under the year 619 (xii. 264 sq.) nor the Shirwānshāh Afridūn b. Fariburz mentioned by Nasawī (p. 175), under 622 A. H., are known from coins; in place of these we find on coins as contemporary of the Caliph Nāṣir (575—622 = 1180—1225) Fariburz b. Afridūn b. Manūčahr, and following him under the same Caliph Farrukhzād b. Manūčahr and Garshasp b. Farrukhzād. In contradiction to the above accounts Nasawī says that the Shirwānshāh paid Sultān Malikshāh a tribute of 100,000 dinārs; the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn therefore demanded the same sum from the Shirwānshāh when he appeared in Ādharbāidjān. According to Nasawī, the reply given him was that conditions were no longer the same as before, as a large part of the country was now in the possession of the Georgians. It was agreed to pay 50,000 dinārs, but even of this 20,000 were remitted. Shortly before the Khwārizmshāh had driven the officers of the Shirwānshāh out of the land of Gushṭāspī at the junction of the Kura and Aras and farmed out this territory for 200,000 dinārs; on the other hand he restored to prince Sultān-Shāh, Mūkān, which had been ceded by his father to the Georgians (on the occasion of the marriage of the prince with a Georgian princess, daughter of Queen Rusudan, 1223—1247). After the subjection of Shirwān by the Mongols, coins were struck in the name of the Mongol Great Khān; the name of the Shirwānshāh also appears, but without a title. Under the rule of the Ilkhāns [q. v.] no coins were struck in Shirwān; the country belonged sometimes to their empire and sometimes to that of the Golden Horde; as a province in the empire of the Ilkhāns Shirwān brought the state treasury 11 tūmāns (the tūmān was 10,000 dinārs) and 3,000 dinārs (the dinār was not now a gold coin but a silver coin of 3, later 2 mithkāl's; cf. W. Barthold, *Persidskaya nadsip na stenie Aniyskoi mečeti Manuče*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 18 sq.). Gushṭāspī had remained separate and paid 118,500 dinārs. The Kesrānid dynasty remained in existence; under the successors of the Ilkhāns, the Shirwānshāh Kai Kubād and his son Kāwus were again able to play the part of independent rulers (their coins were anonymous like the coins of several dynasties of this period); but soon afterwards Kāwus had to submit to the Djalāirids [q. v.] and strike coins in their name. Kāwus is said to have died according to Faṣṣḥ (in Dorn, p. 560) in 774 (1372—1373); his son Hūshang was murdered by his subjects after reigning ten years and with his death the dynasty of the

Kesrānids came to an end. The rule passed to a remote connection of the dynasty, **Shāikh** Ibrāhīm (1382—1417) of Derbend; in 1386 he had to submit to Timūr, after whose death he reigned as an independent ruler. The long reign of his successor **Khalil Allāh** (1417—1462) and **Farrukh Yāsār** (1462—1501) was a period of peace and prosperity for **Shirwān**. Great buildings arose in **Shamākhī** and **Bākū**. **Farrukh Yāsār** was defeated and killed by **Shāh Ismā'il**, the founder of the modern kingdom of Persia. After this there reigned as vassals of the Persian **Shāhs**, **Ibrāhīm II** (1502—1524), **Khalil Allāh** (1524—1536), and **Shāhrukh** (1536—1538), after whom **Shirwān** was incorporated into Persia. A son of **Khalil Allāh II**, **Burhān 'Alī Sulṭān** and his son **Abū Bakr** afterwards made an attempt to regain this kingdom with Turkish help, but without any lasting success.

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SHĪTH (Hebr. *Shēth*), Seth, the third son of Adam and Eve (*Gen.*, iv. 25, 26 and v. 3—8) was born when his father was 130 years of age, five years after the murder of Abel. When Adam died, he made him his heir and executor of his will. He taught him the hours of the day and of the night, told him of the Flood to come and taught him to worship the divinity in retirement at each hour of the day.

It is to him that we trace the genealogy of mankind, since Abel did not leave any heirs and Cain's heirs were lost in the Flood. It is said that he lived at Mecca performing the rites of pilgrimage until his death; that he collected the leaves revealed to Adam and to himself (numbering fifty) and regulated his conduct by them; that he built the Ka'ba of stone and clay. On his death he left as his successor his son **Anūsh** (Enoch); he was buried beside his parents in the cavern of Mount **Abū-Kubais**; he had attained the age of 912 years. According to **Ibn Ishāq** he married his sister **Hazūra**.

Later Traditions. Adam having fallen ill, desired to have olives and oil from Paradise; he sent **Shith** to Mount Sinai to ask God for them, and God told him to hold out his wooden bowl; it was filled in a moment, with what his father had asked for, and he rubbed his body with the oil, ate a few olives and was cured. Adam was beardless; **Shith** was the first to have a beard. He is also called the first *uriyā* (a Syriac word signifying "teacher" [cf. Hebr. *ōr* "light, teaching"]). He was exactly like his father physically as well as morally. He was the favourite child. He spent the greater part of his life in Syria, where one tradition says that he was born. From his time man was divided into two categories; those who obeyed him and the others who followed the children of Cain. As a result of his counsels, a few of the latter entered into the right path, but the others persisted in their rebellion

Maxims which are said to have been left by him are quoted (**Mirkhond**, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1271, i. 12 sqq.).

Tabarī, *Annales*, writes **Shath** and **Shāth** (i. 153) and says that **Shith** is a Syriac form (*sūryānī*). The name signifies "in place of, gift (of God)" because he was given in place of Abel (*Gen.*, iv. 26).

Al-Mukanna' [q. v.] holds that the spirit of God was transferred from Adam to Seth (**Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisi**, *Livre de la Creation*, vi. 96). This idea comes from a Gnostic sect, the Sethites who were found in Egypt from the fourth century, and who possessed a "Paraphrase of Seth", to be more precise, seven books by this patriarch and seven others by his children, whom they called the "Strangers" (**Epiphane**, *Haer.*, xxxix. 5). The Gnostics possessed the books of **Jaldabaoth**, the Demiurge, attributed to Seth (**Epiphane**, *op. cit.*, xxvi. 8). The **Ṣābi'ūn** of **Ḥarrān** had several writings attributed to Seth, and the latter was associated with Adam by the Manichaeans (**Prosper Alfari**, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, Paris 1918, p. 6, 9, 10). Seth is always associated with Adam by the **Druzes** (**Philipp Wolff**, *Drusen*, Leipzig 1845, p. 151, 193, 372 sqq.).

Bibliography: **Tabarī**, *Annales*, i. 152—168, 1122, 1123; **Ibn al-Aṭhīr**, *Chronicon*, ed. **Tornberg**, i. 35, 39; **Tha'ālībī**, *Arā's al-Mudjālis*, ed. lith. 1277, p. 42.

(CL. HUART)

SHĪZ, the name of a very old Persian fire-temple, a place or district S. E. of Lake **Urmiya** in **Adharbāidjān**, said to be the native place of Zoroaster. According to A. V. W. Jackson the name is said to be derived from the Avestan name of Lake **Urmiya**, **Čaečasta**; according to **Yāqūt** it is an Arabic corruption of **Djāzn** or **Gazn** i. e. **Kanzaka** or **Garaca** of the classical writers or **Gandjak** of the Pehlevi texts. The older geographers consider the two names distinct. A comparison of the description given by **Yāqūt** from **Mis'ar b. Muḥalhil** (about 940) with the ruins which are now called **Takht-i Sulaimān** shows the two places to be identical. According to **Mis'ar** the town lay among hills in which gold, quicksilver, lead, silver, arsenic and amethyst were found. Within the walled town was a pond of unfathomable depth, the water of which turned everything to stone. There was also a large ancient fire-temple there, which was held in great honour from which all the sacred fires in Persia were lit. The fire had already burned 700 years without leaving ashes. The Persian kings used to bestow gifts on the temple, so that it collected vast treasures. **Mis'ar b. Muḥalhil** went there specially to find hidden treasure. **H. Rawlinson's** photographs of **Takht-i Sulaimān** show the pond in the centre of the walls and the ruins of the temple.

Bibliography: **Ibn Khordādhbeh**, *B. G. A.*, vi. 119; **al-Hamadhānī**, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, *B. G. A.*, v. 286; **al-Mas'ūdī**, *Murūdj*, iv. 74 sqq.; **Yāqūt**, *Mu'djam*, iii. 353 sqq.; **al-Kazwīnī**, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. **Wüstenfeld**, ii. 267; **H. Rawlinson**, *Notes on a journey etc.*, *J. R. G. S.*, x. 1—158; **Barbier de Meynard**, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 367; **Nöldeke**, *Tabarī*, p. 102; **Jackson**, *Zoroaster*, p. 195 sqq.; do., *Persia past and present*, p. 126—143. (J. RUSKA)

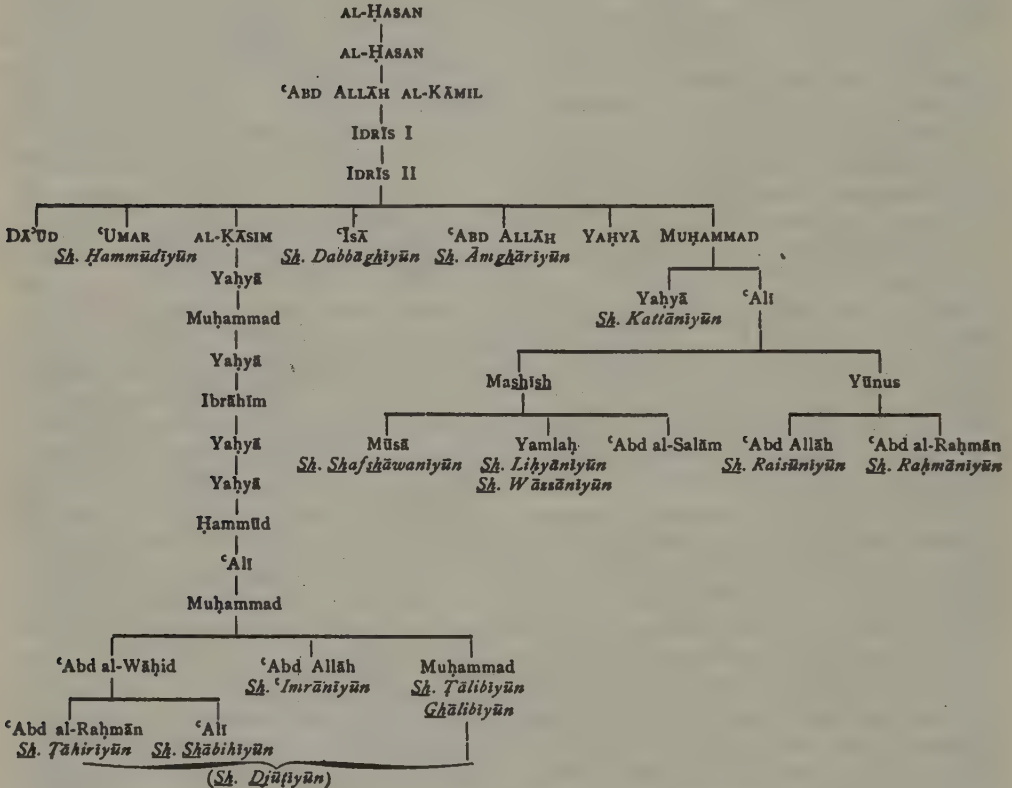
SHORFĀ'. This is the dialectic plural form used throughout the **Maghrib** in place of the classical *shurafā'*; the singular is *sharif* (class.

sharīf, q.v.). Morocco is the country of the Muslim world in which are found the largest number, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of authentic *sharīfs* or those regarding themselves as such. Their groups have played a considerable political and social role in the country since the end of the middle ages; two of them in succession succeeded to the old Berber dynasties, the Almoravids, Almohads, and Marinids; and even before these mediaeval dynasties the consolidation and

shorfā', hitherto overshadowed by the mediaeval dynasts, began to play a foremost role. The result was the fall of the Marinid dynasty and their Wattāsid successors and the rise of the Sa'dian princes.

Henceforth Morocco became the chosen land of the *Shorfā'*. The empire became the *Sharīfī* empire, *al-Iyālat al-Sharīfa*; the groups, originally constituted without any recognition from the central power, were given an imperial consecration

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE IDRISID *SHORFĀ'*



unity of the Maghribī empire had been brought about by a *Sharīfī* family, the Idrisids.

At the end of the middle ages the *Sharīfī* movement in Morocco seems to be closely associated with the development of the cult of saints and the growth of the religious brotherhoods. At this period there was a revival of the Muslim faith in the country and the religious aristocracy acquired a predominating position. Maghribī Islām in the xvth century assumed the original form, although nominally orthodox, which it has retained to the present day. To resist the Christian peril and the designs of Spain and Portugal on Morocco, it appealed for leaders in a holy war and the

of nobility; each Sultān on his succession renewed their grants of privileges and fiscal immunities and granted them rescripts (*ḡāhir*) which became in each family a kind of "grant of arms". It was for example by a *Sharīfī* rescript that the *naḡīb* (q.v. and the article *SHARIF*) of each group was appointed. In the hierarchy of the *Makhzen* they occupy the first place. The *Shorfā'* of Morocco are found especially in the towns but even in the country they are very numerous. It is not always easy to distinguish between the *shorfā'* of the genuine nobility and those who cannot prove their descent from the Prophet. There has gradually arisen a difficulty in distinguishing between the

Sharif descended from Muḥammad and the descendant of a celebrated *murābiṭ* who was not necessarily himself a *sharīf*. The *shorfa'* in spite of their numbers all enjoy the respect and the consideration of their compatriots. They do not all have sufficient means of livelihood; for the most part they engage in some manual labour in the towns, cultivate the soil in the country and there is nothing in their dress to distinguish them from the other inhabitants of the country.

All the *Shorfa'* of Morocco with the exception of two branches are of Ḥasanid nobility. They actually claim to be descended from al-Ḥasan, son of 'Alī, through the latter's grandson 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil. This group of Ḥasanid branches comprises three main groups: — the Idrīsids, the Kādirids and the descendants of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya (Filālī and Sa'dian *Shorfa'*).

I. Idrīsīd branch. — Its principal ramifications are indicated in the genealogical table given opposite. It is the most important branch of the Ḥasanid group and therefore of all the *Shorfa'* of Morocco. The following are their main sub-divisions.

a. *Shorfa'* Djūtīyūn. Under this name are included all the descendants of al-Kāsim, son of Idrīs II. This al-Kāsim being dispossessed by his brother 'Umar had founded a monastery (*ribāṭ*) on the shores of the Atlantic near Arcila (Āzilā) and at his death left a son, Yahyā, who established himself in the town of Djūta in the Ḡharb on the Wādī Sabū. His descendants adopted his ethnic name which is still used by them as a surname. Among them are distinguished the Sh. 'Imrānīyūn, the Sh. Ṭālibīyūn and Ḡhālibīyūn, the Sh. Ṭāhirīyūn, and the Sh. Shābihīyūn. After the decline of the little town of Djūta, al-Kāsim's descendants settled in various parts of Morocco, notably at Fās, in Miknās and in the Djabal al-'Alam. Of all the subdivisions of the Djūtīyūn the most important is that of the 'Imrānīyūn which played an important part in politics in the second half of the ninth century, A. H., (xvth A. D.) in attempting to overthrow the Marinid dynasty in Fās. The Sultāns drove them out of Morocco and they took refuge in Tunis whence they returned to Morocco a few years later.

b. *Shorfa'* Ḥammūdīyūn. These are the descendants of Idrīs through 'Umar. They lived at first in the Djabal al-'Alam, then settled in the region of Tlemcen.

c. *Shorfa'* Dabbāṭhīyūn. They are descended from 'Isā son of Idrīs. This group emigrated in the ivth century A. H. to Spain with al-Ḥasan b. Gannūn and settled in the region of Cordova. At the time of the Christian "reconquista" they returned to Morocco and settled first at Salé and later at Fās.

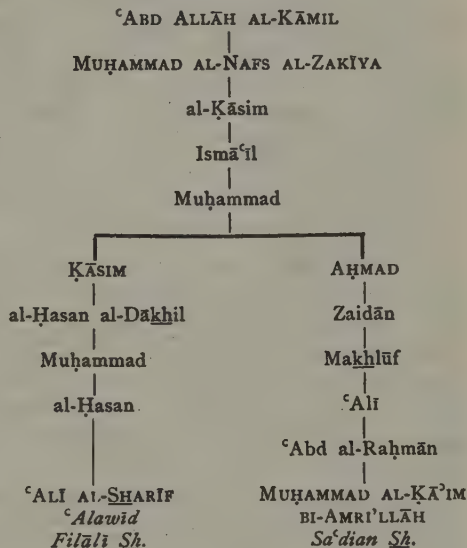
d. *Shorfa'* Amghāriyūn. They are descended from 'Abd Allāh son of Idrīs. Settled first in the north of Morocco, they later went to the Atlantic coast, to the south of Azammūr where they established themselves.

e. *Shorfa'* Kattānīyūn, the descendants of Idrīs II by his grandson Yahyā b. Muḥammad. They lived in Miknās down to the middle of the tenth century A. H. (xvth A. D.) and then settled in Fās where they were sometimes also called *Shorfa'* of the 'Aḳabat Ibn Sawwāl from the name of the street in which they lived on their arrival in the town.

f. Descendants of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs. They are divided into branches which are found throughout the northern part of Morocco; among them we may mention the Sh. Shafshāwaniyūn whose ancestor 'Alī b. Rashīd founded the town of Shafshāwan [q.v.]; the Sh. Liyānīyūn and the *Shorfa'* Wāzzānīyūn (on the activities of this important branch cf. the article WāZZĀN): the Sh. Raisūnīyūn and the Sh. Raḥmānīyūn.

II. Kādirīd branch. The Kādirids of Morocco claim descent from Mūsā al-Djawn, son of 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil through the intermediary of the celebrated 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī. Their settlement in Morocco only dates from the end of the middle ages when they had to abandon Spain where they had hitherto lived. They finally settled in Fās at the end of the ninth century A. H. (xvth A. D.) and since then have been one of the most important Sharīfī groups of the Moroccan capital.

III. Sa'dian and Filālī branches. These two branches each succeeded to power in Morocco after the fall of the old Berber dynasties. Both claim direct descent from Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya son of 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil. They had a common ancestry down to the thirteenth descendant of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya as may be seen from the following table:



For the circumstances of their accession to power see the article MOROCCO, History.

Husainid Groups. Two Sharīfī groups of Morocco, of much diminished importance claim descent from al-Husain b. 'Alī through Mūsā b. Dja'far al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. al-Husain. They are the *Shorfa'* Ṣaḳillīyūn (for Ṣiḳillīyūn = Sicilians), who are descended from 'Alī al-Raḳī b. Mūsā al-Kāzim, and the *Shorfa'* 'Irāḳīyūn who are descended from his brother Ibrāhīm al-Murṭadā. They are found principally in Fās and some of them in the last century went and settled in Cairo.

If one realises the special importance of the Sharīfī groups in the Maghrib, one will not be surprised to find that it has resulted in a special

literature dealing with genealogy and biography. The first notable works on these subjects were undertaken by a Kādirid Sharif of Fās, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Taiyib al-Kādirī, born in 1058/1648 and died in 1110/1698 (cf. the writer's *Histoire des Chorfa*, p. 276—399). In addition to three monographs on hagiology he wrote several works dealing with the Sharifi groups of Morocco, first a general study of Sharifism in the Moroccan capital, *al-Durr al-sanī fī ba'd man bi-Fās min ahl al-nasab al-ḥasanī*, which, in spite of its title, also includes the Ḥusainid branches; on account of the period in which he was writing, he deliberately left out the Sa'dians, who in any case were to disappear very quickly for lack of descendants. This work was lithographed at Fās in 1303 and 1308 A.H. Al-Kādirī's other treatises deal with a. the Kādirī Shorfā' (*al-'Urf al-āṭir fī man bi-Fās min abnā' al-shaiḫh 'Abd al-Kādirī*), and b. the Shorfā' 'Irāqīyūn (*Maṭla' al-ishrāk fī 'l-ashraf al-wāridin min al-'Irāk*).

At the end of the xith century and beginning of the xiiith A.H. two other treatises on Sharifi genealogy were compiled in Morocco; one devoted to the 'Alawid Shorfā' of Sidjilmāsa was written by Abū 'l-'Abbas Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Sharīf al-Sidjilmāsi, and entitled *al-Anwār al-sanīy fī nisbat man bi-Sidjilmāsa min al-sharāf al-muḥammadiya*; the other, entitled *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī khaṭir nasab*, was the work of a sharīf of the Djabal al-'Alam, al-Tihāmī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rahmūn, who composed it in 1105/1603—1604.

In 1127/1715 a descendant of the marabout family of the zāwiya of Dilā', Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b. Aḥmad al-Dilā'i (d. 1136/1721), composed a new treatise on the sharīfism of the Kādirids, *Natīdjat al-taḥkīk fī ba'd ahl al-sharāf al-waṭṭik* (publ. at Tunis in 1296 and Fās 1309, partially transl. by Weir, *The first part of the Natijatu 'l-Tahqiq*, Edinburgh, 1903).

A monograph was a little later devoted to the Shorfā' Ṣikillīyūn of Fās by a Kādirid, grandson of the author of the *al-Durr al-sanī*, Muḥammad b. al-Taiyib al-Kādirī, d. 1187/1773: this is the *Lamḥat al-bahdāt al-'ālīya fī ba'd furū' al-sha'bat al-ḥusainīya al-ḡikillīya*. The Shorfā' of Wāzzān had also several historians in the xviiiith century; we may mention the *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān bi-ba'd manāḳib shurafā' Wāzzān*, by Ḥamdūn al-Ṭahīrī al-Djūṭī (d. 1191/1777), lithographed at Fās in 1324 A.H.

The composition of the *Kitāb al-taḥkīk fī 'l-nasab al-waṭṭik*, which the genealogists of Fās consider apocryphal and attribute to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 'Ashmāwī al-Makkī, also dates from the end of the xviiiith century: this work which deals only with the Sharifi branches that settled in Algeria was translated in 1906 by Père Giacobetti.

A specialist in Sharifi genealogy was Abū 'l-Rab' Sulaimān b. Muḥammad al-Shaṣḥāwanī al-Ḥawwāt, borne 1160/1747, d. at Fās in 1231/1816. He left among other works a monograph on the Shorfā' Dabbāghīyūn, called also from their quarter in Fās Shorfā' al-'Uyūn: *Kurrat al-'uyūn fī 'l-shurafā' al-kāfinin bi 'l-'Uyūn*, and a monograph on the Kādirid Shorfā': *al-Sirr al-ṭāhir*.

The Shorfā' 'Irāqīyūn had their historiographer, 'Abd Allāh al-Walīd b. al-'Arabī al-'Irāqī, d. in 1263/1849; this work, published in Fās, is called *al-Durr al-nafīs fī man bi-Fās min banī Muḥammad b. Nafīs*.

Finally we may mention of modern works, in addition to the information collected in the valuable *Salwat al-Anfās* of Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Katānī [see AL-KATTĀNĪ], two works relating to the Sharifi branches of Morocco. The first is the work of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādīdj al-Madani Gannūn, died in 1302/1885, entitled *al-Durar al-maknūna fī 'l-nisbat al-sharīfat al-maṣūna*; the other, more important, is entitled *al-Durar al-bahiya wa 'l-dja-wāhir al-nabawiya fī 'l-furū' al-ḥasaniya wa 'l-ḥusainiya*, lithographed at Fās in 1314. This book which is the work of Abū 'l-'Alā' Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-Fuḍailī, died in 1316/1898—1899, is an excellent collection with much unpublished information, clearly presented.

Bibliography: Besides the Arabic works mentioned in the article: G. Salmon, *Les Chorfa Idrisites de Fès in Archives marocaines*, vol. i., 1904, p. 424—459; do., *Les Chorfa Filāla et Djilāla de Fès*, *ibid.*, vol. iii., 1905, p. 97—118; do., *Ibn Rahmoun*, *ibid.*, p. 159—265; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1907, passim; A. Cour, *L'Etablissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1904, p. 17 sqq.; R. P. Giacobetti, *Kitāb en-Nasab, Généalogie des Chorfa*, R. A., Algiers 1906; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La maison d'Ouzzan*, R. M. M., vol. i., 1908, p. 23—89; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1923; do., *Le Maroc en face de l'étranger à l'époque moderne*, Paris 1925.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHOTT, Arabic SHAṬṬ [q. v.]. The principal Shott are, on the high plateaus, the Tigri Shott in Moroccan territory; the Shott Gharbi formed by two basins, the Shott of the Hamyan to the East and the Shott of Mahaia to the West, and the Shott Sherki situated to the South of Saïda. In the central district between the Tell Atlas and the mountains of the Uled Na'il, the Zahr al-Sherki and the Zahr al-Gharbi; more to the East the Shott of the Hodna occupies the centre of the depression of the same name; other small Shotts form the bottom of the basin of El-Beida and or el-Tarf. Lastly to the South of the Ṣahara Atlas a string of Shotts runs from West to East from the meridian of Biskra as far as the Gulf of Gabes over a stretch of about 230 miles: Shott Melghir, entirely in Algerian territory; Shott Gharsa, on both sides of the Algerian-Tunis frontier; Shott el-Djerid, the largest of all those which is a continuation towards the East of the Shott el-Pedjedj. The two Shotts further West lie 70—100 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. This peculiarity which was believed to be common to the most eastern Shotts, had suggested about the year 1880, the idea that it might be possible to create to the South of Algeria and Tunisia an inland sea by piercing the shore of Gabes with the object of diverting into the Shott the waters of the Mediterranean. Further investigation showed that this project could not be realised and it was abandoned.

Bibliography: See the *Bibliography* to the article SEBKHA.

(G. YVER)

SHU'ĀIB, a prophet mentioned in the Qur'an who, according to Sūra xi. 91, came later than Hūd, Ṣālih and Lot; according to Sūra xxvi. 176—189 which belongs to the middle Meccan period he was sent to the "people of the thicket" (*al-Aika*) who are again mentioned in l. 13; xv. 78; xxxviii. 12. In the later Meccan Sūras, xi. 85—98; xxix. 35 sq.; vii. 83—91, he appears

among the inhabitants of Madyan [q. v.] as their brother. Only later commentators identify him with the unnamed father-in-law of Moses the Old Testament Jethro who lived in Madyan mentioned in xxviii. 21 sqq. (cf. v. 45), but there is no foundation for this in the *Kur'ān*. From the passages mentioned, it is evident that Muḥammad had no very clear conception of Shu'āib and it is not worth while enquiring whence he got the name, which does not occur elsewhere. What Muḥammad tells of him follows the stereotyped scheme in his stories of the prophets and reflects his own experiences and struggles. Besides preaching monotheism he urges his countrymen mainly to honesty in weights and measures, and warns them against destroying the order restored in the land and against driving the believers who follow him from the path of Allāh. But the notables among the people reject him and threaten to expel him and his followers; he had no prestige among them and if they had not had consideration for his family they would have stoned him (xi. 93). An earthquake overtakes them as a punishment, so that they are all found dead in their dwellings.

That much later tradition moves Shu'āib's grave to Kārūn Ḥattīn (see ḤATTĪN) is perhaps to be explained by the confusion of the adjacent Khirbet Midyān, the ancient Madon with Madyan.

Bibliography: See the *Bibliography* to MADYAN SHU'ĀIB; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣṣa al-Anbiyā'*; Dalman, *Palästina Jahrbuch*, x. 41 sqq.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 119 sq. (FR. BUHL)

SHUBĀṬ, the fifth month of the Syriac year. Its name is taken from the eleventh Jewish month, *Shebāt*, with which it roughly coincides. It begins on Jan. 31 of the Roman calendar and has 28 days with an intercalated day every four years. In *Shubāt* the moon stations 10 and 11 set and 24 and 25 rise; the days on which one sets and the one a fortnight later rises are according to al-Bīrūnī the 6th and 16th or 4th and 17th according to al-Kāzwinī the 12th and 25th.

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bākiya*, ed. Sachau, 1878, p. 60, 70, 347-350; al-Kāzwinī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 45 sq., 50, 76 sq. (German translation by Ethé, 95 sq., 103 sq., 156 sqq.); Ginzler, *Handbuch der math. u. techn. Chronologie*, i., 1906, p. 263 sqq. (M. PLESSNER)

AL-SHUDJĀ', the (water)-snake, Arabic name of the long constellation of the *Hydra*, which lies in the southern heavens near the ecliptic, between the constellations of the Scales, Virgin, Lion and Crab on the one side and runs from the Centaur to Prokyon on the other. According to al-Kāzwinī 25 stars belong to the figure and two lie outside it. The head of the water-snake is on the southern pincers of the Crab between Prokyon (*al-Shīrā al-djumaisā'*, "Sirius the blear-eyed") and Regulus (*Kalb al-Asad*, "heart of the Lion"). The snake twists a little southwards from these two stars and then turns to the southeast. On its neck is a prominent star which the Arabs call *al-Fard*, the isolated (Alphard in our star-maps). It is also called '*Unk al-Shudjā'*, neck of the snake, *Fakar al-Shudjā'*, backbone of the snake etc.

Bibliography: al-Kāzwinī, *Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 40; transl. by Ethé, p. 84; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über die Sternnamen*, 1809, p. 267-281. (J. RUSKA)

SHUGHNĀN (SHIGHNĀN), a district on the upper Oxus (Pandj); the part on the left bank now belongs to Afghān Badakhshān [q. v.] and that on the right to the Russian Pāmīr. The districts of Ghārān and Rōshān, the one above and the other below Shughnān are also divided into two by the political frontier. Afghān Shughnān has fifteen villages with four hundred houses and six thousand inhabitants, its administrative centre is at Yāwūrda in the little valley of Udyar. Russian Shughnān consists mainly of the valley of Ghund and Shakh-dara on the western face of the Pāmīr. The Ghund rises in Lake Yeshil-kul but the territory of Shughnān only begins at the village of Sardīm (below the junction of the Ghund and its left bank tributary the Toḳūz-bulak). The Shughnān range (with a pass 14,000 feet high) separates the valley of Ghund from its more southern tributary, Shakh-dara, which in its turn is separated from the Wakhān [q. v.] by another chain.

The cultivated lands of the Tādjiks begin near Sardīm, at a height of about 10,500 feet. The lowest points in Shughnān (on the Pandj) are not below 6,000 feet. The population is industrious but remains poor and scattered. About 1896 it was not over 512 houses with 3,400 inhabitants, but the Afghān statistics of 1923 give 359 houses to Ghund and 340 to Shakh-dara. The administrative centre of Russian Shughnān is at Khārāgh (Khozog) near the confluence of the Ghund and Pandj.

The Iranian hillmen (Tādjiks) of Shughnān speak the Shighni dialect which belongs to the group of Iranian dialects of the Pāmīr and is more closely connected with the dialects of Rōshān, Yāzghulām and Sarī-ḳol (Sarīkol). This last valley is in China and on the sources of the Yārḳand-daryā to the east of the Pāmīr. According to the traditions of the Sarī-ḳolis collected in 1873 by the Forsyth mission (*Report on a Mission to Yarkand*, Calcutta 1875, p. 53, 223), their ancestors in the seventh generation had come from Shughnān, the territory of which seems to have been larger in the past. Like the majority of the Tādjiks of the Pāmīr, the people of Shughnān profess Shi'ī Ismā'īlī doctrines. Their *pīrs* under whom are *khālīfas* recognise H. H. the Āghā-Khān [q. v.] of Bombay as their head (cf. i., p. 180 and ii., p. 551). One of the striking features of the popular religion of the Ismā'īlīs of the Pāmīr is their belief in metempsychosis, including the passage of the soul into animals. A large number of Ismā'īlī manuscripts coming mainly from Shughnān are preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (including *Umm al-Kitāb*, *Wādīh-i Dīn*, *Kalām-i Pīr*, etc.). It is curious to note that the *Dabistān* [q. v.] speaks of the 'Alī-lāhīs (Ismā'īlī?) living in the eastern mountains (*kūhistān-i mashriq*) in proximity to (*muḳārin*) the savage Umawiya or Yazidiya Sunnis whose town is Shkwna. This name must correspond to Shughnān.

The Chinese writers call Shughnān She-k'i-ni or (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 152) "the kingdom of the five She-ni (gorges)" which seems to refer to all the region of the Pandj ("the five rivers"). According to Hiuen-Tsang (630-644) the kingdom of She-k'i-ni was 2,000 *li* in circumference (about 20 days' journey) while the circumference of the capital (K'ou-han?) was 5-6 *li*. The inhabitants were rough looking. The writing

resembled that of the Tokhāris but "their spoken language was different". In 646 envoys from the She-k'i-ni visited the court of China. In 718 the brother of the king (*yabghū*) of Tokhāristān informed the Chinese that the suzerainty of the *yabghū* extended over, amongst others, the king of Shughnān who had 50,000 men at his command. In 747 the general Kao-sien-tse crossed the land of She-ni, the inhabitants of which lived scattered among the gorges.

The Arab geographers refer to Shughnān by the names Shikīnān, Shikinān, Shikīna and Shikina.

Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 37, and Ya'qūbi, p. 292, make Shughnān dependent on Tokhāristān, for in enumerating the revenues of this last district they say that Shikīnān paid 40,000 (? 4,000) dirhams in taxes and Wakhān 20,000 (? 10,000). This may explain an obscure passage in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 178, where he speaks of a ford on the Djaiḥūn by which the merchants of Khottalān (a district between the Pandj and the Wakhshāb) entered "the land of the Turks (sic) which is called Shikīna". As the writer places the mouth of the Akhshwa (the river of Kulāb, Kōi-Surkhāb?) below this ford, the Shikīna must have lived on the left bank of the Pandj above the Afghān Darwāz (cf. above i., p. 842). On the other hand according to Ya'qūbi (p. 292) Shikīnān and Badakhshān (lying between Khotṭal and upper Tokhāristān) were separated by a large valley (that of the Pandj). The Arabs (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 173, Ibn Rusta, p. 89) further make the Indus (Mihṛān) rise in the mountain of Shikīnān. Al-Birūnī (ed. Sachau, p. 101) puts to the west of Kashmīr, first the lands of the Bolor-shāh and then (those of) the Shikīnān-shāh (sic) and of the Wakhān-shāh which stretch to the frontier of Badakhshān. This order of enumeration suggests a direct contact between Shughnān and the lands of the upper Indus.

According to Ya'qūbi, p. 304, in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd the Barmecide Faḍl conquered Shikīnān. Al-Istakhṛī however (p. 297) asserts that the people of this district as well as those of Karrān (Darwāz?) were non-Muslims.

Marco Polo (Yule and Cordier, i. 151) mentions the mountain of Syghinan which produces "balas" rubies, but the ancient mines now abandoned are in the adjoining district of Ghārān.

The local historian of Shughnān begins with Chinese rule of which he quotes several memorials, for example a black stone in the valley Ghund bearing a Persian inscription *ba farmāni Khakan-i Āin*. Such monuments must certainly relate to later expeditions (cf. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Elias and Ross, 1895, p. 94, Yule in his preface to Wood, *Travels*, p. xxxix, mentions the Chinese expedition of 1759 to Badakhshān.)

After the Chinese, the infidel "fire-worshippers" ruled over Shughnān. The inhabitants appear to identify these infidels with the "Siyāhpōsh" of of Kāfiristān [q. v.] to whom are attributed numerous buildings, especially at Wakhān (Olufsen, *Through the Unknown Pamir*, London 1904, p. 172—174). Sir Aurel Stein however (*Geogr. Journ.*, Aug.—Sept., 1916) does not believe that the Siyāhpōsh were capable of building these monuments and attributes their origin to the Indo-Scythic or Sāsānian period. It is probable that the "infidels" were simply local non-Muslims (cf. Grierson, *Ishkashmī, Zibāki and Yagghulāmī*, London 1920, p. 7). The principal centre of these "infidels" was

Wiyar on the left bank of the Pandj and their best known chief was Farhād Rēw.

He was overthrown by a certain Saiyid Shāh Malang sent from Khorāsān by the Grand-Master of the Ismā'īlis. Shāh Malang was followed by another missionary Shāh Khāmūsh from Shirāz. Forsyth puts his date at 665 = 1266. The descendants of these pīrs governed Shughnān as hereditary mīrs. Shāh Amīr Beg has left an inscription at Khārāgh dated 1193 (1779). His son Shāh Wāndjī Khān expelled all the non-Ismā'īlis out of Shughnān and the "fire-worshippers" had to leave for Yarkand. According to Kushkaki, p. 181, this prince had extended his sway up to Badakhshān and Citral. The son of Wāndjī Khān, Kubād Khān, persecuted the Ismā'īlis but was driven out by his brother; Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh grandson of Kubād, ruled both banks of the Pandj but the Amīr of Afghānistān, Shīr 'Alī Khān also tried to bring this area under his sway. In the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān the Afghāns, objecting to the hospitality given to the Russian traveller Regel by Yūsuf 'Alī, deported the latter to Kābul (c. 1300 = 1882) and established their rule over Shughnān (Kushkaki, p. 182—186). The inhabitants sent envoys to Bukhārā and to the Russian authorities in Turkestan. After long pourparlers and an encounter between a Russian force, under Colonel Ionow with the Afghāns near Yeshil-Kul (in 1892), an exchange of views between the Russian and British governments took place in London on March 11, 1895. The Afghāns had to evacuate the right bank of the Pandj and the Amīr of Bukhārā to give up his possessions on the left bank (Darwāz).

Eastern Shughnān was restored to Bukhārā but its administration gradually passed into the hands of the Russian authorities of the Pāmīr (the station of Khārāgh was created at Shughnān in 1895). In 1918—1920 the waves of Russian revolution reached even Shughnān. In November 1920 the Soviet forces re-occupied the Pāmīr and re-established all the military posts. [The following additions are due to the kindness of Mr. A. Semenow. The inhabitants of Shughnān call themselves Khughne'in. — Shughnān belongs at present to the soviet Republic of Tadjikistān, which possesses self-government. The tomb of Shāh Khāmūsh is at Kal'a-i Barpandj (cf. Trotter in *Geogr. Magazine*, ii., 1875, No. 10). Shāh Wāndjī Khān died in 1214/1799. Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh's government was tyrannical, which was the cause of the conspiracy instigated by the Afghāns. The *Wadjī-i Din* has been published at Berlin (Kawiani-office, 1343), cf. Semenow, *K dogmatike pamiirskago ismailisma* (Tashkent 1926) where the latest works of the author are mentioned].

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and illustrated with 34 maps); I. Zarubin, *Materialʹi i sametki po etnografii Tadzhikow, Sbornik Museya Antropologii i Etnografii*, Petrograd, v., 97—148; A. Schulz, *Die Pamiradshikh* (Giessen 1914) in *Veröff. d. oberhess. Mus.*, i. On the Shighni language cf. the bibliography by W. Geiger in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 1/11, 288; Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta 1921, x., p. 466—480; on the new materials collected by Zarubin cf. *Bull. Acad. Petrograd*, 1921, p. 224; on G. Morgenstierne's materials cf. his *Report on a linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning*, Oslo 1926, p. 14. On the Ismā'īlīs of Shughnān cf. Count Alexis Bobrinskoy, *Sekta Ismā'īliya v russkikh i bukharskikh predelakh, Etnografič. Obozrēniye*, Moscow 1902 (distribution and organisation of the sect); W. Ivanow, *Ismā'īlitskiya rukopisi Asiat. Museya, Bull. Acad. Petrograd*, 1917, p. 359—386 (description of the collection of manuscripts collected by Zarubin one of which, *Dar shinākh-i Imām*, has been published by Ivanow in the *Memoirs Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, 1922, viii., No. 1, p. 1—76; a resumé of Ivanow's article was given by E. D. Ross, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1919, p. 429—435; A. Semenov, *Opisanīye ismā'il. rukopisey* (description of the MSS. given by the author to the Asiatic Museum), *Bull. Acad. Petrograd*, 1918, p. 2171—2202; Semenov has also published the following articles: *Is oblasti religioz. vozsrēniy Shughnān. ismā'il.*, *Mir Islama*, 1912, p. 550 (a resumé appeared in *R. M. M.*, 1913, Sept., p. 523—561); *Shaiikh Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī po predstavleniyam Shughn. ismā'il.*, *Zap.*, xxii.; *Rasskaz Shughn. ismā'il o shaiikh Bahā al-Dīn, Zap.*, xxii. (V. MINORSKY)

SHŪL. 1. A country in China. According to Kūdāma (ed. de Goeje, p. 264) Alexander the Great conquered it and built there two towns, Shūl and Khumdān. This latter has been identified (de Goeje, Tomaschek, Yule) with Si-ngan-fu. In Shūl Marquart [*Osteuropäische Streifzüge* (Leipzig 1903) p. 90, and *Erānsāhr* (Berlin 1901) p. 316] sees the Turkish word *Çöl* which he translates by "sand" (desert?), seeing in it a translation of the Chinese *Sha-čou*, "sandy district". According to Bretschneider (*Mediaeval Researches*, ii. 18) *Sha-čou* "sand-city" (Marco Polo: Sachiū) was founded in 622 A. D. As an alternative, Marquart admits a misreading *Shūl* instead of *Sūk* = *Sūk-čū* (Su-čou).

It remains to be ascertained if this Shūl does not rather refer to some colony of the Soghdians (cf. the Soghdian *Sūlik* from **Sugdāh*, Tibetan *Shulik*, R. Gauthiot, *Grammaire Sogdienne*, 1923, p. vi).

2. A tribe in Persia, see SHŪLISTĀN.

SHŪLISTĀN, "Country of the Shūl", a district (*bulūk*) in the province of Fārs.

Three epochs must be distinguished in the history of the district: one before the arrival of the Shūl, the period of their rule (from the viith/xiiith centuries), and the period of its occupation by the Mamassānī Lūrs about the beginning of the xiith/xviiith century.

During the Sāsānid period the district was included in the *kūra* of Shāpūr-khūra. The founding of its capital Nawbandāgan (Nawbandjān) is attributed to Shāpūr I. This important town situated on the road from Fārs to Khūzistān was taken by Uthmān b. Abi 'l-'Ās in 23/643 (Ibn al-Athīr, iii. 31); it is often mentioned by Arabic historians

and geographers. The district is watered by the river system which finally forms the river Zohra, which flows through Zaidūn and Hindiyān. In the old *Fārs-nāma* (p. 151) the river of Nawbandjān bears the name Kh^wābdān. The river system is described in detail in *Fārs-nāmāyi Nāṣiri*, ii. 326. The principal water-course comes from the direction of Ardakān and is now called Āb-i Fahliyān or Āb-i shūr. The valley of Shī'b-i Bawwān situated about ten miles to the north of Nawbandjān, is considered by the Muslims, on account of its climate and the richness of its vegetation, to be among the four earthly paradises (*Fārs-nāma*, p. 147; Bode, i. 233). Another notable feature of the district is the fortress Kal'a-i Safid, occupying (like Kilāt-i Nādirī [q. v.] in Khorāsān) the extensive terrace (four miles in circumference) on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain; the Persians identify the place with the Safid-diz mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma* (Mohl, ii. 92; Vullers, i. 448); it was taken by Timūr in 795 (1393).

Sometimes the district of Nawbandjān bears the name of Anburān, but the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* makes the town of Anburān a dependency of Nawbandjān. Nawbandjān flourished until the interregnum which followed the fall of the Būyids [q. v.] when Abū Sa'd, the leader of a section of the Shabānkāra [q. v.], destroyed the town. It revived under the Atābeg Čā'ulī (died in 510) who governed Fārs on behalf of the Seldjūks, but finally fell into ruins.

The description of Fārs (*Fārs-nāma*) composed in the life-time of Čā'ulī does not yet know the expression, *Shūlistān*, that is to say "the country of the Shūl". This last tribe at first inhabited Lūristān, of which the half was under its rule about 300 (912). The great chief (*piškwā*) of the Shūl was Saif al-Dīn Mākān Rūzbihānī, whose ancestors had governed the district from the time of the Sāsānids. We may here mention that the Rūzbihānī figure among the Lūr tribes. At the same time as this *piškwā*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfi mentions a governor (*hākīm*) of the *wilāyat* of the Shūl, who was called Nadjm al-Dīn. From the year 500 (1106) the Kurd tribes and others from Djabal al-Summāk (in Syria) began to move into Lūristān. From these Kurds the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lūr is sprung. Under the Atābeg Hazārasp (600—650 = 1203—1252) the new comers drove the Shūl back into Fārs.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, i. 83—85) mentions amongst the eight "kingdoms" of Persia, *Suoletan*, which may refer to the new territory around Nawbandjān occupied by the Shūl. The old Chinese map studied by Bretschneider (*Mediaeval Researches*, ii. 127) marks a *She-la-tse* between Shirāz and Kāzrūn, which must correspond to Shūlistān. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūl dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawfi had hereditary governors, the descendants (*nawādakān*) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaces Nawbandjān: during the campaign of 795 Timūr halted at Mālāmīr-i Shūl ("the estates" of the Amir of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālāmīr = Idhadj); the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fahliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The Shūl must form an ethnically distinct unit. The history of the Kurds by Sharaf al-Dīn only

mentions them incidentally perhaps because the author excluded them from his category of "Kurds". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Defrémery, ii. 88), who in 748 (1347) met Shul at Shīrāz and on his first stage on the road from Shīrāz to Kāzrūn (Dasht-i Ardjān?) calls them "a Persian tribe (*min al-a'adjim*) inhabiting the desert and including devout people". The Persian dictionaries mention a peculiar dialect *Shūli* (Vullers, ii. 481: "a kind of *Rāmāndī* and *Shahrī* which is spoken in Fārs"). Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī (who died in 749/1348) states that the Shul have very considerable affinities with the *Shabānkāra* [q. v.] and asserts their generosity and hospitality. Their warlike character is evident from the remark of Rashīd al-Dīn, who in speaking of the Tātars, capable of killing one another "for a few words", compares them to the Kurds, the Shul, and the Franks (Bérezine, vii. 62). In 617 the Atābeg of Lūristān Hazārasp advised Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh to entrench himself behind the chain of Tang-i Talū (Balū? "oak") and to mobilise there against the Mongols, 100,000 Lūrs, Shul, the people of Fārs and *Shabānkāra* (Djuwainī, Gibb Memorial, xvi/2, 114). Rashīd al-Dīn (Quatremère, p. 380) mentions amongst the valiant defenders of Mawṣil in 659 (1260): "the Kurds, the Turkomans and the Shul".

Established on the great road, the Shul nomads were themselves exposed to invasions; the Atābeg of Lūristān Yūsuf Shāh (673—687) attacked them and killed the brother of their chief Nadjīm al-Dīn (*Tārīkh-i Guzida*, p. 543); in 755 the Muzaffarid Shudjā' Shāh chastised them severely when they attacked Shīrāz (ibid., p. 660); in 796 'Umar Shaikh marching in the rear-guard of his father Timūr pillaged on his way all the unsubdued "Lūrs, Kurds and Shul" (*Zafar-nāma*, p. 615).

The nomad (or semi-nomad) state and the warlike character of the Shul, the similarity of their speech to Persian, the inroads of their neighbours, all these factors must have contributed on the one hand to the dispersion of the Shul and on the other to their assimilation and final absorption. At the present day, traces of them are only found in the toponymy of the Fārs: *Shul-i Gap*, a mountain to the north of Būshīr; *Darashūli*, name of a section of the Turkish tribe *Qashkā'i* [q. v.]; *Shul*, a village near Dalīkī and another village to the N. N. W. of Shīrāz. This last Shul, situated to the east and outside the *bulūk* of Shulistān might represent the last bulwark of the tribe, which has disappeared. Herzfeld, who emphasizes the special character of the buildings of this village, says that its inhabitants are of Persian origin and seem to have kept the pure Persian type. According to Bode, the river Ab-i Shūr ("bitter water") is called also *Shakar-āb* ("sugared water"): this contradiction can only be explained by the confusion between the words *Shūr* and *Shul*, and besides, one of the most important tributaries of this river is called *Rūdkhānāyi Shul-i Kāmfirūz* in *Fārs-nāmāyi Nāgiri* (Wells: "the Sul stream").

At the time of the last Safawids (*Fārs-nāmāyi Nāgiri*, ii. 302) or after the rise of Nādir (Bode, i. 266) Shulistān was occupied by new invaders, the Mamassanī Lūrs, after whom the district is now called *bulūk-i Mamassanī*. Its extent is now about 100 × 60 miles, between the following boundaries: to the east Kāmfirūz and Ardakān; to the north and to the west Razgird and the

country of the Kūh-Gālū'i (Kūh-Gilūya) Lūrs; to the south Kāzrūn and the mountain of Marra-Shigift (the northern slopes of the Marwak in Dasht-i Ardjān). Of the six cantons of the district four (*čar-buniča*) bear the names of Mamassanī clans: Bakesh, Djāwīdī, Dushmanzinyārī and Rustam. In these cantons there are fifty-eight villages and five thousand families. The clans are governed by their hereditary *kalāntar*'s. The Mamassanī claim to possess the annals of their tribe and say they came from Sistān (J. Morier, *J. R. G. S.*, 1837, p. 232—242); this legend must have attached itself to the name of Rustam, the name of one of the four clans. The language of the Mamassanī is a Lūri dialect.

Of the two other cantons: Kākān (to the north) was bought by the *Qashkūli* Turks of the *Qashkā'i* [q. v.] tribe and Fahliyān, with seven villages dependent on it, is still the administrative centre of the *bulūk*. In the time of the Safawids this town is said to have numbered five thousand houses of which in the year 1840 no more than sixty—seventy remained (of Persian Saiyids).

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Macdonald Kinneir, *Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, p. 73; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, London 1845, i., 210—251, 262—275; Kāzrūn-Bahrām-Nawbandjān-Fahliyān-Bāshit; Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, S. Petersburg 1881, p. xxi.; H. L. Wells, *Surveying Tours in Southern Persia*, in *Proceedings R. G. S.*, v., 1883, p. 138—163; Bahbahān-Bāshit-Telespid-Pul-i Mūrt-Shul-Shīrāz; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii. 318—320; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 264—267; E. Herzfeld, *Eine Reise durch Luristan*, *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1907, liii., 72—90; Bāshit-Pul-i Mūrt-'Alī-abād-Shul-Shīrāz; O. Mann, *Kurdische-Persische Forschungen*, part ii., *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, p. xv., xvi. 1—59 (Mamassanī texts); G. Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, in *R. M. M.*, 1913, xxii., 85—150. Cartography: the works of de Bode, Wells and Herzfeld, the map by Haussknecht-Kiepert, Berlin 1882. (V. MINORSKY)

SHURĀT (A., sg. *SHĀRI*), the name which the extreme Khāridjīs [q. v.] give themselves. This name of a religious denomination is taken from the Kur'ān (iv. 76) and means, "those who sell their life to God" by vowing to fight to the death against his enemies.

The first Shurāt were exterminated by 'Alī at

the battle of Nukhaila. The most celebrated of their martyrs was Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Djawdar, of the Rabīʿa tribe. They swore to fight, even when hope had gone, for the cause of justice "until only three amongst them should remain".

This state of extreme political feeling or *shirā* is contrasted in Khāridjī terminology to the state of "triumph" (*ṣuḥūr*), of "defence" (*dafʿ*) and of "secret" (*ḥimān*).

The name of Shurāt has been applied by extension to a group of Khāridjī jurists, natives of ʿOmān, Sidjīstān, Ādharbāidjān, Shahrizōr, and ʿOkbarā, like Djubair b. Ghālib and Karṭālūsī, who have written in justification of the attitude of *shirā*.

The Malay custom of *amok* sometimes takes the form of *shirā* among Muslim Filipinos.

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SHURṬA, police, police-officer. The word *shurṭa* (more rarely *shurṭa*), in the plural *shurṭat*, originally means "picked men who open the battle", "bodyguard" and then comes to be used in the sense of "police, gendarmerie"; an individual police officer is likewise called *shurṭa* or *shurṭī* (*shurṭī*). The title *ṣāhib al-shurṭa*, "commander of the bodyguard" was at first given to the governor of a province or a town who settled all questions, religious as well as secular, but in the ʿAbbāsīd period was reserved for a special official who was responsible for order and public security and whose duties therefore corresponded with those of our chief constables. Under the ʿAbbāsids, the Spanish Umayyads, and the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib and Egypt the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* had greater power than the *kāḍī*, inasmuch as he was empowered to take action on mere suspicion and to threaten any one with punishment even before proof was brought. Not all citizens however were under his power, but only the lower classes, particularly all suspicious individuals and those of evil repute. In Spain however a distinction was made between *al-shurṭa al-kubrā* ("great *shurṭa*") and *al-shurṭa al-ṣuḥrā* ("little *shurṭa*"); the representative of the former could take legal proceedings even against high officials, if they had been guilty of anything, while the latter dealt exclusively with the lower classes. In the time of Ibn Khaldūn, the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* in Spain was called *ṣāhib al-madīna*, in Tunis *ḥākim*, and among the Mamlūks of Egypt *wāli*.

From the meaning of "policeman", "constable", developed in Spanish Arabic that of "hangman" and in the *1001 Nights* we find *shurṭī* used along with *ḥarāmī* in the meaning of "rogue, rascal" etc. In modern Egyptian *shurṭī* means "pickpocket".

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; Dozy, *Supplément*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddīma*, ed. Quatremère, i. 400; ii. 30 (transl. by de Slane, i. 452; ii. 35); v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i. 182, 190; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 363. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SHUSHTAR. [See SHUSTER.]

SHUSHTARĪ, ABU'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ʿABDĀLĀH, a mystic poet of Andalusia, a disciple of Ibn Sabʿīn [q. v.], author of *muwāshshahāt* in vulgar Arabic.

Born at Yodar near Guadix (Wādī Āsh) about 600 (1203), he died at Ṭīna near Damietta on 17th Šafar 668 (October 16, 1269). Shushtarī first studied under Ibn Surāḳa of Jativa who expounded to him the *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* of Suhrawardī al-Baghādādī; he seems at this period to have joined the Madaniya order. He then lived at Rabāṭ and at Meknes (which he mentions in his poem: "A *shāikh* of the land of Meknes — Goes singing through the suk — What do men want with me? — What do I want with them?") and Fās. He then set out for the east. In 650 (1252) he was at Damascus with a remarkable poet, Naḍīm b. Isrāʾīl (d. 676 = 1277) of the order of Rifaʿīya Ḥārīriya (*Diwān* at Constantinople, Aya Sofia MS., No. 1644). Finally in 651 (1253) he settled in Mecca; there he met Ibn Sabʿīn, already famous at the age of thirty-eight; although his senior, he became his pupil and received his *khirka sabʿīniya* (of which we know from Ibn Taimīya that its *dhikr* was *laisa illa'llāh* and that its *isnād* relied "on the authority of Hallāj among other impious men, e.g. Socrates"). When Ibn Sabʿīn was persecuted and put under police surveillance, Shushtarī, taking his place at the head of the *mustaḍḡarriḍīn*, brought to Egypt, before he died, about 400 adepts including Abū Yaʿqūb b. Mubashshir, the hermit of the Bāb Zuwailla (Cairo).

Maḳḳarī enumerated five prose works by him; but there survives only a *Risāla baḡhdādiya* on the poverty (Escorial, MS. 168, ff. 75a—78b). If his name is still known, it is owing to his *Diwān* or collection of *muwāshshahāt* in vulgar Arabic; — short, poignant poems quite modern in tone, for which music was at once provided, according to Ibn ʿAbbād Rūndī. To this day to end the "ecstasy" in the seances of the Shādhiliya in Syria they sing his "*Alifun ḡabla lamaini, — wa-Hāḍun ḡur-rat al-ʿaimi* . . ." (which Ibn ʿAdjiba annotated). — Shushtarī also wrote some *qaṣidas* in the classical style; the best known is the *lāmiya ʿisawiya*, on which Nābulusī wrote a commentary.

Bibliography: Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-Dirāya*, MS. Paris 2155, f. 72b—74a; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *ḥāṭa*, MS. Paris 3347, ff. 208a—212a; Ibn ʿAbbād Rūndī, *Rasāʾil kubrā*, lith. Fās, 1320, p. 198; Maḳḳarī, *Analecta*, ed. Dozy, 1855—1860, vol. i., p. 583—584; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 274. (L. MASSIGNON)

SHUSHTARĪ, SAʿYID NŪR ALLĀH B. SHARĪF MARʾASHĪ, an original Shīʿa writer who defended imāmism against Sunnī polemicists and at the same time mysticism against the anti-mysticism of the majority of the Imāmi doctors. Kāḍī of Lahore, he was condemned as a heretic by orders of Djahāngīr and whipped to death in 1019 (1610). He is the third martyr (*shahīd ṥalāṭih*) of the Imāmīs. He left two important works, in Persian the *Maḍjālis al-Muʿminīn* (finished at Lahore in 1073 = 1604), a very fully documented biographical collection on the principal martyrs of Imāmi and mystic Islām; and in Arabic the *Ḥikāḡ al-Ḥaḡḡ*, a treatise on Imāmi apologetics.

Bibliography: Ricu, *Catal. Persian MSS. British Museum*, London 1879, i., p. 337; Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Shīʿa und der sunnitischen Polemik*, Vienna 1874. (L. MASSIGNON)

SHUSTER or **SHUSHTER**, among the Arabs TUSTAR, a town in the Persian province of ʿArabistān, the ancient Khūzistān, situated in

about 49° East Long. and 32° N. Lat. It stands on a cliff to the west of which runs the river Kārūn [q. v.], the middle course of which begins a few miles north of the town. This position gives the town considerable commercial and strategic importance and has made possible the construction of various waterworks for which the town has long been famous. The main features of these constructions are: (1) the canal called Āb-i Gerger (in the middle ages Masrūkān) which is led from the left bank of the river about 600 yards north of the town; it runs southwards along the east side of the cliffs of Shuster and rejoins the Kārūn at Band-i Kīr, the site of the ancient Āskar Mukram; (2) the great barrage called Band-i Kaišar, which is thrown across the principal arm of the river (here called Shuṭait or Nahr-i Shuster) east of the town and is about 440 yards long; this barrage supports a bridge intended to connect the town with the west bank but now a considerable gap is broken in it; (3) the canal called Mināw (from Miyān-āb) which begins above the barrage in the form of a tunnel cut out of the rock on the western side of the town; the citadel is above this part; the Mināw turns southwards and is intended to irrigate the land south of the town.

Shuster along with these canals was already in existence in pre-Muhammadan times. Pliny knows a town called Sostra (xii. 78) and it appears as *Shoshtar* in the *Liste géographique des villes d'Iran*, publ. by Blochet (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, 1895, xvii., No. 46); it is found in Syriac literature as a Nestorian bishopric (cf. Marquart, *Eranšahr*, p. 27). Persian tradition also regards Shuster as a very old town (e. g. Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 315). This tradition is found in the Arab historians and geographers and most fully in the *Ta'rikh-i Shūsh-tār* of 'Abd Allāh al-Shūsh-tārī (cf. *Bibliography*). The story goes that the town was founded by the mythical king Hūshang after the foundation of Shūsh (Susa). Shūsh-tār is said to be comparative from Shūsh meaning "more beautiful" in reference to the site of the town (Marquart, *loc. cit.* also regards it as a derivative from Shūsh with the suffix-tār indicating direction). The Arabic form Tustar is generally explained as an arabicisation of Shūsh-tār (e. g. by Ḥamza al-Isfahānī and Yāqūt, i. 848). Several sources record that the town was built in the form of a horse. Tradition also says that the Mināw canal, formerly called Nahr-i Dāriyān, was built by Dārā the Great and that it was the Sāsānid Ardashīr I who began to construct the barrage in the river below the mouth of the canal, after the latter had dried up because the bed of the river had sunk through erosion by the force of the current. The work was only completed however under Shāpūr II by his Roman prisoners under Valerian II (cf. also Ṭabari, i. 827 and Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii. 184). The Āb-i Gerger was first dug simply to divert the volume of water. The Band-i Kaišar was next constructed and called after the emperor and the bed of the river above the barrage was paved with huge slabs of stone bound with iron so as to prevent any further erosion. This paving was called Shādirwān, a term which was also applied to the barrage itself. Ultimately a new barrage is said to have been built across the Gerger.

From the xivth century the Āb-i Gerger was called Dū-Dānig and the Nahr-i Shuster Čahār-Dānig, because they contained respectively two- and four-sixths of the quantity of water in the Kārūn. Muslim authors number these great waterworks among the wonders of the world (e. g. Ḥamza al-Isfahānī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Although the authenticity of the tradition quoted could be for the most part disputed, it is not improbable that Roman prisoners of war took part in the construction of the barrage (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 37); local tradition further attributes to Roman colonists the introduction of a number of industries e. g. the manufacture of brocade (*dibādī*) and certain popular customs.

In the caliphate of 'Umar the town was conquered by al-Barā' b. Mālik, whose tomb used to be pointed out in the centuries following. Tradition also says that the coffin of the prophet Dāniyāl was found there, which later on was brought to Shūsh. In the Umayyad period the town became one of the strongholds of the Kharidjis; the Khāridjī Shabīb made it his capital but after his death al-Ḥadjdādī seized it; it was then that the great bridge over the barrage was destroyed. Under the Caliphs, Shuster was the capital of one of the seven provinces (sometimes a larger number is given, cf. Maḳdīstī, p. 404), into which Khūzistān was divided. When Baghdad became the centre of the empire, Shuster gradually became influenced by its proximity to the capital. One quarter of Baghdad for example in the tenth century was called Maḥallat al-Tustariyyin; it was the residence of the merchants and notables from Khūzistān. The oldest mosque was built under the 'Abbāsids; begun in the reign of al-Mu'tazz (866—869), it was only finished under the Caliph al-Mustashid (1118—1135). There was however a fire-altar at Shuster in the time of al-Ḥallādī (Massignou, *La passion d'al-Hallāj*, i. 92).

Shuster along with Ahwāz has always been the chief town in Khūzistān; Ḥamd 'Allāh Mustawfi calls it the capital of this province. It was conquered by Timūr and remained in the hands of the Timūrids till the year 820/1514, when it fell to a Shī'a dynasty of Saiyids under the suzerainty of the Ṣafawids and became a centre of Shī'a propaganda. Several governors have founded little dynasties there. The town enjoyed most prosperity in the reign of Wākhshīdī Khān (1632—1667) whose descendants kept the governorship till the end of the Ṣafawids. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was among the provinces governed by Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā, son of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, who restored, for example, the barrage and the bridge. At this period it is said to have had a population of 45,000, but the number has certainly diminished a great deal since, for Rawlinson in 1836 puts it at 15,000 and Curzon in 1890 at 8,000. The area covered by the town is out of all proportion to the population. Sykes also calls Shuster the most ruined town in Persia; this description applies also to the water works. The houses are built of stone and brick; they contain cellars, here called *shewādām*, in which the inhabitants shelter in the excessive heat of summer.

As to the inhabitants themselves, they are a mixture of Arab and Iranian or proto-Iranian elements. In the middle of the sixteenth century there were still a considerable number of Mandaean here; Layard counted 300—400 families of them

in 1840 (cf. also the description of them given by 'Abd Allāh al-Shūshṭarī on p. 24 of his local history). They have probably now disappeared. Modern travellers (Curzon and Sykes) describe the character of the present inhabitants as disagreeable and fanatical. Among the Persians the devoutness of the inhabitants has earned the town the honorific title of *Dār al-Mu'minin*. On the other hand we find Shuster included among the Persian towns celebrated for the stupidity of its inhabitants (Christensen in *Acta Orientalia*, iii. 31). They live for the most part by commerce; the present state of the population seems however to justify the ancient tradition that Shuster is fated always to remain a poor town. Since the end of last century Shuster has succeeded Dizful as the capital of 'Arabistān.

Bibliography: Saiyid 'Abd Allāh al-Shūshṭarī, *Tadhkirat-i Shūshṭar*, historical description of Shuster down to 1169/1755 (the author died in 1173/1759), *Bibliotheca Indica*, N^o. 206, Calcutta 1914 and 1924; the Arab geographers have been utilised by Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 233 sqq.; P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1924, iv., p. 313 and 351 sqq.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1840, ix., p. 178 sqq.; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, ii. 363 sqq.; P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 252 sqq.; E. Herzfeld in *Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen*, vol. liii., Gotha 1907.

For the extensive bibliography relating to the barrage and irrigation works cf. the article KĀRŪN and the bibliography given there.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SHU'UBIYA. Sūra xlix. of the Qur'ān teaches the brotherhood and equality of all Muslims and verse 13 reads, "and We made you *shu'ūb* and *qabā'il* in order that ye may know" — "each know the other" explains Baiḍawī in loco (ed. Fleischer, ii. 276, 17), "not for prideful vying with one another in ancestors and tribes". Apparently *shu'ūb* had been used in Arabic for non-Arab tribes (*al-ajām*) as distinguished from *qabā'il* for Arab tribes (*Lisān*, i. 482, 15) and therefore this passage was used by those non-Arabs who objected to the pride of the Arabs towards them. The Shu'ūbiya, then, was the sect which either so objected or which exalted the non-Arabs over the Arabs or which, in general, despised and depreciated the Arabs (*Lisān*, i. 482, 12 sqq.; Lane, p. 1557c). A member of this sect was a *shu'ūbī*. This attitude showed itself in different forms. In the East on the part of the Persians and the Khāridjites it was dynastic and political, and for the Persians also religious, involving heresy and Zindiqism. It connected with the Shī'a and other schisms. On the part of the Nabateans it was the old conflict of the cultivated soil and its peasantry against the desert. It was thus a more or less successful attempt on the part of the different subjected races to hold their own and to distinguish, at least, between Arabism and Islām. In Persia this meant even the restoration of Persian as the language of literature and the limitation of the use of Arabic to the theological sciences. In Spain, on the other hand, the Shu'ūbiya accepted the whole Arabic civilization, prided itself on its command of Arabic (*al-arabiya*) and on

its Islāmic orthodoxy, but rejected the claims to superiority of the Arab race. The movement had therefore a certain kinship with the nationalism within Islām of the present day.

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 147—216; *Die Shu'ūbiya unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, liii. 601—620. (D. B. MACDONALD)

SIAK SRI INDRAPURA, a self-governing district (Sultanate) belonging to the administrative area of Bēngkalis in the gouvernement "Oostkust van Sumatra", on the east coast of Central Sumatra and practically equivalent to the valley of the river Siak; a few islands off the coast also belong to it (the boundaries of the Sultān's territory are accurately defined in the agreement concluded in 1916 between the government of the Dutch East Indies and the native Government of Siak Sri Indrapura, published in the "Kroniek 1917 von het Oostkust van Sumatra-Instituut"). It consists of a very wide fertile alluvial strip of coast, swampy in places, intersected by many streams large and small; the ground rises only very gradually to the west and is for the most part still covered with forest. The most important river, the Siak (on which stands the capital Siak Sri Indrapura, with a large modern palace of the Sultān) is very deep for far into the interior and navigable at all seasons, and is therefore of great importance for the transit traffic (mainly in the hands of Chinese) from Singapore to the west coast of Sumatra. The country is only thinly populated and the inhabitants are neither industrious nor prosperous. They live mainly by fishing (from which they are however being ousted by the Chinese) and collecting forest products (the most important of these are the leaves of the *nipah* palm which are used as roofing material); they grow rice, almost exclusively on dry fields, but the harvest is far from sufficient even for their own needs; considerable quantities of rice are imported from Singapore and cocoa-nuts from Malacca; the Chinese alone grow vegetables.

Two main elements may be clearly distinguished in the population: (a) A few tribes who may be regarded as descendants of the original inhabitants of the east coast of Sumatra; (b) Another section usually given the name "Malays". To the first group belong: (1) The Orang Talang on the Mandau river and in the forest country between Siak and Kampar; they are divided into four groups and are said to be descendants of subjects of the once powerful kingdom of Gasip, which lay on the river of the same name and according to tradition was destroyed by the Atchinese; (2) The Orang Sakei on the upper Mandau and in the adjoining Rokan territory; (3) The Orang Akit, who are gradually dying out, also on the Mandau; (4) The Orang Utan and Orang Rawa, on the islands at the mouth of the Siak and Kampar rivers. These tribes are still very primitive. Physically they are different from the Malays and it is reported of the Orang Akit in particular that they have a negrito type and show a striking similarity to the Sēwang of the Malay Peninsula. Some still lead a more or less wandering life; agriculture is little or not at all pursued; they live by fishing and on all that the forest yields them. The Orang Talang and the Sakei are said to have adopted Islām; but

their knowledge of this religion is only very slight and like the other tribes already mentioned they are still strongly attached to heathen customs. In family law and law of inheritance they follow the Minangkabau matriarchal *adat*. The other portion of the population, the Malays, is now very mixed in composition. They are descended from immigrants from the west coast (in the greater part of the country Minangkabau is the vernacular) and from Djohor on the other side of the straits of Malacca. It was no doubt with them that Islām came to this region.

There are said to be very old relations between Siak and Minangkabau; at the beginning of the xviii century Siak was under the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Minangkabau who had however granted it as a fief to the Sultān of Djohor. Thus it came about that when in 1689 the Dutch East India Company opened a factory for the first time in this region, they did it on authority of a treaty with the latter Sultān. Siak may be said to have become independent in 1721 when Radja Kētjil (according to a chronicle a son of Sultān Maḥmūd of Djohor, according to another a Minangkabau adventurer) who, coming from Siak had at first succeeded in dethroning the reigning Sultān of Djohor, but was later forced to flee back to Siak where he was able to resist there against Djohor. Jangdipertuan Bēsar Sharif Kāsim 'Abd al-Djalil Saif al-Dīn who now (since 1915) rules the country under the suzerainty of the Dutch East India Company is an indirect descendant of this Radja Kētjil.

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(W. H. RASSERS)

SIAM. Islām has made no converts in Siam. The Siamese of Thai (i. e. the mass of the population), Laotian, Birman and Mōn origin who were long ago converted to Buddhism have remained impervious to it. Unlike what has happened in Western Indonesia, it seems that in the valley of the Menam there is an incompatibility between the Buddhist faith and the doctrine preached by the prophet Muḥammad.

The Muslims in Siam consist of Malays, immigrants from Java, Afghāns and in larger numbers, Muslims from India. The majority live in Bangkok. The Malays are the descendants of prisoners of war taken in the north in course of numerous campaigns of the Thai in the Malay Peninsula. We know that the first expedition dates from the end of the xiii century and is recorded in the

famous inscription of Rāma Kāmheng (cf. G. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, part i.: *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, Bangkok 1924, p. 48). Many expeditions followed and secured a considerable number of prisoners to the victors who had conquered the whole Malay Peninsula. A nautical Arabic text of the first half of the xvth century indeed tells us that "Singapore is the last land of Siam in the South" (cf. Gabriel Ferrand, *Instructions Nautiques et Routiers Arabes et Portugais des XVe et XVIe Siècles*, vol. ii., Paris 1925, folio 71 recto, l. 6).

The Javanese, the Afghāns and other Muslims from India came to Siam to trade. In 1870 the *Siam Directory* mentions an appreciable number of "Musulman merchants", which had considerably increased thirty years later (cf. *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam for 1898*). In addition to these foreign Muslims there are a few Arabs from Ḥaḍramūt (on the latter see the standard work by L. W. C. van den Berg, *La Ḥaḍramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel indien*, Batavia 1886).

The Sunnis are in a minority. The majority of the Muslims in Siam follow the Shī'a. The procession of the 'Ashūrā' on the 10th Muḥarram, in commemoration of the death of Ḥasan and Husain is annually celebrated. The procession of the 'Ashūrā' is preceded, as in Persia, by representations during the first nine days of Muḥarram, recalling the events that preceded the death of Husain (cf. the articles 'ASHŪRĀ' and MUḤARRAM). The place where these spectacles are presented is called as in India *imām-bārā* [q. v.], "the enclosure of the Imām".

The Muslims settled in Siam fast or rather claim to fast during the month of Ramaḍān, but this fast is far from being as strict as in the lands of Islām. At Bangkok the main features are the rejoicings which take place each night starting at sunset. On these occasions dates are specially eaten in memory of the Prophet, whose favourite dish they are said to have been.

The festival of 'id al-ṣiṭr or 'id al-ṣaḡhīr [q. v.] which closes the fast of Ramaḍān gives occasion for great feasts and rejoicings, the elements of which are borrowed from local customs. The 'id al-ḡurbān or feast of sacrifices which takes place on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijda (cf. 'ID AL-ADḤA) is also celebrated with great solemnity and numerous sacrifices of animals.

The mosque of Bangkok is of comparatively recent construction. It is small, badly equipped and situated in the low quarter of the town.

The Muslims who live in Siam — one cannot not talk of Muslim Siamese, since except for Malays from the Peninsula who are Siamese subjects, no one, as far as I know, has ever heard of the conversion of a Siamese Buddhist to Islām — the Siamese Muslims have become Siamesed so to speak, instead of having converted the Thai, Laotian, Birmans and Mōns among whom they live. In 1898, I happened to meet in Bangkok an envoy of the Shaikh al-Islām in Constantinople whose mission it was to visit all the Muslim communities of the Far East. It was the period of Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamid's pan-Islāmic policy and the Turkish Caliph wished to be exactly informed of the reception his plans for propaganda in Siam, Indo-China and China had received. The emissary arrived from China completely disillusioned and he did not conceal from me that his pretended

co-religionists in Bangkok were only Muslims in name. "Even those who profess to be Sunnis", he added, "are regular infidels". Indeed Islām has neither past nor present in Siam and probably no future.

The above notes are based on personal recollection and information kindly supplied me by two confreres, Messrs. C. Otto Blagden and B. O. Cartwright, teachers of Malay and Siamese respectively at the School of Oriental Studies. So far as I know, neither old narratives nor modern works make any reference to Muslims strictly Siamese. In a letter from Fernão Mendez Pinto addressed to the Fathers of the Company of Jesus in Portugal, written at Malacca and dated December 5, 1554, he says: "But, my dear brothers, there are in this city of Siao (= Siam, the reference is to Ayuthia, the old capital) seven mosques of which the ministrants (*cacizes*) are Turks and Arabs and thirty thousand families (*trinta mil fogos*) of Muslims in the town which is a great shame on the soldiers of Christ" (cf. *Peregrinaçam* of Fernão Mendez Pinto, ed. J. J. de Brito Rebello, vol. iv., Lisbon 1910, p. 161). In vol. iii. of the same edition (1909, p. 37) there is also a reference to a certain Heredim Mafamede, i. e. *Khair al-Din Muhammad*, a Turkish captain, who left Suez in 1538 on the Egyptian fleet sent against the Portuguese in the Indies, whose ship lost the way and landed in Tenasserim. *Khair al-Din* entered the Siamese service and was employed on the Lauhós (probably = Laos) frontier with an annual salary of 12,000 cruzadoes. Both these are cases of foreign Muslims who had come to Siam. It is obvious that the figure of 30,000 Muslim families living in Ayuthia in the xvth century cannot be taken literally. We shall not deal here with the Muslims from the Malay Peninsula who belong from the ethnographic, linguistic and religious point of view, if not the political, to the Malay Federated States. They should therefore be dealt with along with the latter.

(GABRIEL FERRAND)

SIBAWAIHI was the pen-name of the prominent grammarian of the Baṣrian school whose proper name was Abū Bishr 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Kanbar; he was a client (*mawla*) of the Arab tribe of al-Hārith b. Ka'b. This name is explained by Arabic philologists as meaning "scent of an apple", but we cannot accept this explanation as the name is never stated to have been pronounced with a duplicated *b*, and from the analogy of many earlier names of Persians containing the end-syllable "oe" we may assert with much probability that the word was pronounced *Sēbōe* and was a term of endearment meaning "little apple, Äpfelchen". There is a great amount of uncertainty in the chronology of his birth and death, as well as regarding the place where he was born and died. From the most trustworthy authorities it appears that he was born in al-Baiḍā', a place in the district of *Shirāz* in the province of Fārs. He came as a youth to al-Baṣra and studied under the chief scholars in that city among whom al-Khalil b. Aḥmad was one of the most remarkable, a man whose value to Arabic science has hardly been realised to the present day. Al-Khalil died in the year 175/791 and the earliest date given for the death of Sibawaihi is the year 177 A. H., when he is said to have been only 33 years of age, so that it may be possible that he

enjoyed the teaching of al-Khalil during the last ten years of the latter's life. Ibn Khallikān and others however have a large array of other dates. Ibn Kānī gives a date as early as 166 which is impossible, while other dates are 188 and 180, and Ibn al-Djawzī gives the year 194 and fixes his age at 32 years, a date which is also impossible on account of the known date of the death of al-Khalil. As regards the place where he died also a certain amount of confusion prevails, but the best authorities name the town of Sāwah. According to the *Ta'rikh Baghdad* of al-Khatīb it is stated that Ibn Duraid asserted that he died at *Shirāz* and that his grave is there. As Ibn Duraid resided many years in Fārs and is by far the greatest transmitter of the sciences of the Baṣrians we may be safe to assume that his statement is the correct one. Sibawaihi is a most remarkable figure in Arabic learning if only for the simple reason that the work of a man who attained no great age should have been found such general acceptance, because Arabic scholars have always attached undue value to the works of men who have attained a great age. It must have been after the death of al-Khalil when Sibawaihi had his learned conference with al-Kisā'i [q. v.] in the presence of the wazīr Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī (d. 182) on the *Zunburiya* question in which al-Kisā'i got the better of Sibawaihi through the judgment of a Beduini, who probably was suborned for the purpose by the unscrupulous opponent. Sibawaihi received a handsome present from Yahyā, but the mortification at his defeat in the dispute was so great that he returned to his native country and never came back to 'Irāq. He is said to have died of grief.

The result of his studies Sibawaihi laid down in a large work on Arabic grammar (estimated at a thousand leaves by early biographers) which is not only the largest work of its kind which has come down to us of the activity of the Baṣrian school, but has ever since been the basis of all native studies on the subject and is known by the honorific title of *al-Kitāb* "the Book". As stated Sibawaihi had studied under al-Khalil, but he also profited by the lectures of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, 'Isā b. 'Umar and Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Akhfash. Further the grammarian Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī is said to have claimed that it is he whom Sibawaihi refers to when in his book he states that he learned a certain explanation from "a man on whom I can rely". General opinion however associates with this person generally al-Khalil, and we cannot but give this general opinion more credence than isolated statements to the contrary by biographers. It proves however that the most prominent scholars were only too anxious to have their name associated with the Book. It is also fairly certain that Sibawaihi had no opportunity of teaching from his own work nor of reading it to pupils. This task was left to his teacher al-Akhfash who after Sibawaihi's death undertook a thorough revision of the work. It was not alone among the Baṣrians that the Book was eagerly studied but we learn from a curious story that al-Djāhīz presented to the Wazīr Ibn al-Khaiyāt a copy, which was in the hand-writing of the Kūfī grammarian al-Farrā', compared by al-Kisā'i and finally revised by the donor himself and was considered a priceless treasure. If Sibawaihi himself in speaking Arabic did so with a decided foreign accent his Book has

always been considered as a standard of good Arabic. As one of the earliest books in Arabic literature it is in its style frequently very redundant and tiring by its prolix arguments, but it is filled with innumerable examples taken from the *Kurʾān* and contains over a thousand verses taken from ancient poetry, fifty of which are by unknown poets, but they figure in later grammatical works as valid proofs on the great authority of the Book. These verses found a capable commentator in the person of Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sirāfi (died 368 A.H.), who commented in a similar way on a number of the most celebrated works of the Baṣrian school. After this time the commentaries on the books become very numerous and there is hardly one among the scholars who followed the Baṣrian school who has not either commented or added to the contents of the work. It will suffice to mention here some of the names of prominent scholars who devoted their energies upon elucidating the work: al-Mubarrad (d. 284); ʿAlī b. Sulaimān al-Akhfash (d. 315); al-Rummānī (d. 384); Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316); al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538); Ibn al-Ḥādīb (d. 646); Abū ʿI-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (449); and many more. The Book was studied in Spain with much eagerness and the Spaniard Abū Bakr al-Zubaidī (d. 379) composed a short work *al-Istidrāk* on additions of grammatical forms omitted by Sibawaihi (edited by Guidi, Rome 1890); the commentary by al-Aʿlam has also been preserved. While in the East the Book was superseded by later and more compendious grammars, the study of Sibawaihi appears to have continued in the Maghrib and though some biographers of Maghribīs tell us that al-Makkūdi (d. 801) was the last who taught the Book of Sibawaihi in Fās, there is evidence from the lithographed editions of grammatical works of later authors in Fās that the work was still eagerly studied there at a much later date and copies have been preserved in the libraries of the intellectual capital of the West.

We possess three printed editions of the work, besides fragments elucidated by European scholars, and a translation into German, of which the Cairo edition with the Commentaries of Sirāfi and al-Aʿlam is perhaps the best, as the edition of Derenbourg (*Le livre de Sibawaihi*, Paris 1883 *sqq.*), the Calcutta edition of 1887 and the German translation by Jahn, Berlin 1894 *sqq.*, are far from being free of errors.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, p. 51; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i. 385; Zubaidī, *Ṭabaqāt*; Anbārī, *Nuṣṣat*, p. 71—81; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, Cairo 1326, p. 366 and many other works of biography; Ḥādījī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Constantinople, ii. 281—283 where many commentaries are enumerated as also in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 100—102; Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 42—45. (F. KRENKOW)

SIBIR WA-IBIR, a name for Siberia in the Mongol period; in this form in Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿOmārī (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 141), text in W. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordā*, p. 217 at top; the same source has also *Bilād Sibir* or *al-Sibir* (ibid., l. 6 and 221 below). More frequently Ibir-Sibir; e. g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ḍiyāʾ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Berezin, in *Trudʾ Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, vii. 168 (Ibir Sibir, mentioned in connection with the Kırkız people and the river Angara) and the Chinese Yüan-

shi (I-bi-rh Si-bi-rh, quoted in Bretschneider, *Med. Researches* etc., ii. 88; cf. also ibid., p. 37). The same expression was heard in the beginning of the xvth century by Johann Schiltberger, who reproduces it in the form Bissibur or Ibissibur (*Bondage and Travels*; Hakluyt Society, London 1879, p. 49, 174). The texts in which this expression occurs, are collected by Quatremère (*Histoire des Mongols de la Perse par Raschid-eldin*, p. 413 *sqq.*) who sees in it (probably wrongly) an echo of the old names of two peoples, the Abar (Avars) and Sabir (in Masʿūdi, *Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 83, 16: Sabir; this is said to be the name the Khazars gave themselves). (W. BARTHOLD)

SIBT. [See IBN AL-DJAWZI, AL-MĀRIDINI, AL-TAʿAWIH].

SICILY. In the history of Sicily is to be found in miniature the story of Western civilisation. It lies at the heart of the Mediterranean, and it lies likewise at the heart of medieval wars, commerce and culture. The great movements of Phoenician, Greek, Roman, and Muslim met and fought their battles there, and there all of them have perished. The earliest days are clouded in the fusion of Sicels and Sicans, in the settlements of the merchants of Phoenicia on the promontories and along the sea-coast. A new era dawns when the Greek City States stretch forth their hands for new territory and settle at Naxos (735 B. C.), Corcyra and Syracuse (734). The process of colonisation went steadily forward for centuries, and the Greek element in the island became strong. At the opening of the Peloponnesian War (427) it seemed that Athens' dream of Sicilian conquest was to be. The result, however, was neither the victory of Athens, nor the tyranny of Corinth, but the spread of classic culture. Meanwhile Hannibal was displaying his Phoenician prowess. In 409 he reduced Selinus and Himera and returned to his base at Carthage. Thus that rivalry began between Greece and Carthage, which alone was to signalise the story of the island for several centuries. Dionysius I and II, Dion, Timoleon and Agathocles, Pyrrhus and Hiero II, were all to rule under the constant terror of Semitic onslaughts, and not until Rome dealt the death-blow to African rivalry did Sicily enjoy peace. And yet through all this long period the genius of civilisation was displayed in the harbours of Syracuse, the armaments of Tauromenium, the temples of Selinus, and the bucolics of Theocritus. And even when Greece and Carthage had gone down before Rome, there still fed Sicily the Hellenic spirit. Although the yoke of Rome was not oppressive, yet the slave element in the island was so large, partly through her unique history and partly through the Roman demand for corn from her fields, that revolts broke out in 132 and 102. Rome, however, fell before Vandal and Goth, and Sicily was doomed to taste alike the barbarism of the one and the unexpected toleration of the other. Yet Belisarius was still to appear and restore Roman power and the lethargy of Roman decadence.

Meantime a great movement had been afoot in Arabia, which, if heralded by religious cries, was no less the overflow of a racial basin, and the bursting of the banks of an ethnic river. Muḥammad died in 632 A.D., but his politico-religious crusade went on. In Syria under the sway of Muʿāwīya the Muslim arms penetrated to Alexandria, where the Byzantine navy was crushed (652), and maritime power was placed in Arab hands. In the same year

was launched the first attack on Sicily, and although no Arabic historian has recorded it, the testimony of Theophanes is enough. The Exarch Olympius defended the island, but the plunderers secured their booty, and sailed off for Damascus, with ships laden with treasures of flesh and blood, silver and gold. They returned to taste the sweets of Syracuse, which they ravaged and sacked. These, however, were merely sporadic efforts out of the plenitude of martial strength. There was nothing determined or political in them. The days of Umayyad strength passed and it was from another quarter than Syria that the power of Islam spoke; and yet the instincts of Arab and Berber found a new outlet in the islands of the Mediterranean. From the days of Muṣṣ onwards the Corsairs harassed all these parts, and cast a paralysing fear over the islanders of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. In 705 Syracuse was again plundered, this time by Africans, who time and again throughout the century returned to their quarry and made definite efforts on the island. So troublesome did these become that the patrician Gregory thought he did well in securing a treaty with the Saracens in 813 for ten years, which pact they honourably observed. But the prize was far too glittering. The request for help which came from Euphemius of Syracuse against Michael the Stammerer in 827 was a timely pretext for a thorough invasion. Ziyādat Allāh, the Aghlabid of Kairawān, sent off his hundred vessels from Susa on the thirteenth of June, and the real conquest of Sicily began. Euphemius disappears from the scene, and the Saracen alone leads the pageant of the next few centuries.

As'ad b. Torah commanded a motley expedition. The untameable spirits of the Kairawān court were drafted into squadrons drawn from Yemen and Khorāsān, from Syria and Maghrib, soldiers of fortune all. They attacked and reduced the first town on the island, Mazara. Then they tested their strength against Syracuse, but pestilence wrought its havoc and robbed them even of their commander. Affairs at home were in real peril. No Khālid appeared among them to inspire victory. The siege had to be abandoned. Their gloom turned to despair, however, when they saw their escape cut off by the Greek fleet, and they had to make off for the mountains and fortify themselves in the town of Minco. There they remained until a fleet of Spanish adventurers appeared and supplied them with provisions and the needs of war. But the court at Kairawān was now secure, and, still unsatisfied with conquest, sent off a great fleet of three hundred ships, with 20,000 men. Led by Asbagh, they besieged and captured Ghaliya, where plague again achieved what Sicilian arms found impossible. Other enterprises, however, succeeded on the island. A division concentrated on Palermo and brought it to surrender. This with many smaller towns marked a real advance in Muslim conquest. It gave a very important vantage point for further subjugation. It provided a seat for the Amīr. It definitely established the hold of the Saracens over Sicily. Indeed it made the attackers feel so sure of their new possession that they turned to challenging themselves, and that story of Sicilian schism begins which haunts the Muslim administration to the very end. The Spanish and African elements in the adventure maintained a constant friction, and even this was vitiated by the distinction of Yemenite

and Umayyad Persian and Berber. By 840 a third of the island was under Muslim rule. Soon Naples asked aid, and the Arabian war-cry echoed on the slopes of Vesuvius, the plains of Calabria and the waters of the Adriatic. In 846 even Rome was threatened by the squadrons of the Muslim, and its gates were menaced by plunderers, who, unable to penetrate, gave what remained without to the sword and violence and sacrilege. The churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul were not only destroyed but desecrated. But another expedition was still to come from Kairawān. In 875 Dja'far led a well-equipped force against Syracuse, and after a three years' siege the great city, rich in human story and civilisation's past, fell to the invader. The same tale of pillage follows, and follows also the passion and the jealousy, the faction and the dissension. Yet this victory gave a new charter to the plunderer, nor were the dukes of Spoleto and Tuscany innocent of sharing in the spoil. So complete in fact was the mastery of the Aghlabid that Pope John VIII deemed it wisest to pay tribute for two years. The Crescent had indeed eclipsed the Cross.

There still remained a few towns that had not bowed the knee. Along the coast the power of the Saracens was unable to subdue every place, and even within the large centres such as Palermo rebellion raised its head. In 900 serious insurrections troubled the peace of the capital. But darker still were the signs within the Muslim camp. What before had only been loud murmurings or covert moves, became now civil wars. Ibrāhīm appeared himself in Sicily to vindicate his name, and under the spell of his presence Tauromenium and Rametta fell (908), but his death only heralded another internecine strife and prevented the settlement of Eastern Sicily. It was with a sigh of relief that the Muslims completed their treaty with the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in 956, and when they had retaken Tauromenium in 963 and Rametta in 965, the race of the Muḥammadan in Sicily had been run. For 138 years he had been struggling for the mastery of the island, and for 73 more he was to enjoy it. Throughout all this period there streamed into Sicilian minds and hearts the culture of the East, and blended there with the precious heritage of Greece and Rome. The clash of mind with mind produced a type of life unparalleled in history. There was here all the mysticism of the East, all the beauty of the Greek and all the urge and activity of the Latin. Toleration was the only path to peace, and the Sicilian march if along no other road was certainly along the path of toleration.

After seventeen years of quiet the enemy knocked again at Sicilian gates, but Otto II, with a Western Empire behind him, had to retire discomfited from the fight. Only when the Eastern Emperor Basil II called his scattered forces together in 1027, for a final sally on the harassing marauders of his domains, did success come within sight. Although he saw not the end of his work, his subordinate Maniaces carried forward the scheme of conquest. Profiting by the disaffection of Abu 'l-A'far, he carried victory at every step for four years, and by 1042 Messina, Syracuse and many other cities were under Christian overlordship. Recalled however to satisfy domestic fears, Maniaces had to leave his work uncompleted, and soon the Muslim had recovered ground. It seemed that the Empire could not rise

to the challenge of the invader. But in 1060 the hour struck and the man appeared. Messina still struggling against the doom of Saracenic capture, appealed to the Norman Count Roger of Hauteville. Strong in the possession of Italy, the Norman had been but waiting his time for seizing the island beyond. He responded to the call of the citizens, captured the city, and constituted it the capital of his kingdom. By 1071 Palermo had fallen, and in 1078 Tauromenium was wrenched from Muslim hands. In 1085 Syracuse was won. Malta which had been taken by the Saracens in 870 was retaken by Roger in 1090, and thus was completed in a few years the whole conquest of Sicily. Norman rule prevailed over the whole island. Norman lords occupied the palaces, Norman troops commanded the forts. It seemed that all the glory that had been was gone.

And yet right at the heart of the Norman conquest the Arab culture found its life-blood. Hitherto in the welter of bloodshed and unchecked rapine, they had forgotten the finer arts of peace, but now when events drove them in upon themselves they discovered the treasures of their literature and poetry, their law and their science. Not only were they now freed from fighting; they were definitely protected by Roger, who, unprejudiced even in his Christianity, encouraged the men of Islam to cultivate their gifts if not to advance their faith. He was even accused of being a Muslim himself. Being himself uncultured he saw the greatness of Arabian genius and learning with unscaled eyes, and he refused to crush its spirit. He gave full liberty to the Muḥammadans to follow their religion, and even prohibited Christians proselytising among them. Under the Norman feudal system he made the yoke rest lightly on their necks. He maintained the Muslim system of administration, and even the same Muslim officials continued to act under him. The merchants of Palermo are said to have been mainly Muḥammadan under Norman domination, and his best financiers were certainly of that faith. The land was entirely under the cultivation of the Moors, who in Spain had shewn how skilfully they could make the land yield its best fruits. Papyrus, sugar-cane, flax, olives were all grown in abundance on the island. Where water was scarce great irrigating systems were laid down, and every part of the island utilised. It is said that in the Valley of Mazara no fewer than two million people lived at this period. The science of Medicine was cultivated also and the court of Roger was notable no less for the skill than for the number of its physicians. The Arabic language flourished there as the principal means of communication, and it was also the official tongue. There the Golden Odes and Romances, redolent of Arabian deserts, resounded with delight and charm in the ears of Greek and Norman. There the masterpieces of Plato and Aristotle were translated. There the Arab ideals of chivalry, permeating as they do every one of their romances, set Roger and his court along a new line of European adventure, destined to add lustre to his name and dynasty.

None saw more clearly than Roger the greatness of his Sicilian prize, and well did he guard it both from political intrigue and religious rivalry, but the day soon dawned when his sons despised their birthright, and gradually Muslim thought, language, science and culture sank into disrepute

and finally into oblivion. Yet "so long as Greek and Saracen were protected and favoured, so long was Sicily the most-brilliant of European kingdoms".

Bibliography: The best modern authority is Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 1854, 3 vols. and *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, storia, biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia*, 1857. — Consult also Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. vi., Bury's Edition; S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, 1904, 3 vols.; Idrisi, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed. and transl. by Dozy and de Goeje, 1866; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg and also Fagnan's selection of the occidental passages; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Paris ed.

(T. CROUTHER GORDON)

AL-SID, Spanish el-Cid, the Cid, the name by which the most celebrated and the most popular of the heroes of Castilian chivalry is known; he played a preponderating political part in Muslim Spain of the second half of the eleventh century, and we can now gain an idea of his real personality by removing all the legendary matter that has grown up around his life and his exploits. It is to the Dutch scholar R. Dozy, that the honour is due of having established, as a result of his examination in 1844 of the manuscript of the *Dhakhira* of Ibn Baṣṣām preserved in Gotha, that the story of the *Crónica General* of Alphonso the Wise relating to the Cid, which up till then had been considered a pure invention, is really translated from the Arabic, and probably from a work of the Valencian Muḥammad b. Khalaf Ibn 'Alkāma (428—509 = 1036/1037—1116) called *al-Bayān al-wāḍiḥ fi'l-milām al-fāḍiḥ* (cf. also F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico*, p. 176, No. 140) and that it is contemporary with the Cid. This historian was thus able to base his reconstruction of the biography of the Cid on solid and authentic foundations and to show, by a series of careful deductions, how all the romantic alterations in his story had arisen which had long been considered worthy of belief and had given birth to the legendary Cid of poetry and of the theatre.

This knight who was called Rodrigo Diaz da Vivar, was descended from a noble Castilian family and was born at Burgos during the first half of the xth century. It has not been possible to fix the exact year in which he was born; 1026 according to some, 1040 according to others. It is known that in 1064 he distinguished himself, on the side of Sancho II of Castile in a war which this sovereign waged against Sancho of Navarre. He defeated at this time a knight of Navarre in single combat and the success stood him in good stead in the Castilian army, whose commander-in-chief he became (or the "Standard-bearer of the King") with the title of Campeador (Latin *campeator* written by the Arabs *الكنبيطور*)

al-kambeyāfūr, the equivalent of the Spanish Arabic *mubārīs* or *barrās*, "the champion who comes out of the ranks, when two armies are ranged against one another, to challenge an enemy to single combat"). A short time afterwards thanks to the counsels of Rodrigo Diaz, Sancho II made himself master of the Kingdom of León by taking his own brother Alphonso prisoner at Burgos. The latter was able to flee to the Muslim king

of Toledo al-Ma'mūn, of the dynasty of the Banū Dhu 'l-Nūn. On October 7, 1072, Sancho of Castille was killed before Zamora which he was besieging. The principal Castilian knights then assembled at Burgos in order to elect a new sovereign. Reluctantly their choice fell upon Alfonso, King of Leon, the refugee at Toledo, but they determined to make him take an oath that he had had no share in the murder of Sancho. It was Rodrigo Diaz who took this oath from Alfonso VI in the Church of Santa Agueda or Gadea of Burgos. The new king of Castille always secretly felt a grudge against him for the humiliation of this oath, but in order to conciliate the knight, then very influential, and to attach him to him he gave him his cousin Jimena (Chimene) Diaz, the daughter of the Count of Oviedo, in marriage (1074). Some years later Alfonso VI sent him to the 'Abbāsid dynast of Seville, al-Mu'tamid (see the article SEVILLE), in order to collect the tribute, which this Muslim prince paid in return for a nominal alliance with Castille. He was not able to prevent an encounter between the 'Abbāsid troops and those of the Zīrid king of Granada 'Abd Allāh b. Bādīs; the battle took place at Cabra. Rodrigo took an effective part and made several Christian knights prisoners, allies of the Zīrid prince, amongst them a prince of the blood, Count Garcia Ordoñez, to whom soon after he restored his liberty. He himself returned to Castille, after successfully attaining the real aim of his mission. Alfonso VI, probably at the instigation of Garcia Ordoñez, then accused Rodrigo Diaz of having appropriated a part of the presents which had been given to him at Seville to bring to the king, and he took advantage of the first opportunity — the expedition against the Muslims of Toledo undertaken without his consent — to disgrace him and to banish him from his dominions (1081).

It is from this time that the life of a "condottiere" led by the Castilian knight dates, that he began to fight, as occasion arose, the Muslims or his own co-religionists, on behalf of a third person or on his own behalf.

After an unsuccessful attempt to be taken into the service of the Count of Barcelona, Rodrigo Diaz offered his services to the Hūdid dynast of Saragossa [q.v.], Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Muḥtadīr. The latter agreed to take him into his army with his mercenaries. He died in the same year and his son Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin succeeded him at Saragossa, while his other son al-Mundhir received Denia, Tortosa and Lerida. The two brothers lost no time in going to war with one another. Rodrigo Diaz continued in the service of al-Mu'tamin while al-Mundhir made an alliance with the King of Aragon, Sancho Ramirez, and with the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II. Rodrigo Diaz soon won a great victory over the enemies of his master in spite of their numerical superiority, near the stronghold of Almenar, somewhat to the north-west of Lerida, took rich plunder and made prisoner the Count of Barcelona, whose liberty he generously restored soon after. He made a triumphal entry into Saragossa where the Hūdid ruler overwhelmed him with presents and with honours. He had acquired at one stroke prestige and an ascendancy without parallel among his Muslim soldiers who from this time began to call him "my master", *saiyidī*, vulg. Sp. *sidi*, which

was translated into Spanish in the form of "*mio Cid*" (the famous *Poem of the Cid* was originally called "*El Cantar de mio Cid*"); and soon this name prevailed (with or without the employment of the possessive). Rodrigo Diaz, thanks to his military talents, had become in the eyes of the Muslims of Spain a champion and an irresistible leader in war, *el Cid Campeador*.

In 1084, after an ephemeral reconciliation with Alfonso VI, the Cid covered himself with glory once more in Aragon in the service of al-Mu'tamin. When this prince died in the following year, he passed into the services of his son and successor Aḥmad al-Musta'in II and from that date he decided to conquer the Muslim kingdom of Valencia.

This independent principality which the grandson of the celebrated ḥājjīb, al-Manṣūr, the 'Amirid 'Abd al-'Aziz, had founded on the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, had been united in 1065 to the kingdom of Toledo. When the Dhu 'l-Nūnid prince Yaḥyā b. Isma'il al-Ḳādir in the year 1074 ascended the throne in succession to his grandfather al-Ma'mūn, he appointed Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Aziz governor of Valencia, who almost immediately declared his independence and allied himself with Alphonso II of Castille. But in the year 1085 the latter without scruple sold Valencia to al-Ḳādir who had been deprived of it ten years before and now gave his capital Toledo to the Christian king in exchange. The Muslim prince aided by a body of Castilian troops under the command of the General Alvar Fañez was able to make his entry into Valencia without striking a blow, but he very soon alienated the whole population of the town. When the Almoravid Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Tāshfin landed in Spain to fight against the Christians and put them to rout at Zallāka (October 23, 1086) Alfonso VI recalled Alvar Fañez from Valencia; and al-Ḳādir before the repeated attacks of al-Mundhir, prince of Tortosa, had to appeal for help to the King of Castille, and to al-Musta'in of Saragossa. The latter saw in this a good opportunity to deprive al-Ḳādir of his kingdom, and secretly entered into an agreement with the Cid to seize the town, all the booty to go to the condottiere. But the latter, mindful of the gifts which al-Ḳādir had bestowed upon him, refused to touch the town and sent a new token of his vassalage to Alfonso. Thereafter with his army he made incursions into the whole district of Valencia, and in the year 1089, returned to Castille where he was received with honour by his sovereign. Then he regained the east of Andalusia with his army, numbering 7,000 men.

Profiting by the absence of the Cid, al-Musta'in of Saragossa had made an alliance with Berenguer of Barcelona, who was besieging Valencia. The Count of Barcelona retreated before the Cid, who promised al-Ḳādir, in return for a payment of ten thousand dinārs a month, to defend his capital against all enemy attempts. A short time afterwards Alfonso asked the Cid to come to his assistance against Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, and finding that his vassal did not hasten to join him, he quarrelled with him once more. Then the Cid, like a regular independent bandit chief, ravaged with fire and sword the whole eastern country from Orihuela to Játiva, marched against Tortosa, defeated the Count of Barcelona, and concluded a treaty with

him. Soon afterwards the Muslim princes of Tortosa once more sought his protection. He granted it in return for the payment of regular tribute. At this time, besides the sums which he received from the Count of Barcelona and the Muslim princes of Tortosa and Valencia, the Cid had also amongst his tributaries the Arab lords of Albarracín (al-Sahlā), of Alpuente (al-Būnt), of Murviedro (Murbaṭair to-day called Sagunto), of Segorba (Šubrub), of Jerica (Šhāriḳa) and of Almenara.

However the quarrel between the Cid and Alfonso VI became more bitter and the King of Castille to put an end to the growing influence of his too powerful vassal, decided to deprive him of Valencia. Strong in the alliance of the Pisans and the Genoese, he came to besiege the town by land and by sea, while the Cid was engaged in helping the Muslim king of Saragossa against the Christian King of Aragon. Informed of what was taking place the Cid left Saragossa with his army and laid waste the county of Najera and of Calahorra, the particular fief of his sworn enemy García Ordóñez. The town of Logroño in the Rioja was completely destroyed by him and Alfonso VI had to raise the siege of Valencia without attaining any success.

During his absence, the Cid left at Valencia a Muslim lieutenant, Ibn al-Farajī, at the court of al-Kādir. The latter, in November 1092, was killed after a rising of the population incited by the ḳādi Ibn Djaḥḥāf, who placed himself at the head of the city as president of the Valencian republic (*djamaʿa*), with a purely nominal representative of the Almoravid government at his side. Some months later, in July 1093, the Cid marched on the capital with the whole of his army, seized without difficulty the suburbs of Villanueva and of al-Kudya and agreed to make terms with Ibn Djaḥḥāf, while maintaining a strict blockade of the town. Valencia now endured the most terrible privations and famine soon decimated the inhabitants. Compelled by these circumstances, the chief of the Valencian republic was forced to surrender the town to the Cid on the 15th June 1094. The Campeador did no harm to the population, which gave him proof of the regard which it had for him, and showed a real respect for its new master. But the latter did not hesitate to burn alive a short time after the former president, Ibn Djaḥḥāf, as a punishment.

From this time the Cid was absolute master of Valencia. After having, by a decisive sortie, put an end to an attempted siege by an Almoravid army, he henceforth thought only of extending his domains. In the year 1098 he had conquered Almenara and Murviedro. But he was growing old and felt that his career was coming to an end. He could hardly desire anything more. He had turned into a church the great mosque of Valencia and restored the bishopric of the town, which he gave to Jerome of Perigord. At last he was quite reconciled to his suzerain Alfonso of Castille, and he was allied to two royal houses of the Peninsula, through the marriages of his daughters, Maria with Ramon Berenguer III, and Christina with the son of Navarre Ramiro. He then tried to take Játiva (Šhāṭiba, q. v.) from the Almoravids but his army was routed. The Cid full of wrath and broken-hearted by this disaster succumbed not long after in the middle of 1099.

After the death of the Cid, his widow Jimena

resisted, for about two years, the incessant attacks of the Almoravids. Valencia was besieged at the end of the year 1101 by the Lamtūnī general al-Mardālī. It sustained the siege for seven months but on the advice of Alfonso VI, who had come to relieve it, Jimena decided to evacuate Valencia, which she ordered to be burned on her departure. When the Almoravid troops entered it, on the 5th May 1102, they found nothing but ruins. Jimena transported the body of the Cid to Castille; it was buried near Burgos, in the convent of San Pedro of Cardena. Jimena was herself buried there when she died five years later in the year 1104.

Bibliography: As has been already noted, the essential work on the life and historical career of the Cid is that of R. Dozy, *La Cid d'après de nouveaux documents*, Leiden 1860, reprinted in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen-âge*, Paris—Leiden 1881 (3rd ed.), II, p. 1—233. The following Arab authors deal at more or less length with the Cid: Ibn Rassām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, III, (Gotha MS. 200), Arabic text and transl. in Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 8—28 and III—xviii; Ibn al-Kardabūs, *K. al-Iṭīfā*, *ibid.*, p. xviii—xxvii; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Fuṭūḥ al-Sayarā*, *ibid.*, p. xxvii—xxxi; al-Makkārī, *Nafḥ al-Fih*, *Analektes*..., II, p. 754 and *ibid.*, p. xxxi—xxxiii; *Fragment anonyme inédit*, dans Ibn al-Idḥārī, *al-Fayṣūl al-Maḡarīb*, vol. III, ed. and transl. E. Lévi-Provençal (in press), Appendix I (chapter on Ibn Djaḥḥāf). Cf. also Dozy's work: *Revue Hispanique*, 1909, xx, 316—428, 1910, xxiii, 424—476, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1914, xvi, 80—86. A complete European bibliography of the Cid is found in B. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuertes de la Historia española*, Madrid 1919, Nos. 648 to 683. Cf. also the recent work of A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 75—77.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-ŠIDDĪK (probably the Aramaic *šiddīq*), surname of the first caliph Abū Bakr, means "the eminently veracious" and "he who always accepts, or confirms, the truth".

According to Ibn Ishāq, Abū Bakr received this surname because when the Muslims' faith in Muḥammad had been shaken by his account of the *mirʾajī*, Abū Bakr testified that the Prophet's description of Jerusalem was strictly truthful, thereby restoring their belief in him. Another tradition relates that Muḥammad had complained to Gabriel of his people's lack of faith; the Archangel replied: "Abū Bakr believes in thee (*yusaddiquka*), for he is *al-šiddīq*".

The saying: *wa-ḥaḍḥa ḡāʾa bi-ʾa-šiddīqi wa-ḥaḍḥa bihi*, in Sūra xxxix. 35, which has been rendered: "But he who brought the truth and he who accepted it as the truth", is referred, in a tradition attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb, to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr respectively; this explanation seems to owe something to the latter's surname.

In the Qurʾān the epithet *al-šiddīq* is given only to Joseph (xii. 46), in the sense of veracious. *Šiddīq*, in conjunction with *maḥī*, is applied to Idris (xix. 57) and Abraham (xix. 42); the virgin Mary is called *šiddīqa* (v. 79), and true believers in general are called *al-šiddīqūn* (Iviii. 18 and iv. 18).

Those who claim descent from Abū Bakr are usually styled *al-Bakrī al-Šiddīqī*; when only one

of these *ansāb* is used for brevity's sake, al-Šiddīkī is preferred.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 264; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 2133; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii. 1, 11; Lane, *Lexicon*, iv. 1667, a and 1668, b, c; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *J. A.*, series 10, x. 62; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 49; Fränkel, *De vocabulis in ant. carm. arab. et in Corano peregrinis*, Leyden 1880, p. 20.

(V. VACCA)

ŠIDDĪK ḤASAN KHĀN, (AL-KĀNNAWĪJ, SA'YID, ABU 'L-TAYYIB, *Nawwāb Amīr al-Mulk wālā Dīh Bahādūr*, an Indian scholar, born at Barēli (Bareilly) U.P. on Sunday, 19th Djumādā I, 1248 (14th October 1832), the youngest son of Saiyid Awlād Ḥasan Khān of Kānnawdj U.P. and his wife Nadjib al-Nisā' of Barēli. He was a descendant of Djalāl al-Dīn Djahāniyān Djahangasht (d. 785 = 1384) whose grandfather Saiyid Djalāl Gulsurkh came to India from Bukhārā in 653 (1255). Šiddīk Ḥasan studied mainly in Delhi. When a young man he entered the Civil Service of Bhōpāl and married the daughter of the then Minister of Bhōpāl, Djamāl al-Dīn Khān (1861); he became the second husband of the Bēgum of Bhōpāl (1870) and took part in the government of the State. He was active in furthering Arabic and Muslim studies and published a large number of works. His son Nawwāb Saiyid 'Alī Ḥasan Khān published a full biography of the scholar entitled *Ma'āthir-i Šiddīkī* in which (Part iv., appendix) he gives a list of 222 works (74 in Arabic, 45 in Persian, 103 in Urdu); they include 25 not yet published. Van Dyke's attack on him is not justified. Šiddīk Ḥasan died in Bhōpāl on the 20th February 1890.

Bibliography: Ed. van Dyke and Muhammed 'Alī al-Biblāwī, *Ikhtifā' al-Kunū' bi-mā huwa maḥbū'*, Cairo 1896, p. 106, 118, 313, 496, 497; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, p. 503 and p. 418; Clément Huart, *History of Arabic Literature*, London 1903, p. 432—433, 434; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Ma'āthir-i Šiddīkī*, Lakhnā'ū 1924—1925; Raḥmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirat-i 'Ulamā'-i Hind* 2, Lakhnā'ū 1914.

(A. SIDDIQI)

SIDJILL, a mysterious word in the *Qur'ān*, Sūra xi. 84, xv. 74, cv. 4, derived from the Persian سنگ and گل, stone and clay, and meaning stones like lumps of dry or baked clay; this is corroborated by Sūra li. 33—34: "To throw on them stones of clay, marked by thy Lord." Commentators add that these stones had been baked in hell-fire, and interpret "marked by thy Lord" (xi. 84 and li. 34) to mean that on the stones were inscribed the names of the persons for whom they were destined.

Other interpretations, not generally admitted, of *sidjīl* are: what has been written or decreed (clearly derived from its likeness to *sidjill*, q. v.), Hell or the lowest Heaven (the word being considered in this case another form of *sidjīn*, q. v.). It has also been associated with adjectives derived from the root *s-dj-l*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; al-Tabarī, *Tafsir*, Cairo 1328, xii, p. 57; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itkān*, Cairo 1318, i. 139; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Ara-*

bisch, Göttingen 1919, p. 73; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 11. — On the hypothesis that in Sūra cv. these stones represent an epidemic of smallpox, see Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i., Introduzione, p. 147, and Fernandez y Gonzalez, *La aparición de la viruela en Arabia* (Revista de ciencias históricas, v. 1887, 201—216). (V. VACCA)

SIDJĪN, one of the mysterious words of the *Qur'ān*, lxxxiii. 7 and 8: "Verily the register of the wicked is surely in *sidjīn*. And what shall make thee understand what is *sidjīn*? A book written". Explained by commentators as a place where a record of the deeds of the wicked is kept, and also as that record itself. It is said to be a valley in Hell; the seventh and lowest earth, where Iblis is chained; a rock beneath the earth or the seventh earth; a place beneath Iblis, where the spirits of the wicked are; a register comprising the deeds of the wicked, of the *djinn* and of mankind, or of the devils and the unbelievers. Without the article it is a proper name of hell-fire. Also said to mean anything hard, vehement, severe, lasting, everlasting (interpretations influenced by the word's likeness to *sidjīl*, q. v., erroneously connected with the root *s-dj-l*).

Though the *Itkān* classes it among non-Arabic words, no acceptable etymology is supplied, and Dvořák does not admit it among his *Fremdwörter*; on the other hand lexicographers give it as a synonym of *sidjīn*, prison, and this last word has evidently influenced the prevailing interpretation of *sidjīn* by Muslim commentators as a place where the record of the wicked is kept, rather than as that record itself. The text of the *Qur'ān* admits of both interpretations, and most European translators, following Marracci, have preferred the latter.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; al-Tabarī, *Tafsir*, Cairo 1328, xxx., p. 60; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itkān*, Cairo 1318, i. 139; Marracci, *Refutatio Alcorani*, 1698, p. 787. (V. VACCA)

SIDJILL, one of the mysterious words of the *Qur'ān*, Sūra xx. 104: "The day in which we shall fold the sky as *al-sidjill* to the books". Derived from *sigillum* through *σφύλλιον*, the word is used in Arabic for written statements of contracts, records of a *ḥādī* in which his sentences are written, and, in general, writing, scroll or roll for writing upon or written upon. Lexicographers and commentators of the *Qur'ān*, while recognizing the word as foreign, have ascribed it either to Abyssinian or to Persian, one or both of these languages being usually made responsible for such like strange words; they have also tried to deduct its meaning from the *Qur'ānic* context, thus interpreting it as the name of an angel, who folds the written statements of men's works, or of a scribe of Muḥammad's, or meaning *man* in general in the Abyssinian language. Such scribes or angels, al-Tabarī observes, are not mentioned anywhere, while *sidjill* in the sense of written document is well known in Arabic. The words that follow: *li 'l-kutub*, stand, according to al-Tabarī, for *'ala 'l-kutub*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; al-Tabarī, *Tafsir*, Cairo 1328, ed. i., xvii., p. 78; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itkān*, Cairo 1318, ed. i., i., p. 139; Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s. v. *sigillum*; Fränkel, *De vocabulis in ant. carm. arab. et in Corano peregrinis*, Leyden 1880, p. 17. (V. VACCA)

SIDJILMĀSA (the forms *Sadjal-* and *-māssa* are also found), an ancient town of Morocco now in ruins, which was the capital of *Tāfilālat*. It was built about 200 miles S.S.E. of Fās, on the outskirts of the *Ṣaḥarā'*, on the left bank of the *Wādī Ziz*, 34° 80' N. Latitude N. and 7° 31' West Long.

Sidjilmāsa was probably founded in ancient times. It is not however necessary to heed the local tradition recorded by Leo Africanus, according to which the town was founded by Alexander (= *Dhu 'l-Karnain*) as a home for the sick and crippled in his army. But the same author has preserved another tradition attributing its foundation to a Roman general who, starting from Mauritania, conquered the whole of Numidia and pushed on as far as Māssa, a town of Sūs on the Atlantic; it was at this time that he founded the town of *Sigillum mese* (= Massae), thus called because it was the seal of his victory. In this legend we have a distant memory of the Roman expeditions of Suetonius Paulinus and of Hasidius Geta (in the year 41 A. D. to the South of the Moroccan Atlas).

Be that as it may, even if the town had actually an earlier existence it was completely in ruins at the time of the arrival of the Muslims, since al-Bakri tells us that Sidjilmāsa was founded in the year 140 (757—758) and that its development brought about the decline of the neighbouring towns of Tudgha and of Ziz. Its foundation was the work of the rebel Miknāsa Berbers who had adopted the heterodox customs of the *Ṣufriya* [q. v.] and had made themselves independent of the Arab governors of al-*Ḳairawān*.

Beginning with 155 (771—772), the town and its territory were governed by the Miknās dynasty of the Banū Midrār; the latter attained its apogee with Muḥammad b. al-Faṭḥ b. Maimūn b. Midrār, surnamed al-*Ṣhākiri* li 'llāh who returned to orthodoxy, took the title of *Amir al-Mu'minin*, and had coins struck in his own name (H. Lavoix, *Cat. des Monn. Musulm. de la Bibl. Nat.*, 1891, p. 401—402). He was made prisoner by the 'Ubaidi general *Djawhar*, when in the year 347 (958—959) the latter besieged and captured Sidjilmāsa. In the course of time other Banū Midrār regained the government of the town, but in the year 366 (976—977) they were finally dispossessed by *Khazrūn* b. Falfal al-Maghrawī who, at the head of the Zanāta Berbers, was fighting on behalf of the Umayyad sovereign of Cordova.

Khazrūn and after him his descendants were at first simply the governors of Sidjilmāsa on behalf of the Umayyads of Cordova; then after the downfall of the latter they declared themselves independent and founded the dynasty of the Banū *Khazrūn*. But their tyranny and their impiety forced the inhabitants of the town to call to their aid 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, the promoter of the Almoravid movement, who in the year 447 (1055—1056) seized Sidjilmāsa; where he massacred all the Maghrawa whom he found there.

This was the end of the independence of Sidjilmāsa and henceforth the town and its territory were always, theoretically at least, a dependency of the empire of Morocco; but on account of its eccentric situation on the edge of the desert, it was at all times a hotbed of sedition and of revolts provoked, sometimes by the local governments desirous of making themselves independent,

sometimes by the turbulent Arab tribes of the neighbourhood, sometimes even by the inhabitants wearied by the exactions of the central power and always ready to support its enemies, the kings of Tlemcen or pretenders belonging to the reigning family.

In 541 (1146—1147) on the fall of the Almoravid dynasty, the inhabitants of Sidjilmāsa took the side of the agitator Muḥammad b. Hūd al-Hādī who had already stirred up the Sūs and the Dar'a; but he was crushed by the Almohad chief Abū Ḥafṣ who then took possession of the town.

In the year 640 (1242—1243) the Almohad governor of Sidjilmāsa, 'Abd Allāh b. Zakariyā al-*Khazradji* delivered over the town to the Ḥafsid prince Abū Zakariyā, who had just seized Tlemcen, but the Almohad Sulṭān 'Alī al-Sa'īd recaptured the place.

In the year 653 (1255—1256) the Marinid prince Abū Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ took possession of Sidjilmāsa. But as early as 655 (1257—1258) a section of the inhabitants asked the 'Abd al-Wādī of Tlemcen, *Yaghmurāsan* to come and occupy it. Abū Yaḥyā, warned in time, came and took possession of the place which *Yaghmurāsan* could only besiege without result.

In the year 657 (1258—1259) the Marinid governor al-*Ḳiṭrānī* made himself independent; but the people rebelled against him and appealed to the Almohads.

In the year 660 (1261—1262) the Marinid troops came to besiege Sidjilmāsa without success. Later under the pressure of the Arab tribe of the *Munabbāt*, the inhabitants recognised the authority of *Yaghmurāsan*. But when the Sulṭān Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ had won the whole of the Maghrib for the Marinids he went to attack Sidjilmāsa, at the siege of which artillery was employed for the first time in Morocco; the town was taken in Ṣafar 673 (August-September 1274). The 'Abd al-Wādī governors, the garrison as well as the chiefs of the *Munabbāt*, were massacred and the inhabitants reduced to slavery.

From this event dates the decline of Sidjilmāsa. Its name is often found mentioned in the history of the civil wars of Morocco and it seems to have had to suffer greatly from the oppression of the neighbouring Arab tribes, especially those of the *Ahlāf*. Ibn Baṭṭūta, who visited Sidjilmāsa in 752 (1351—1352) says that it is amongst the most beautiful of towns. But Leo Africanus, who spent six months in this district in the first part of the xvth century says that after a rising of the people, who had killed their governor, the town was entirely destroyed and the inhabitants retreated into the country or into castles (*ḳṣūr*) where they lived, some of them independent, others tributaries of the Arabs. Thus we must not be led astray by modern Moroccan historians who frequently use Sidjilmāsa for the "district of Sidjilmāsa" or of "Tāfilālat".

For the last time Sidjilmāsa appeared in history when in the first half of the xviith century on account of the fall of the Sharifi dynasty of the Sadians, the *Shurafā'* made themselves independent and founded the present dynasty of the 'Alawis or *Filāla* (cf. *FILĀLA*, *SHORFĀ'*).

The Arab geographers have given us a glowing picture of the Sidjilmāsa of the Middle-Ages. Situated in the middle of a plain, fertile because

well watered, it was surrounded by gardens and orchards which stretched along the Wādī Ziz for more than four parasangs from the town. There there grew in abundance the most delicious varieties of grapes and dates which alone furnished the bulk of the food of the inhabitants; cereals grew very well there and gave harvests for three consecutive years without the necessity of resowing. The crops of the neighbourhood included in addition cotton, cummin, carraway, and ḥenna² which were exported into the whole of the Maghrib. As peculiar to the town, the Arab authors point out that flies are not found there, but dogs are eaten as well as a kind of fat lizard (*hirdhaum*) and that the inhabitants for the most part suffered from ophthalmia. The only notable industry was the preparation of a magnificent material made from a very fine wool which the women excel in knitting. The town, well peopled and very extensive, was composed of strong castles, buildings and of houses each built in the middle of a garden.

Its situation at the gate of the Ṣaḥarā² made Sidjilmāsa a very suitable starting point for caravans going to the land of the negroes, especially to Ghāna or returning from there. Dates were the principal article of export; slaves were brought from the Sūdān, gold dust, ivory and hides.

The people of the town did not content themselves with doing a thriving trade at home; they went themselves to the Sūdān and showed great hardihood in their journeys. From Sidjilmāsa several routes led to the chief centres of North Africa, Darfa, Aghmāt Warika, Fās, Tābahrit (part of the Nadrūma district), Udjda, Tlemcen and even to Cairo, by the desert and Bahnāsa.

Sidjilmāsa with Fās was one of the two great centres for Moroccan pilgrims to assemble, going to the Ḥijāz and their inhabitants often supplied the *amir rikāb al-ḥadjjī*. This is how it came about that one of them, at the beginning of the Marinid dynasty, having had occasion to go in this capacity several times to the Ḥijāz became acquainted with the Saiyid al-Ḥasan b. Ḳasim at Yanbū² al-Nakhl, a Ḥasanid sharif, whom he asked to return with him to Sidjilmāsa so that by the help of his *baraka* the fruit of the palm-trees of the town could attain maturity. The sharif accepted, arrived at Sidjilmāsa in 664 (1265—1266) and became the ancestor of the *Shorfa*² [q. v.] *sidjilmāsiyūn*, who gave Morocco the dynasty which reigned from 1075 (1664).

At the present day the ruins of Sidjilmāsa, visited by René Callié in 1828, then by Rohlfs in 1864 and by W. Harris in 1893—1894, are euphemistically called by the natives *al-madīna 'l-āmarra*, "the inhabited town", and lie along the east bank of the Wādī Ziz for about 5 miles; there is nothing left but one minaret still standing, in a bridge across the Ziz, and enormous masses of clay walls everywhere somewhat ruined.

Bibliography: — Arab authors: see the indices to the editions of al-Bakrī, al-Idrisi, Abu 'l-Fida², al-Dimashki, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭā; of *Rawḍat al-Nisrīn*, *al-Dakhīrat al-saniya*, ed. Ben Cheneb; of *al-Zayānī*, ed. Houdas; of al-Ifrānī, ed. Houdas; of Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istikṣā²*, partly transl. in *A. M.*, t. x., xxx., xxxi., the *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, transl. E. Fagnan, 1924; Waṣīf Shāh, *Abrégé*, p. 104; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, s. v.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, index to the French transl. by de Slane;

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European authors: Gerhard Rohlfs, *Reise durch Marokko*, Bremen 1868, p. 61; W. B. Harris, *Taflet*, 1895, pp. 229, 261—267, 273—275, 283—285; E. Mercier, *Sidjilmāsa selon les auteurs arabes*, R. A., 1867, p. 233, 274. (GEORGES S. COLIN)

SIDON, the celebrated town of ancient Phoenicia, the name of which is found as early as the Tell Amarna tablets in the form *Ṣidūnu*, played only a modest part in the Muslim world. The Arabs call it *Ṣaidā²*. According to Balādhuri, it was taken without difficulty by Yazīd b. Abi Sufyān; the future Caliph Mu'āwiya commanding the advance-guard on this occasion. This must have been about 637 A. D. The Arab geographers tell us very little about *Ṣaidā²*. They mention that it belonged to the administrative district of Damascus; Kudāma observes that it was the military harbour of this region and Muḳaddasī also mentions that it was fortified. Ibn Khordādhbih says that the road from Antioch to Gaza touched the town. According to Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Ṣaidā²* was one of the most marvellous towns and noble provinces; this verdict is probably based entirely on literary tradition. Muḳaddasī condemns the language of the inhabitants as particularly "barbarous".

The town only became a little more prominent in the Crusading period. Among the Crusaders the name appears as *Sagitta* (*Sagette*, *Sayette*), a translation of the Arabic *Ṣaidā²*. According to Yāqūt, the town was also called *Irbil*. The histories of the Crusaders record that the siege of the town was raised in 1107 on payment of a sum of money. According to the Arab version Baldwin retreated in 501 (1107/1108) when his fleet was defeated by the Egyptians and a Muslim army was approaching from Damascus to relieve it. According to the French accounts, the town was taken on December 19, 1111 (Ibn al-Athīr gives: 20th Djumādā I, 504, which corresponds to December 4, 1110). The siege lasted forty-seven days; sixty Frank ships (Norman and Venetian) surrounded the town on the sea side, and Baldwin advanced by land from Jerusalem. The town surrendered under favourable conditions, which were observed at first, but Baldwin later levied an indemnity of 20,000 dinārs on the inhabitants, who remained in the town, which destroyed its prosperity. In 1187, Saladin occupied Sidon (according to Ibn al-Athīr on 21st Djumādā 583, i. e. July 30, 1187); the Crusaders had left it without striking a blow and Saladin had most of the fortifications destroyed. In October 1197 (*Dhu 'l-Ḥijjdja* 593, A.H.), there was a fierce encounter at *Ṣaidā²* between Crusaders and Muslims, which lasted into the night and remained undecided. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil then had the remains of the defences destroyed. In 625 (1228) *Ṣaidā²* was taken by the Crusaders and again fortified. In 1249, it was taken by Aiyūb, in 1253 occupied and fortified by Louis IX of France, in 1260 sacked by the Mongols, in the same year taken by the Templars, who remained here till 1291 in which year it was taken by the Muslims for the last time and its defences razed by al-Ashraf. At a later period a great deal was done for the town by the Druse ruler Fakhr al-Dīn (1595—1634). His castle is now in ruins but the market erected by him for the European traders still exists as

the Khān Fransāwī. Unfortunately his fear lest the Turkish fleet might choose Saïdā² as a base induced him to make the Southern (the so-called Egyptian) harbour useless. In 1791 Djazzār Pasha banished the French merchants from the town. In 1840 it was bombarded by English and Austrian warships.

The modern town occupies the site of the ancient Sidon, but it stretches a little farther inland. A peninsula runs out from the shore under the shelter of which is the large south harbour, now useless, and the smaller north harbour still used by small ships. The latter is also protected by a ledge of rocks against the waves. Near the entrance is a little island, the Kal'at al-Bahr, which is connected with the mainland by a stone bridge. Farther north-west is a larger island opposite the mainland, called el-Djezire. South of the town, on an artificial mound is the citadel Kal'at al-Mu'ezze. The chief mosque was once the Church of the Knights of St. John and the mosque of Abū Nakhlār, a church of St. Michael. On the little island are the ruins of the Château de St. Louis which was partially destroyed in the bombardment of 1840. The town has about 12,000 inhabitants including 7,000 Muslims and Metāwile, 2,000 Greek Catholics and Maronites and 600 Jews.

The Roman Catholic Church, the American Mission and the Alliance Israélite maintain schools here. Large gardens surround the town on the land side. Oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, almonds and pears flourish here. The commercial importance of the town is small. Grapes, corn, cotton and gall-apples are however exported.

It is evidence of the intellectual life of the town that in 1921 the epistemology of the Arab philosopher al-Fārābī, the *Kitāb Ihsā' al-'Ulūm*, was first published in the columns of a newspaper, the *'Irfān*.

The Saïdā² mentioned in Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (ed. Ahlwardt, i. 6) has been sought in the Hawrān.

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(P. SCHWARZ)

ŠIFA does not occur in the Qur'an but the infn. *wasf* is used once and the impf. of the I. stem 13 times in the meanings: "to ascribe or assert as a description, to attribute" and always with an implication of falsehood. Thus of Allāh in Qur'an vi. 100; xxiii. 93; xxxvii. 159, 180; xliii. 82 — all similar, fixed phrases; this standing implication is used in the *Mufradāt* of Rāghib al-Isbahānī (p. 546, s. v.) to suggest that all descriptions of Allāh are unsound. (a) In grammar *šifa* means an epithet noun (on the epithet noun as opposed to the adjective noun see Lumsden's *Arabic Grammar*, p. 266 sqq.) and is defined in the *Alfiya* (ed. Dieterici, p. 225, 3) as "a thing which indicates an idea (*ma'nān*) along with an essence or substance (*dhāt*)" and in the *Mufaṣṣal*² (ed. Broch, p. 46, 9) as "a noun which indicates one of the 'states' (*ahwāl*) of a *dhāt*". At the widest it covers the active and passive participles, the epithets assimilated to these (*al-šifāt al-mushabbaha*;

Wright³, i. 133 sqq.; *Mufaṣṣal*², 101, 5 sqq.), the *af'alu* of comparison and, dubiously, the *nisba*; on the last see *Mufaṣṣal*², p. 46, 17. When the active participle loses its temporary character and hardens into a substantive it becomes a *šifa ghāliba* (Baidāwī on Qur. xxvii. 77; ed. Fleischer, ii. 74, 9). In syntax the qualifying clause to which the antecedent is undetermined and with which no relative is used, is not regarded by the native grammarians as a *šila* but only as a descriptive, a *šifa*. (b) On the doctrine of the logical analysis of qualities and descriptives in philosophy and scholastic theology there is an elaborate discussion in the *Dict. of techn. terms*, pp. 1489—96 (under *wasf*), giving classifications according to different orthodox and heretical schools. (c) The *šifāt* of Allāh are to be distinguished from his Names (*asmā*). The Names are the epithets, like the *šifāt* above, applied to him as descriptives in the Qur'an, following the wide use of such epithets in the old poetry. On these Names see especially al-Ghazālī, *Al-maḥṣad al-asmā*. But his *šifāt* are strictly the abstract qualities which lie behind these epithets, as *ḡudra* behind *ḡadīr* and *'ilm* behind *'alīm*. A very important problem in theology is the relation of these *šifāt* to his *dhāt*. The resultant orthodox statement, after long controversy, is that they are eternal, subsisting in his essence, and that they are not He, nor are they other than He (*lā huwa wa-lā ḡhairuhu*); see Taftazānī on Nasafī's *Aḡā'id* with super-commentaries, Cairo 1321, pp. 67 sqq. and the commentary of Djurdjānī on the *Mawāḡif* of al-Idjī, Būlak 1266, pp. 479 sqq. The struggle was, in part, to maintain the internal unity of the personality of Allāh; in part, to do justice to the Qur'anic descriptives of him; in part, to determine what were primary and necessary of these and what could be regarded as merely relations and connectives of these with the material world. It was a struggle with unbelieving philosophers, with Mu'tazilite heretics and, within orthodox Islām, between Ash'arites and Māturidites; see Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, pp. 568, 571 and especially 645 sqq. and the translations from Nasafī and Faḡālī in Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, pp. 309, 319 sqq. Also Sanūsī's *Prolégomènes Théologiques*, ed. and transl. by Luciani, p. 162—216. Through it all ran the position of the *Mufradāt* [see above] that descriptions of Allāh must be, at the best, inadequate and misleading, and, at the worst, impossible. On Allāh's mystical manifestation of himself by means of his *šifāt* see Massignon, p. 514 and R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 90, 98.

Bibliography has been given above.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ŠIFFĪN, in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 347: *Sapphin*, in a Syriac inscription of the beginning of the ninth century *šf*² (Chabot in *J. A.*, 1900, p. 285), a place not far from the right bank of the Euphrates, west of Raḡga, between it and Balis, separated from the river by a strip of marshland an arrowshot broad (according to *B.G.A.*, vii. 22, 15: 500 ells) and two parasangs long, overgrown with dense willows and Euphrates palms, full of waterholes, through which a single paved road led to the Euphrates. The place was made famous by the great battle fought there in 37 (657) between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. When 'Alī arrived here on his march from Kūfa, the Syrians

were already encamped in the ruins of the city, which dated from the Roman period, and a detachment of troops under Abu 'l-A'war held the road to the Euphrates. In spite of his representations and his insistence that he had not come to fight but to come to an arrangement with Mu'awiya, the latter did not give way, although his wise councillor 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī advised him to do so. 'Alī then ordered his troops to attack and they succeeded in driving back the Syrians in spite of the reinforcements sent them, and gained the approach to the river; 'Alī then gave a new proof of his chivalry by allowing the Syrian water-carriers to get water alongside of his own men, which resulted in the latter fraternising in harmless fashion with the Syrians. Some time was spent in negotiations, which came to nothing, as Mu'awiya stubbornly insisted that the Caliph should hand over the assassins of 'Uthmān, which he neither would nor could do. The negotiations were however continued and when a quarrel threatened to break out, the peace-lovers on either side managed to prevent it. According to Dinawari, p. 180 *sq.*, this state of things lasted throughout the two months Rabi' II and Djumādā I of the year 36. This would however give much too long a time for the preliminaries of the battle which, according to Ya'qūbī (*Tanbih*, p. 295; *Ta'rikh*, ii. 219), began at the beginning of Šafar and is corrected by Ya'qūbī's statement that the battle for the approach to the water took place in Dhu 'l-Hijda. It is probably also wrong when Tabarī, i. 3272 says that 'Alī and Mu'awiya in this month repeatedly — sometimes twice a day — sent out prominent men with foot-soldiers and horsemen to fight each other, which however did not result in a general battle, as both parties were afraid of the fatal consequences of it. As Wellhausen suggests, we must here have a duplication of the fighting that took place later. To keep open every possibility of coming to terms, it was agreed to observe a truce in the traditional sacred month of peace, Muharram of the year 37 (June 19—July 18, 657). But even this did not succeed, and war was finally declared at the beginning of Šafar and the battle of Siffin began. To obtain a clear idea of its course is not easy, as the narrators record a mass of single combats which do not give a general survey and serve only to glorify the individual tribes. They also give very divergent figures for the size of the armies and the positions of the divisions and their leaders. The fighting was conducted in accordance with ancient custom and each tribe operated for itself, so that it was a clever move on 'Alī's part to place the parts of the various tribes in his army so that they were opposite their fellow-tribesmen. The fighting, which was continually renewed and increased in extent, was by all accounts bloody and various notable men met their death in it, such as on 'Alī's side 'Ammār b. Yāsir and Hāshim b. 'Utba, on Mu'awiya's side Umar's son 'Ubaidallāh (cf. the lament on him in Yāqūt, iii. 403). 'Alī had great assistance from the brave and experienced al-Ashtar [q. v.] who had procured the 'Irāk troops free access to the water and now distinguished himself in several hand-to-hand fights.

The following is the account given of the issue of the battle. After fighting had gone on for a time without a decision being reached, al-Ashtar

succeeded in the night known as *lailat al-harir* (from *harra*, "to whine", cf. Yāqūt, iv. 970) i. e. the night before Friday 10th Šafar = July 28 (see Ahlwardt's *Anonyme Chronik*, p. 349, 3; according to Tabarī, ii. 727, 11 the night before the Thursday) and on the following morning in driving the Syrians into such straits that Mu'awiya lost heart and thought of flight, from which he was restrained by the memory of certain lines by Ibn al-Itnāba (*Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 53, 573; Tabarī, i. 3300, 12). In this dangerous position, the wily 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī advised him to fasten a few manuscripts of the Qur'ān to lance-heads to express symbolically that the fighting should cease and the decision be left to the book of Allāh, in contrast to 'Alī who sought Allāh's verdict in the outcome of the battle (Tabarī, i. 3322 *sq.*). 'Amr's calculation that this proposal would produce a split among 'Alī's followers proved correct. A considerable number of them declared that such an appeal to the decision of Allāh could not be rejected; and thus 'Alī, who thought he had already won, was forced to call back al-Ashtar vigorously protesting, whereupon the battle ceased. The majority in his army also agreed to Mu'awiya's proposal that each of the contending parties should choose one of two arbitrators, who were to meet a later date and come to a verdict according to the words of the Qur'ān. The Syrians chose 'Amr, as was to be expected, while the Caliph had forced upon him Abū Mūsā [q. v.] who was not favourably disposed to him. The agreement was signed, according to Tabarī, i. 3340 on the 13th Šafar 37 (July 31, 657), according to Dinawari, p. 210, 5, not till the 17th Šafar and 'Alī remembering Muḥammad's example of self-restraint at Ḥudaibiya refrained from signing as Caliph. The armies then separated and went home, 'Alī's troops in deep dejection so that although undefeated they gave the impression of having suffered a reverse.

However attractive this story, with its good points and its sharp characterisation of the persons appearing in it, may be, it is doubtful whether it can be considered historical without further examination. All the accounts at our disposal betray a preference for 'Alī and an antipathy to Mu'awiya and particularly to 'Amr, who is readily credited with everything wicked; and we therefore very much feel the want of an account of the battle from the other side, which could be used as a check. But even without this we can indicate several points, which make it probable that there is a certain amount of bias present, as is certainly the case with the story of the arbitration in Adh-rūh [q. v.] and particularly that much too important a part is credited to Mu'awiya's evil genius, 'Amr. Even if we assume that it was he who proposed the demonstration with the Qur'ān, and that the necessary number of manuscripts was available in the Syrian army — according to Dinawari, p. 201, even the standard text of the Qur'ān (cf. QUR'ĀN) kept in Damascus was one of them which was carried by five men on five lance-heads — it is evident that this means could only be effective if there was a receptive spirit present, so that it only gave expression to what many felt in their hearts. That this was actually the case is evident from several hints. Not only had 'Alī endeavoured to avoid the fatal war, in which believers fought one another and

members of the same tribe, even near relatives like father and son (Dīnawarī, p. 184), but the majority of the troops felt that it was unnatural and disastrous. This was why it was so long before the fighting actually began and why as a last resource they concluded a truce in Muḥarram. In this connection Dīnawarī records several features which supplement Mikhnaf's story in Ṭabarī on essential points. While in the latter the *Kur'ān*, *Kur'an*-reciters form a separate body with their own leaders fighting ardently (Ṭabarī, i. 3273, 2, 3283, 11, 3289, 5, 3292, 16, 3298, 5, 3304, 10 and 3323, 3) and there is very little reference to *Kur'an*-reciters in the Syrian army (3312, 12), in Dīnawarī these devout men (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen, über den Islam*, p. 189) are eager advocates of peace who on one occasion succeed in stopping a battle which is about to begin (Dīnawarī, p. 181, 1 sqq.). They were at once prepared to proceed to the appeal to the *Kur'an*; and it was mainly owing to their influence that the fighting was stopped so quickly (ibid., p. 204) and when they were agreed on the appeal to the *Kur'an*, they negotiated with the Syrian *Kur'an*-reciters before the two armies and recommended the choice of two referees (ibid., p. 205). If 'Amr really proposed the demonstration of the *Kur'āns* (a similar use of the *Kur'an* is recorded in the battle of the Camel, Ṭabarī, i. 3186, 3188 sq.) he was only expressing an idea that was shared by many and therefore found ready support. It is also very possible that the striking point in the tradition, that 'Alī had already the victory in his hands, when 'Amr deprived him of it by his diabolic plan, is one of the embellishments with which admirers of 'Alī later explained the unsuccessful issue of the battle. But on the other hand it is quite evident that Mu'āwīya had everything to gain by the appeal to the *Kur'an*, while it meant a severe blow for 'Alī, so that it was no wonder that far-seeing men like him and 'Amr were eager for it, especially if they were afraid that the battle might result unfavourably for them. We must in particular remember that the battle had nothing to do with the question which of the two opponents should become Caliph. That Mu'āwīya cherished far-reaching ambitions is very possible, but he was much too wise to let them be revealed at so early a stage. He kept strictly to his role as the avenger of 'Uthmān and declared himself ready to pay homage to 'Alī if he would hand over the murderers of the Caliph. This made him seem to be on the side of right and morality and, at the same time, as 'Alī could not satisfy his demands, it was a good means of preventing the conclusion of a peace. For 'Alī the appeal to the *Kur'an* was absolutely annihilating; for the sacred book was to be consulted to ascertain whether his action in regard to the assassination of 'Uthmān made him unworthy of being Caliph so that he was de facto deposed at least for the time, while Mu'āwīya's position was left unaffected by the result of the verdict. Finally we have to remember that from several indications, 'Alī's position among his own followers in spite of all personal sympathy for him had become rather weak, as the serious charges brought against him had made an impression, even on people favourably disposed to him, so that they must have come to wish that some higher authority should clear up the question. If right and wrong

had been so simply and clearly apportioned between the two opponents, as the narratives make it appear, the sons of Abū Bakr and 'Umar would hardly have kept on good terms with Mu'āwīya.

The view we put forward is confirmed in a welcome fashion by a very temperate tradition which goes back to al-Zuhri in Ibn Sa'd (iv./ii. 3), in which we are told that the two armies were tired of war and reluctant to shed more blood, which induced 'Amr to propose to Mu'āwīya to have the *Kur'āns* displayed, and to summon the 'Irākīs to the book of Allāh, and thus effect a split among them. When 'Alī saw the apathy of his followers, he acceded to the demand of Mu'āwīya and it was in reply to his question who was to decide by the *Kur'an*, that Mu'āwīya proposed the choice of two referees. The dramatic section in the usual story is completely lacking here.

It was quite to be expected that apart from the role credited to 'Amr, an explanation of the unsuccessful turn the battle took for 'Alī should also be found in the assertion that treachery was committed. The charge was made against al-Ash'ath [q. v.] whose past might certainly lend some support to the suggestion. All sources agree that he interceded vigorously for the appeal. According to Dīnawarī (p. 201) he feared that a continuation of the fighting might result in the enemies of the Arab empire invading it on all sides, a view supported by Mu'āwīya when he heard of it. According to Ṭabarī, i. 3332 sq., he offered to go to Mu'āwīya to ascertain his further proposals and 'Alī approved. On the other hand Ya'qūbī says (ii. 220) that Mu'āwīya corresponded with him to bring him over to his side and that he threatened to abandon 'Alī if the latter rejected the appeal, whereby the Caliph was forced to accede, as all al-Ash'ath's Yamani fellow-tribesmen declared their readiness to follow him. After all that has been recorded above, such an explanation of what happened is superfluous and the fact that al-Ash'ath remained continually in 'Alī's service is decisive against it.

How far some could go in their efforts to explain the unfortunate result of the battle for 'Alī is seen from Ṭabarī, i. 3346 sq., where 'Alī is made to stop the fighting because he did not dare to risk the lives of the two grandsons of the Prophet.

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AL-ŞİFR (A.), the empty, translation of the Sanskrit *śūnya* in Hindu-Arabic arithmetic, the name for zero, and the origin of the western words *cipher*, *cifra*, *Ziffer*, *chiffre* and *zero* with their derivatives (*decipher*, etc.). The question of the introduction or invention of the figures and of the zero has in spite of all palaeographical

research and study of the history of mathematics not yet been satisfactorily explained. In the oldest documents known to us, the Arabs, when they do not write out the numbers in full, use Greek numerals. Only at a later date do we find the "Arabic" numerals coming into use. The Arab mathematicians were made acquainted with the Hindu numerals and method of counting in the time of al-Ma'mūn by the Eastern Persian Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi [q. v.]; the earliest Arabic zero is found in the date 260 of a papyrus document (= 873/874 A. D.) The oldest absolutely certain reference to Hindu arithmetic with the 9 numerals was found by F. Nau in the Syrian Severus Sabokht (c. 662). It should not be concluded therefrom that the zero, that fundamental advance in numerical notation, was not then in use, for even later the nine numerals which we now call ciphers are distinguished from the special signs for showing that a space is left blank; we further know that Brahmagupta, the Indian astronomer (born 598), expressly prepared rules for calculating with the zero. On the connections with the abacus and the feud between the abacists and algorithmists cf. the literature mentioned below. The form of the zero is a circle among Hindus and Western Arabs, among eastern Arabs a point, presumably also in the Perso-Hindu tradition. The subscript zeroes like diacritical points in the *Fihrist*, i. 18 sq. are remarkable.

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ŞİHR, glamour, magic. In the vexed folklore question of the relation between magic and religion the verdict of Islām is undoubtedly with the position of R. R. Marett that "religion and magic are two forms of a social phenomenon originally one and indivisible; primitive man had an institution which dealt with the supernatural, and in this institution were the germs of both magic and religion, which were gradually differentiated; magic and religion differ in respectability; religion is always the higher, the accepted cult; but between what is definitely religious and what is definitely magical lies a mass of indeterminate elements, such as "white-magic", which do not attain to the public recognition of religion, nor suffer the condemnation meted out to the indisputably magical" (*Enc. Britannica*, ed. xi., xvii. 305b). This holds exactly of the masses in Islām and of what may be broadly called orthodox Islām. Islām is a system of frank supernaturalism; for it there is our material world of the senses and behind that a world of spirits, into relation with which we can enter by means of either magic or religion. When we attempt to define the exact nature of that world of spirits, theories appear and bring the split between magic and religion. What is the origin and nature of these spirits? How do they differ among themselves? What is their independence of action? In what way can they be reached and controlled? Does such intercourse with them affect our relation to Allāh

and imperil our eternal salvation? For in Islām, orthodox and heretical, everything centres round Allāh and our relation to him.

So in the Arabia of Muḥammad's time, the original habitat of Islām, if we leave out the elements affected by Christianity and Judaism, the spirit-world consisted of Allāh, the tribal gods and the djinn; and the links between men and it were *kāhin's* (cf. above, ii. 624 sqq.), magicians and soothsayers, poets and madmen; the theory as to all these being one of unlimited "possession" by different kinds of spirits, in the sense of that term in modern spiritism. "Magic", therefore, as a term of modern folk-lore is distinctly broader than the Arabic *sihr*, literally "glamour", when *sihr* is exactly limited; but clarity as to the facts of the case requires us to take *sihr* in the broad sense, and Islām itself has very often, indeed generally, done the same. Murtaḍā al-Zabidī in his commentary on the *Iḥyā'* (i. 217 foot) quotes Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī as saying, "*Sihr* and *kahāna* and astrology and *simiyā'* are all of the same *wādī'*". Further, when Islām spread out of Arabia it entered into contacts with all the supernatural beliefs and magical arts and rituals of the different races and countries which it conquered; these were blended with the Qur'anic and Arabian conceptions and usages and formed an amalgam of the most heterogeneous character as to vocabulary, ritual, attitudes and even fundamental conceptions. This was thoroughly recognized by the Muslims themselves who, as we shall see, traced different kinds of magic to different races. And the confusion worked in two directions: (i.) the superstitions and nomenclature of Arabia were imposed on non-Arab and even non-Semitic peoples and (ii.) even fundamental Islām was deeply affected by completely alien beliefs. On all this see above the articles BUDŪḤ, DJAFR, DJADWAL, DJINN, FA'L, FIRĀSA, GHŪL, HĀRŪT and MĀRŪT, 'IFRĪT, KĀHIN and bibliographies to these.

But *sihr* in its exact etymology suggests the limited form of magic called "glamour". The lexicons assert that it is the turning (*ṣarf*) of a thing from its true nature (*ḥaqīqa*) or form (*ṣūra*) to something else which is unreal or a mere appearance (*ḥayāl*); *takhyīl* is often applied to this, based on Qur. xx. 69, and it might be what we now call "hypnotism"; but the more rationalistic tried to reduce it to simple jugglery (*khidā'*, *sha'wadha*), cheating the eye (*al-takhayyulāt wa 'l-akhdh bi 'l-'uyūn*) by lightness of hand and flowery speech. So it comes to suggest the subtlety of working in nature, as of food in the body (this is traced even to Imr al-Ḳais in *Lisān*, vi. 12 foot, but the meaning there seems more the fundamental *ṣarf*), and beauty of utterance, as we speak of the magic of words (*Ṣaḥāḥ*, s. v.; *Mufrādāt* of Rāghib al-Iṣḥāhānī, p. 224 sq.; *Lisān*, vi. 11—13; *Lane*, 1316 sqq.). In the Qur'ān, however, the references are much too definite to yield to such treatment. For the mind of Muḥammad and for his environment *sihr* was a real thing, although the message given in and through it might, in great part, be false. On the psychological side, the first-hand phenomena strongly suggest hypnotism and, on the religious, the attitude of Muḥammad was almost exactly that of the modern Roman Church towards spiritism. In the Qur'anic situation the background was the spirit-world of the *djinn* and the *shaiṭān's* — evidently unbelieving and evil

ḍjinn. By far the most important Qur'anic verse for the whole subject is ii. 96, which may be rendered: — "And they [unbelievers in general and Jews in particular] followed what the *shaiṭān's* used to recite in the reign of Sulaimān [or against the reign of Sulaimān] — and Sulaimān never was an unbeliever but the *shaiṭān's* were unbelievers — teaching mankind magic (*sihr*); and [they followed] what was revealed to [or by means of] the two angels in Bābīl, Hārūt and Mārūt; and they do not teach any one until they say to him: We are only a temptation (*fitna*); so do not disbelieve. So they [the learners] learn from the two that by which they may divide a man from his wife, but they do not harm by it any one except by the permission of Allāh. They learn that which harms them and does not aid them, having knowledge, indeed, that he who purchases it has no portion in the world to come. Evil, indeed, is that for which they sell themselves, if they had known it". The construction of this passage is very loose and there are several points in the translation which are uncertain; more than indicated here. In spite of Baidāwī's compact style his exposition occupies more than a page (Fleischer's ed., i. 76, 2—77, 7) and there is a page and a half in the *Kashshaf* of al-Zamakhsharī (Lees' ed., i. 93—95). In the greater commentaries it is treated at length as the *locus classicus* on magic; thus Tabarī's *Tafsīr*, i. 334—353 and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ*, i. 427—440, in ed. Cairo 1307. But the general drift is unmistakable. The *shaiṭān's*, say these commentators, are the source of magic; they listened at the walls of heaven (see below) and added lies to what they heard there; they brought this to the *kāhin's* and made books of it; they taught these books to mankind, reciting them. This was widespread in the time of Sulaimān, to such an extent that it was said to have been the source of his knowledge and of his control over nature and the *ḍjinn*. The Jews even said that Sulaimān was not a prophet but a magician (Rāzī, p. 428). This verse is an answer to them. For Hārūt and Mārūt see article above and also more below. Elsewhere in the Qur'an (xxxvii. 6; xli. 11; lxxvii. 5; lxxii. 8, 9) we are told that the *ḍjinn* used to sit beside (*kunnā naḥḍu*) the nearer sky (*al-samā' al-dunyā*) and listen (*istama'a*, *istaraka al-samā'*) there to the Heavenly Host (*al-mala' al-'alā*) and that they are chased away from it by lamps (*maṣābīḥ*, *shihāb*) set in it for adornment but thrown at them as missiles (*rudjūm*) by the angels on guard (*ḥaras*, *raṣad*, *ḥifẓ*). They used to listen thus regularly but now (*al-āna*, lxxii. 9) — apparently since Muḥammad was sent — they have found the angels especially vigilant against them. See a full discussion in the *Kashshaf* (p. 1535) on lxxii. 9, where old verses are quoted and traditions cited on the ideas of the Arabs on this in the *Djāhiliya*. These Arabs had known such shooting-stars and had their own views about them. But with the birth of Muḥammad the vigilance of the angels was greatly increased. Yet this could have been only for a time; for the whole after history of magic represents the *ḍjinn* as continuing to listen and to bring information to the *kāhin's* and magicians. Further, the *ḍjinn* (xxxiv. 13) do not know the Unseen (*al-ghaib*), at least accurately, although evil *ḍjinn* inspire and lead astray the enemies of the prophets (vi. 112). In Qur'an xxvi. 221—225 is a significant passage telling how the *shaiṭān's*

come down (*tanazzala*) to every great liar (*affāk*) and that these receive what the *shaiṭān's* have heard and that the most of them (the great liars of mankind or of the *shaiṭān's*) are liars, or that the most of the information is lies. The straying poets, too, follow them (apparently the *shaiṭān's*), wandering in every *wādī* and never doing what they say. This is connected by the commentators (Baidāwī, ii. 61, 15—62, 7; even fuller and better in the *Kashshaf*, ii. 1012—1014), and evidently rightly, with the *ḍjinn* listening to the talk of the angels, perverting it and mixing it with lies and bringing it down to the *kāhin's* and false prophets and poets. On poetry as thus inspired by the *ḍjinn* see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, pp. 1—121 and on this passage especially, p. 27, note 2.

It is only in Qur'an ii. 96 that the word *sihr* occurs in connection with Sulaimān, but there are several passages (xxi. 81, 82; xxvii. 15—45; xxxiv. 11—13; xxxviii. 29—39) which deal at length with his wisdom, knowledge and control of the world and later Islām traced all licit, or "white", magic back to him. The other occurrences of *sihr* and its cognates are connected with the stories of Mūsā, 'Isā and Muḥammad himself. To the story of Mūsā and his contests with the magicians of Pharaoh belong almost all references in certain Sūras. Thus vii. 110, 113, 117, 129; x. 77, 78, 80, 81 (but verse 2 of Muḥammad); xvii. 103 (but v. 50 of Muḥammad); xx. 59, 60, 66, 69, 72—74; xxvi. 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 45, 48 (but verses 153, 185 of Muḥammad); xxvii. 13; xxviii. 36, 48; xl. 25; xliii. 48 (but v. 29 of Muḥammad); li. 39. Only in v. 110 is magic connected with 'Isā. With Muḥammad it is connected in vi. 7; x. 2; xi. 10; xv. 15; xvii. 50; xxi. 3 sq.; xxiii. 91; xxv. 9; xxvi. 153, 185; xxxiv. 42; xxxvii. 15; xxxviii. 3; xliii. 29; xlvi. 6; lii. 15; liv. 2; lxi. 6; lxxiv. 24. There are certain significant phrases and usages: *sihr* is opposed to *al-ḥaqq*, "reality", in xx. 77, 78; xliii. 29; xlvi. 6 and to the reality of Hell (*al-nār*) in lii. 15. — "In the Fire they will be asked: 'Is this glamour?'; eyes are enchanted in vii. 113 (Mūsā) and similarly in xv. 15, "our looks (*abṣārunā*) are made drunken (*sukkrat*) and we are an enchanted (*maṣḥūr*) people", i.e. we are glamourised, hypnotized (of Meccans); Muḥammad is "a man enchanted" (xvii. 50; xxv. 9) and Mūsā (xvii. 103); Muḥammad is "deeply enchanted" (*musahhar*) in xxvi. 153, 185; in the story of Mūsā an appearance is produced (*khayala*) by *sihr* (xx. 69); in xxi. 3 sqq. various accusations are brought against Muḥammad — that his message is *sihr*; that it is "bundles of dreams" (*adghath aḥlām*), i.e. confused and untrue dreams; that he invented it (*iftarāhu*); that he is a poet (*shā'ir*); he is required to produce a sign (*āya*) like the former prophets; in xxxviii. 3 Muḥammad is a "lying magician" (*sāḥir kadhdhāb*) and Mūsā is the same in xl. 25; in li. 39 Mūsā is a *sāḥir* and a *maḍjūn*, possessed of a *ḍjinnī*; *sihr* is called "plain" (*mubīn*) very often, *muftarā*, "invented", in xxviii. 36 and *mustamirr*, "enduring, firm" or "continuous, consecutive" or "fleeing" in liv. 2; in lxxiv. 24 (quite the oldest occurrence in the Qur'an) the message of Muḥammad is called *sihr yu'thar*, "a magic derived or learned" from some one else; in xxvi. 36 *sahḥār* seems to mean an "expert, professional magician" (story of Mūsā).

The passages connecting magic with Muḥammad will bear closer examination and throw much light upon the ideas of his time and upon his own situation in it. The traditional interpretation of lxxiv. 24 in the *Sira* (see Wüstenfeld's *Ibn Hisham*, p. 171 sq.; Baidāwī, ed. Fleischer, ii. 368, 15 sqq.; *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, ii. 1548 sq.) labours to distinguish between the *kāhin*, the *maḥnūn*, the *shā'ir* and the *sāhir*, evidently using for the definition of *sihr*, *Qur.* ii. 96, but it is plain from the actual *Qur'ānic* usages that such distinctions are impossible and that these four classes were closely connected *qua* links between the spirit-world and our world. *Kāhin* occurs only twice in the *Qur'ān*, in both places applied by the Meccans to Muḥammad, once (lii. 29) joined with *maḥnūn* and once (lxix. 42) joined with *shā'ir*. Muḥammad is called a *sāhir* in x. 2, xxi. 3 sqq. and xxxviii. 3; he is "enchanted" (*mashūr*) in xvii. 50 and xxv. 9 and "deeply enchanted" (*musahhar*) in xxvi. 153, 185. The two last expressions as used of Muḥammad were evidently disliked, for the commentators give alternate meanings, "one possessing lungs", i.e. an ordinary human being. Several times the *Qur'ān*, its message and proofs are called magic — xi. 10; xxxiv. 42; xliii. 29; xlv. 6; liv. 2; lxi. 6; lxxiv. 4. And Muḥammad did not show any other signs of being a magician. He was not a wonder-worker like Mūsā, Sulaimān and 'Isā. In xxv. 9 he is only "a man enchanted"; no angel is sent to go with him, nor is a treasury (*kanz*) thrown to him, nor has he a magic garden of which he can eat, i.e. objectively existing. In xxi. 3 sqq. he does not work an *āya* in this sense. In vi. 7 if an actual book on *ḥirfās* which could be handled had been sent to him they would have called even it *sihr*; i.e. there was no such sign. In the case of two passages in this context of magic (x. 2; xxxvii. 15) the commentators, e.g. Zamakhshari and Baidāwī, are quite sure that the reference is to miracles (*umūr khāriqa li 'l-āda*), but the whole drift of the *Qur'ān* and even the passages themselves show that the reference is to the revelations which the Meccans thought proceeded from magic. The *sihr* in the case, then, must have been connected with the way in which the revelations came. In xxi. 3 the Meccans assert that they are confused and untrue dreams; and there are passages in the *Qur'ān* which show that they, at least sometimes, came in what we now call "automatic speech". In xx. 113 and lxxv. 16 the Prophet is warned that he must not try to hasten the utterance of the *Qur'ān* when it is being revealed by consciously moving his tongue; i.e. he must completely yield his speech-organ to it and let it come at its own speed (cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, part ix., p. 152 sq. of ed. Būlak 1315 — *Kitāb al-tawhīd*). In v. 101 the bystanders and listeners when revelation is coming through are warned not to throw in sudden questions to the Prophet, as though he were an ordinary soothsayer. Being in the state of automatic speech he will certainly answer them, and truly, and they may not like the answers. See a mass of traditions bearing on this in Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, vii. 48—52 and a very clear statement in Baidāwī, i. 275 ult. to p. 276, 11; the more rationalistic commentators, such as Zamakhshari and Rāzī, evidently did not like the subject. For automatic speech in later Islām see article *FIRĀSA* above and references there; Islām

has fully accepted and described the phenomenon.

From all this it is plain that to understand these passages in the *Qur'ān* we must combine the evident meaning of the text with what we know now of abnormal psychology. The phenomena above can be abundantly verified by any one in contact with a case of the very common automatism, "automatic writing", and they hold exactly of the much rarer automatic speech. But it was necessary for the early Muslim interpreters to make as firm a distinction as possible between the phenomena of Muḥammad and those of the other links with the spirit-world. This they did by emphasizing revelation through *Djibril* as opposed to automatic speech through a possessing spirit. Probably many other references exist in the *Qur'ān*, as undoubtedly in the Old Testament, to such phenomena, which have been similarly obscured. *Sihr*, then, on one side, was glamour and unreal, but, on another, it was very real. For Muḥammad it was *heathen revelation*, coming from the spirit-world and in so far real, but perverted and amplified by its intermediaries, spirit and human, and in so far false. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, part viii. pp. 229—231 of ed. of Constantinople 1333 (*Kitāb al-Zuhd*, trad. 73), there is a long story of a heathen king, his magician (*sāhir*), an ascetic (*rāhib*) and a *ghulām*. The point is that heathenism is *sihr* and *kufr*, just as Baidāwī on *Qur'ān* ii. 96 (i. 76, 7) equates *sihr* and *kufr* and lumps them in with *kāhāna*.

In the traditions on the subject it is impossible to say what goes back to Muḥammad and what arose in later controversy; much seems incompatible with his usual strong common sense. Reference may be made to a most miscellaneous farrago in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (*Kitāb al-salām*), part vii., pp. 13—41, on medicine (*ṭibb*) and spells (*rukwa*) lawful and unlawful, magic, poison, *shaitān's*, *ghūl's*, *kāhāna*, *ṭaira*, *fa'l*, all jumbled together. In part i., p. 59, if any one says, *muṭirnā bi-naw'i kadhā*, "we receive rain by such a star", he is an unbeliever, and on pp. 136—138 the 70,000 Muslims who will enter Paradise without reckoning or punishment are those who have put their trust in Allāh and have not used cautery or spells or observed the flight of birds. Medicine, etc., is dealt with in Bukhārī, chapter *Ṭibb*, part vii. 122—140, and the interpretation of dreams, *Ta'bir al-Ru'yā*, etc., in part ix. 29 sqq. On seeing the Prophet in dreams and on dreaming generally see Muslim, part vii. 50 sqq. All these subjects were, and are, in close association in the Muslim mind.

But though Muḥammad was perfectly assured as to the reality of these phenomena, whether as glamour or as perverted revelation from unbelieving spirits, the early rationalistic theologians (*al-Mu'tazila*, *ahl-kalām*; see article above, ii. 670 sqq.) had many doubts. This comes out very clearly in the book of Ibn Kūtaiba (d. 276 = 889) *Mukhtaṭaf al-hadīth* (Cairo 1326, p. 220—235); see on it Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.*, ii. 136 sqq. The Mu'tazilites attacked, on grounds of reason and reflection (*'aql*, *naẓar*), the traditions which tell that Muḥammad was bewitched; that was impossible in a prophet who was under the protection of Allāh (*ma'ṣūm*). Also, the magic spoken of in the *Qur'ān* e.g. in the story of Mūsā, was nothing but juggling (*takhḥīl*); the two angels in *Qur'ān* ii. 96 were two men called Malik and the verse was to be understood differently. Against

that, Ibn Kūtaiba brings the universal testimony of all Scriptures and prophets and the unanimous belief in magic of the most diverse peoples; also the explicit testimony of Qurʾān cxiii., cxiv. — the two *Muʿawwidhāt*; also certain further traditions, especially a curious story about a woman who went to Bābil to learn magic from Hārūt and Mārūt, thereafter sought the Prophet at al-Madīna in repentance, found him dead and made confession to ʿĀʾisha, telling her the whole story. It is a very strange story with folk-lore elements about the preparation of magic *sawīḥ* reminding of the Arabian Nights "Story of Badr Bāsim" and the *ḥurūfāt* of Muḥammad b. Salama (*The Earlier History of the Arabian Nights*, in *J. R. A. S.*, July 1924, p. 374—379). A fuller form of the same tradition is in the *Tafsīr* of Ṭabarī (d. 310 = 923), i. 347, 23 to 348, 10; also in the *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* of Thaʿlabī (d. 427 = 1036), p. 30, 16 sqq. of ed. Cairo 1314; in the *Mafātiḥ* of Rāzī (d. 606 = 1209), vol. p. 434, 19—28 there is a much sophisticated and philosophized form of the same story. And, otherwise, all the narratives vary greatly; the different forms were evidently adjusted to the magic known to each writer and current in his time. Sharīshī [q. v.] tells it, too, in his commentary on the *Maḥmūd* of Ḥarīrī, i. 211 of ed. Cairo 1314. Yet it does not seem to have been accepted in tradition. Of the great, old, collections only the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), ii. 134, has anything on Hārūt and Mārūt and this story is not there (letter from A. J. Wensinck).

In the *Fihrist* (written between 377 and 400 = 987—1010) we find the magical system fully developed and with a rich literature behind it. The principal passage is in the Second *Fann* of the Eighth *Maḥāla* (ed. Flügel, p. 308 sqq.). The position of Muḥammad b. Ishāk, the author, who was apparently a Shīʿite and, therefore, at least tinged with Muʿtazilism (cf. *KALĀM*, vol. ii., p. 673a above), appears in his statement. Magicians, he says, licit and illicit, all assert that magic is worked by the obedience of spirits to the magician. Licit magicians, whom he calls *muʿazzimūn* (from *ʿaẓīma*, "spell"; the word is not in the Qurʾān, nor the root in this connection), assert that they constrain the spirits by obeying and supplicating Allāh, by abandoning fleshly lusts and practising devotion and by bringing adjurations by Allāh to bear upon the spirits; the spirits then obey, either out of obedience to Allāh, because of the adjurations, or out of fear, because in the peculiar property (*ḥuṣṣiyya*) of the divine Names there is something which subdues them. Illicit magicians, whom he calls *saḥara* (pl. of *sāḥir*), assert that they enslave the spirits by offerings (*ḥarābīn*) and by evil deeds, displeasing to Allāh, either omission of the ritual law or actual forbidden actions, such as shedding of blood, marriage with near kin, etc. This is openly practised (*ḡāḥir*) in Egypt and the adjoining countries, and there are many books existing upon it. The Bābil of the magicians is in Egypt; Ibn Ishāk had been told of it by one who had been there and had seen actual survivors (*baḥāyā*), magicians male and female, there. It is to be remembered that he was probably writing in Baghdād; this is still the attitude of the rest of the Muslim East towards Egypt. All these, licit and illicit, assert that they use seals (*ḥawāṭim*), various kinds of spells

(*ʿazāʾim*, *rukāʾ*, *ḥisāb*), magic circles (*manādīl*), fumigation (*dakḥān*), etc. A party of the philosophers and star-worshippers assert, he goes on, that they make talismans for all manner of purposes by watching the stars; these are engraved on stones, gems, stones in rings (*fuṣṣūṣ*). This is a widely spread science among philosophers; Indians believe in it and do wonderful things by it; the Chinese have artifices (*ḥiyāl*) and a magic of their own; the Indians have especially "hypnotism" (*ʿilm al-tawakkhum*; cf. *J. R. A. S.*, for Oct. 1922, *Wahm in Arabic and its Cognates*, p. 516), Indian books on which have been translated into Arabic; the Turks have a science of magic and Ibn Ishāk had been assured by a trustworthy person that they did wonderful things of a physical kind, defeating armies, slaying enemies, passing over rivers, going great distances in a short time, etc. The talismans in Egypt and Syria are numerous and plain for all to see; but the working has been annulled by the passage of time.

Licit magic, which the *Fihrist* calls "the praiseworthy method" (*al-ṭariqa al-maḥmūda*), is traced back to Sulaimān b. Dāwūd who was the first to enslave the spirits (*al-djinn wa l-shayāṭīn*) and make them serve him; the same is said for Persian magic of Djāmshīd. On Djāmshīd as a founder of knowledge and a controller of the *djinn* see *Fihrist*, p. 12, 21 sqq., p. 238, 20 and for a fuller account of his place in Persian myth and of his confusion with Solomon see especially E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, i. 112—14. There was evidently an extensive magical literature ascribed to Sulaimān in Hebrew and Persian and due to that confusion; the names of three of his secretaries who compiled the books are given and there are further details on the names of these books in the long quotation from Djawbarī's *Kitāb fī kashf al-asrār* (first half of viith cent. A.H.), *Z.D.M.G.*, xx. 486 sqq., in de Goeje's article on the same, *Gaubari's "entdeckte Geheimnisse"*; cf. also Fleischer in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxi. 274. A small part of this text was printed at Cairo (32 pp.; no year; *Maḥabāt al-naḍiḥ*), omitting the introduction and extending only to Bāb iv. in *Faṣl* iv., evidently with other omissions. [There is also a complete edition, no printer or place but dated Djumādā II, 1302. Cf., further, the technical, non-philological study of the book, based on a printed text and several MSS. by E. Wiedemann in *Beitr. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, xxv., p. 206—232]. The *Fihrist* then gives a list of 70 names of spirits (*ʿafārīt*) who entered the presence of Sulaimān and upon whom he imposed covenants (*ʿuḥūd*, *miṭḥāk*) using the Names of Allāh. These *ʿuḥūd* continue to play a great part. A tiny, undated, Cairene lithograph of 16 pp. has them as an amulet; *Ḥidḡāb al-saʿb ʿuḥūd al-sulaimāniyya li-saiyidnā Sulaimān b. Dāwūd*. Another list of seven is also given, especially connected with the days of the week. This can be expanded from the account given in Kaẓwīnī's *ʿAdjāʾib al-maḥḥlūkāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 371 sqq., which also puts the *djinn* under Sulaimān's control. Further lists and descriptions are in Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo 1313, i. 177—187; Jayakar's translation, i. 448—480. The *Fihrist* then gives the names of some individual magicians and titles of their works, from the Greeks down to his own time. This can be controlled and expanded in some points from Djawbarī's list. All of these, even the

Greek Arios son of Stephanos, assertedly connected themselves with the Sulaimānic system and controlled spirits by means of his treaties with these. The last is an Abū 'Amr 'Uḥmān b. Abī Raṣāsa, a man of high reputation among his fellows, the author of many books and the doer of wonderful works, whom Ibn Ishāq had personally known and to whom he said once: "I wish you were clear of having anything to do with this affair" (*ana unassihuka 'an al-ta'arruḍ li-hādha 'l-sha'n*); to which the magician: "For 80 odd years if I had not known that this was real I would have abandoned it; but I have no doubts", and Ibn Ishāq could only reply: "By Allāh, mayest thou not prosper!" — apparently in his magic.

Illicit magic, "the blameworthy method" (*al-ṭarīka al-ma'dhmūma*), or the method of the *saḥara*, is traced similarly to Iblis through his daughter or his son's daughter, Baidhakh [see BUDUH, above]. She has a throne (*'arsh*) upon the water (*'ala 'l-mā'*); cf. the *'arsh* of Iblis upon *al-baḥr* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, ed. Constantinople, part viii., p. 190, and the *'arsh* of Allāh, *'ala 'l-mā'* in Kur'an xi. 9, with the tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ed. Bulāq 1315, part ix., p. 124. When the postulant in magic (*murid*, as though he were a Sūfi neophyte) has done for her whatever she wills, he reaches her and she makes to serve him whomever he wills and accomplishes his needs, and he is not separated from her by any barrier (*ḥidjāb*), whoever makes sacrifices to her, animal and human, although he abandons the absolute requirements of the canon law and practises what is rationally abominable. [The disjointed character of this statement is probably due to Ibn Ishāq's having thrown together several statements made to him]. Others say that Baidhakh is Iblis himself. Others that she sits upon her throne and that the *murid* is brought to her to obey her and that he worships her. One of these *saḥara* had said to Ibn Ishāq that he, when asleep had seen her sitting as he had seen her when awake and that he saw round her people like the Nabateans of the Sawād, bare-footed and with cloven heels (*mushakkakī 'l-a'ḥāb*); he even recognized a certain individual among them. He (Ibn Ishāq's informant apparently) was one of the greatest of the *saḥara*, of recent date, and used to speak from underneath a basin (*kāna yunāfiḳu min taḥti 'l-fast*; cf. *kāna munāfiḳan*, p. 310, 18). Names of individuals follow and of some books by them; one is a Yamanite who professed to derive from a certain witch al-Zarkā' (the Yamanite princess Ṭuraifa? cf. above, ii. 625^b, foot); another is Ibn Waḥshiya (see article above, ii. 427) who professed to connect with ancient Chaldean magic and certainly did so with Nabatean. The *Fihrist* calls him a Sūfi and says he claimed to be a *sāḥir*, working with *ṭilasmāt*. A section follows (p. 312, 11-16) on simple jugglery (*al-sha'bādha*). Then there is a return to magic, taking in Callisthenes, Apollonius of Tyana, Horus, Hermes, and representatives of the magic of India. For the meaning of "artifices" (*ḥiyal*) above, the section on mathematicians and engineers may be consulted (p. 265, 16; p. 271, 8). Further books on magic, mostly anonymous, are given in the *Fann* of miscellanies; p. 314, 7-18; p. 317, 18; p. 318, 4. As Islām has always ascribed a great part of illicit magic and astrology to Chaldean tradition the first *Fann* of the ninth *Maḳāla* (p. 318 sqq.)

on the Harrānian Chaldeans who called themselves al-Ṣābi'ūn is of importance in the history of magic, and especially the story of the head which answered questions as to the future (p. 321, 12 sqq.). The same holds of the tenth *Maḳāla* on alchemy where we again find a long notice of Ibn Waḥshiya (p. 358) and his fellows. As Ibn Khaldūn pointed out long after, Shi'ism, Sūfism, philosophy, astrology, alchemy, magic, all touch one another; cf. in the *Fihrist* (p. 354 sq.) the different assertions as to Djābir b. Haiyān, the names given to him and the affiliations ascribed to him (article upon him above, i. 987).

If the author of the *Fihrist* was in evident doubt as to there being any real magic and simply recorded biographical and bibliographical facts as he found them, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) had no such doubts. The spirit-world was very real to him; throughout the *Iḥyā'* he enters on full details as to the *djinn* and the *shaiṭān's* and their activities (Macdonald, *Religious Attitude... in Islam*, p. 274 sqq.); in his *Munqidh* (ed. Cairo 1303, p. 46) he gives the magic square *Buduh* as of tested efficacy and it has since been called by his name; he wrote on the interpretation of dreams (*al-taḥbīr fī 'ilm al-ta'bir*, Aleppo, *Matba'at al-Bahā'*, 1328; 30 pages). Qazwini in his *Āthār al-bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 272) records that he prevailed on a celebrated occultist, al-Ṭabasī (d. 482 = 1089; *G. A. L.*, i. 496), to raise the *djinn* for him. He saw them like shadows on a wall and when he desired to speak with them al-Ṭabasī replied that that was the limit of possibility for him — al-Ghazālī. See, further, for this side of al-Ghazālī and for its development in legend Goldziher's introduction to his *Liivre d'Ibn Tournert*, Alger 1903, p. 15 sqq. This means that his philosophical pragmatism led him to accept all those workings in nature and in man for which he found good evidence. The *Buduh* square had "worked"; therefore he accepted it and all that it implied. The world was full of mystery and this was only a bit of it. But as a moral philosopher he had to consider and classify the practiser of magic. This he does early in the *Iḥyā'* (ed. Cairo 1334, i. 15, 26; ed. with commentary of Murtaḍā al-Zabidī, who d. 1205 = 1791, i. 146, 216 sqq.). On p. 15 he is considering the moral classification of the sciences (*al-'ulūm*); they either go back to the prophets or they do not. Those that do not (derived from reason, experiment, or picked up from hearing, as language) are either praiseworthy (*maḥmūd*) or blameworthy (*ma'dhmūm*) or allowable (*muḍāḥḥ*); and the example of the blameworthy is the twin sciences of magic, including talismans, and juggling. On p. 26 he enters upon further details to explain how a "science" can be blameworthy, seeing that it (*'ilm*) is knowledge of a thing as it is and is one of the qualities (*ṣifāt*) of Allāh. It is blameworthy, he explains, not for itself (*li-'ainihi*) but with respect to men for one or other of three causes: (i) it leads to hurt either in the practiser of it or in some one else — example, magic; (ii.) it is mostly (*fī ghālib al-amr*) hurtful for the practiser of it — example, astronomy; (iii.) if he who busies himself with it can not draw any real scientific advantage from it — example, scholastic theology or medicine to one who is a layman in these sciences. This is evidently the basis of that Muslim utilitarianism to which even so widely interested an investigator as Ibn Khaldūn

fell a victim (*Religious Attitude*, p. 119 sqq.). It is based on the tradition: "It is part of the beauty of a man's Islām to let alone what does not concern him" (*Min ḥusn islām al-mar'ī tarkuhu mā lā ya'nihī*; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 157). Magic, then, though it is real (*ḥaqīq*), as both Qur'an and traditions show, should be let alone. Further, al-Ḡhazālī describes magic as a science which makes use of the properties of substances (*djawāhir*) and numbers under certain astrological conditions; it makes of the substances a magical figure (*ḥaikal*; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 775^b); the word seems to indicate Jewish origin for this form of magic) in the form of the person to be enchanted; an astrological situation is awaited and words, evil and involving unbelief (*kufr*), are pronounced over it, by which the assistance of *shaiṭān's* is secured; from all this there result strange effects (*ahwāl ḡharība*) on the person to be enchanted "by Allāh's influencing the custom of things" (*bi-ḥukm idjirā'i llāhi 'l-'āda*). The commentary of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī on this is worth consulting. His great authority is evidently Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī whom he scholasticizes still further. He quotes from his *Mulakhkhaṣ* and his *Sirr al-makrūm* which are still in MS. (*G. A. L.*, i. 507), also from Maslama al-Maḡirīṭī (d. 398 = 1007; *G. A. L.*, i. 243), *Ḡhāyat* (or *Nihāyat*) *al-ḥakīm* which also is still in MS. But however even al-Ḡhazālī, with all the weight of his influence, might draw up a strict scheme of life to purify and safeguard the soul — his *Iḥyā'* is constructed entirely from that point of view, the masses of Islām would have none of it. The position, which is quite clear in the *Fihrist*, of licit and illicit magic, was left unchanged and licit magicians could protest that their art, derived from Sulaimān, the Prophet of Allāh, was orthodox and even pious. The boundary lines, too, between the licit and the illicit were, and are, very vague; as vague as the status of spirits in Islām (article *ḌINN* above, i. 1045), in which a mass of the *ḡinn* are "believers", the relation of the *shaiṭān's* to the *ḡinn* is uncertain, and there is even record of a believing descendent of Iblīs. Further, even the scholastics found difficulty in the Ḡhazālīan position. It was pointed out that, on the one hand, it was only the practice of magic for evil purposes which could be called blameworthy, and, on another, that a knowledge of magic was essential to any one who had to distinguish between the results of magic and the evidentiary miracles (*mu'djizat*) of prophets and, still more, the *ḡaḡḡaḡaḡa*, *karāmāt* [see article above] of the saints (Baidāwī, ed. Fleischer, i. 76; Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, Cairo 1307, i. 434, 7 from below, sqq.)

The only printed materials we have for the position of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 = 1209), apart from such stray references as by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī above, are in his Qur'an commentary, *Mafātīḥ al-ḡhaib*, where he treats the subject at length in dealing with the Qur'anic *locus classicus*, ii. 96. He had been strongly affected by Mu'tazilite positions and had come to accept some of them, retaining in the end Sunnite orthodoxy, coloured with scholastic intellectualism and a fondness for analyzed, systematic statements (Goldziher in *Der Islam*, iii., pp. 238 sqq.; *Koranauslegung*, pp. 123, 203 and by index under *Mafātīḥ*). His essential position upon magic is shown by his treatment of the story of the woman who went to Hārūt and Mārūt in Bābīl to learn magic from them. After her "faith"

(*īmān*) has gone visibly forth from her and ascended to the heavens, they say to her: "You will never will a thing so as to picture it in your imagination but it will happen" (*Mā turīdina ṣha'an fa-tuṣawwirihī fī wahmiki illā kān*; *Mafātīḥ*, i. 434, 26). Magic, therefore, is essentially a psychical working with physical effects; whatever the magician images to himself in his *wahm* comes about. On pp. 429—434 Rāzī enumerates eight categories (*naw'*) to which the term *sihr* has been applied. (i.) Ancient Chaldean magic, based on the worship and influence of the stars. To this is added a statement and a refutation of the Mu'tazilite position on magic. (ii.) Psychical magic (*sihr aṣḡāb al-arwāḡ wa 'l-nufūs al-ḡawīya* or *aṣḡāb al-ruḡā*). This is defended by the influence of the human *nafs* on its own body and on other bodies; seven illustrations of this are given and the possibility of contact with the celestial spirits (*al-arwāḡ al-samāwīya wa 'l-nufūs al-falakiya*) and the magical use of these are discussed. (iii.) The same by means of the earth-spirits (*al-arwāḡ al-arḡiya*), i.e. the *ḡinn*. This kind, see the licit magic of the *Fihrist* above, is called *al-azā'im wa-'amal taskhīr al-ḡinn*. (iv.) Juggling by holding and directing the eyes of the onlookers (*al-takḡaiyulāt wa 'l-akhḡāḡ bi 'l-'uḡyūn*). (v.) Wonderful operations by means of machines, automata and various scientific devices. (vi.) Using properties of drugs and perfumes to stupify. (vii.) Gaining the foolish by large claims of possessing the Most Great Name and commanding the *ḡinn*. (viii.) By slander (*namima*) and secret exciting of discord. In the statement in the *Dictionary of technical terms* — a modern compilation — pp. 648—653, which is based almost entirely on Rāzī, only the first four of these are given, and it is said that the Mu'tazilites rejected all but the fourth. In the Cairo text of Rāzī (p. 434, 4 sqq.) the Mu'tazilites are said to have rejected all but iv., vi., viii. Did they deny v. and vii.?

In Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 = 1406) the psychical position of Rāzī is still further developed and clarified until it practically coincides with the modern psychological doctrine of automatisms; thus he is the first to give a full description of the rationale of crystal-gazing, or "scrying", essentially in modern terms (*Muḡaddīma*, ed. Quatremère, i. 191—195). With Ibn Khaldūn's descriptions and explanations should be taken Theodore Besterman's *Crystal-Gazing: a study in the history, distribution, theory and practice of scrying*, London 1924; also W. H. Worrel, *Ink, oil and mirror gazing ceremonies in modern Egypt*, in *J.A.O.S.*, xxxvi. 37—53. So Ibn Khaldūn had moved far beyond Rāzī as to Rāzī's second and third classes of magic. But although a devout Muslim, holding by Qur'an and *Sunna*, he went strictly by what he had himself experienced and tested. Soothsayers and magicians of various kinds he had known, tried and accepted; he had dreams and found them valid; of the miracles of the saints he was firmly convinced. But he had never known either *ḡinn* or individual angels, although he felt compelled to admit the existence of a vague Heavenly Host (*al-mala al-'ālā*) with celestial — and satanic — influences upon the souls of men. So he entered all the Qur'anic references which gave him trouble, either intellectually or because he had no experience of the facts to which they referred, among the *mutaṣḡābihāt* verses, those of obscure interpretation, opposed to the *muḡḡamāt*

verses, those of firmly fixed meaning, following one interpretation of *Qur'an* iii. 5 which asserts that no one but Allāh knows the meaning of these (ed. Quatremère, iii. 47; article *KALĀM* above, ii. 673b). Thus the essential force of magic lay in the *nafs* of the magician; a magician was born not made. He might aid his own power by drawing on mysterious powers outside, whether powers in the properties of things or of numbers or in other spiritual, non-material existences. For philosophers, says Ibn Khaldūn, the difference between pure magic and the art of talismans is that pure magic is worked by the soul of the magician without any helper (*mu'īn*) but in talismans he draws upon the help of the spiritualities of the stars and the secrets of numbers and the properties of substances and the situations of the celestial sphere which affect the world of the elements — our world (ed. Quatremère, iii. 133). Apparently Ibn Khaldūn himself was in broad accord with this distinction, so far as he could control it by the facts he had himself known (Quatremère, iii. 129 *sqq.*). But he also considered that the apparatus of magic, as in geomancy in which the operator makes dots and lines in sand and constructs figures out of these, to divine the future, are simply a means of producing a hypnoidal state in the magician in which the physical senses are blurred and the spiritual world is directly reached. If the magician does not show signs of such an hypnoidal state he is an impostor (Quatremère, i. 209). Further an attempt had been made by al-Būnī (d. 622 = 1225; see article above), following the methods of some extreme Ṣūfī's (*al-ghulāt, ahl al-ṭaṣarruf*), to draw up a system of licit magic, based on the powers of the letters in divine names and constructing from these magic squares and talismans. This was called *Ṣimiyā'*, *σμηνα* (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i. 708b), like the Jewish Kabbala of the alphabetic and thaumaturgic type connected with the Divine Names (cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, ii. ed., London 1920, p. 127 *sqq.*) but in Ibn Khaldūn's opinion it was simply magic, because it professed to derive its forces from natural powers and not from Allāh, although using his names, and so came under the condemnation of magic (ed. Quatremère, iii. 137 *sqq.*, especially p. 143 *sqq.*). The great book of this al-Būnī, *Shams al-ma'ārif* (*G.A.L.*, i. 497), is the *grimoire* of all the numberless Muslims at the present day who study magic. The two other authorities on magic to whom Ibn Khaldūn refers are Djābir b. Haiyān and Maslama al-Maḍīṭī; on both see above.

It is plain from Ibn Khaldūn's theory that he was faced by the necessity of distinguishing, not only legally but also psychologically, between the working of magic and that of the powers inhering in saints and prophets. What was the difference between the prophetic, the saintly and the magical *nafs*? It was easy to rule, as he did (ed. Quatremère, iii. 134, 140), that the one is worked by a good man for good purposes and the other by an evil man for evil purposes, with an essential kinship between the *nafs* and this external power which aided it — that was the old legal distinction; see Baiḍāwī on *Qur'an* ii. 96, vol. i., p. 76, 9. Also that the saint in his wonders and the prophet in his evidentiary miracles did everything in and by the assistance of Allāh alone, without recourse to any other helper — whether spirit or natural

force. But there were the extreme Ṣūfīs who claimed control of the natural world; descendants, apparently, of the thaumaturgic wing of the neo-Platonists. And there was the great multitude of folk-lore saints, really animists, who, under a Muslim disguise, continued the divining and miracle-working of the old faiths and usages. This held, and holds, especially of Morocco with its hereditary sainthood. His own theory, too, of the magical *nafs* brought back the confusion of old Arabia between the *kāhin* and the *nabī*. Thus the way was open for the continuance among orthodox Muslims of the study and even the practice of magic and for the very complete confusion which exists at the present day between licit and illicit magic.

For further details on Ibn Khaldūn's attitude to religion and magic, reference may be made to the present writer's *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, lectures ii.—vi. For saints and magic in Islām see E. Doutté, *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900, *Les Aïssâoua*, Châlons 1900, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909 (the basal treatise on magic in modern Islām); E. Westermarck, *The Moorish conception of holiness*, Helsingfors 1916; T. H. Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*, Edinburgh 1904; Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story*, London 1911. Another of the means by which magic has survived among the Muslim masses has lain in the numerous popular stories in which unbelieving *djinn* and the magic and talismans of unbelieving magicians are overcome by the stronger talismans handed down from the early prophets. Two good examples of this type of story have been translated by Weil, from a Gotha MS., in his later recasting of his *Tausend und Eine Nacht — Adventures of Ali and Zaher of Damascus and Adventures of the Fisherman Djauder*, vol. iv. of ed. Bonn 1897, p. 194—312. The *Strat Saif b. Dhī Yazan* is also of this type. By these stories, perhaps above all else, the equation, *sihr* = *kufṣ*, has been stamped on the Muslim mind, with a loop-hole left by the fact that the orthodox talismans are, in essence, as much *sihr* as those of the unbelievers. Again, another of these means lies in the popular classification of philosophers as magicians. This universal tendency has been very strong in Islām and especially so in the case of Ibn Sīnā [q. v.]. There is in wide circulation an apocryphal *Life* of him as a magician (*Hikāyat Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā*, Ottoman Turkish lithograph, A.H. 1215 [?]; Azarbāidjāni, *Qazān* 1881; Arabic from the Turkish by Murād Efendi Mukhtār, Cairo 1305 and other dates; cf. Pertsch in *Katalog der türk. Hss. in Berlin*, p. 466; Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, v. 143). In consequence there exists under his name (Cairo *Maṭba'at al-naḍjāh*, no date, p. 32) a little magical treatise on the *simiyā'* side, *Al-kanz al-maḍfūn wa 'l-sirr al-maṣūn*, professing to be the result of his studies in the enchanted cave in the Maghrib which the apocryphal *Life* describes.

Thus in *Qur'an* and *Sunna*, in orthodox theology, in mystical theology of all phases stretching to pantheistic theosophy, in philosophy and natural science of all kinds from almost experimental psychology to the speculations of the pseudo-Ibn Sīnā, in primitive animistic devotion, the existence of magic as a reality, though it may be a dangerous one, has been perpetuated.

The present status of magic in the Muslim world

can be illustrated by a little magical library formed by the present writer in Egypt in 1908 and supplemented since. — (1) The foundation is still the *Shams al-Ma'arif* of al-Būnī (large lithograph in 4 parts and 442 pp., written by Mirzā Ḥusain al-Shirāzī, various dates from 1322 to 1324), recommended to me as such a foundation by a native scholar, professor in a government training college for teachers, who had been a pupil of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q. v.]. (2) Another universal treatise is the *Mafātīḥ al-ghaib*, in 7 *Ras'ail* (Cairo 1327 = 1909; pp. 232), by Aḥmad Mūsā al-Zarkāwī. This book by a contemporary magician was published by subscription with an imposing list of subscribers; it covers the whole field from astronomy and astrology to geomancy, magic squares and scrying. The author has embraced the position that the earth moves, which he knows as the Pythagorean, and has proved it from the Qur'an. In this and in other ways he is far beyond the childish *simiyyā* of al-Būnī. I have also a small calendar (*natīja*) by him in its tenth year, for 1326 = 1908, with astrological and magical supplements. (3) Two treatises on *simiyyā* of the *mudjarrabāt*, "tested", type were published together, Cairo 1324 = 1906; *Faṭḥ al-malik al-madīd* by Aḥmad al-Dairabī (d. 1151 = 1738; *G. A. L.*, ii. 323) and *Al-mudjarrabāt* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892 = 1486; *G. A. L.*, ii. 252). The first of these must be very popular for I have also two editions of it separately, Cairo 1323, 1325. (4) Also of the *simiyyā* type is *Kitāb al-fawā'id*, Cairo 1321, by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Latīf al-Shardjī al-Yamanī (d. 812 = 1410; *G. A. L.*, ii. 190) — a very popular book in a third edition. (5) A more practical and picturesque and less verbosely pious book is *Shumūs al-anwār wa 'l-kunūz al-asrār* (at least two editions, Cairo 1322, 1325) by Ibn al-Ḥādjdī al-Tilimsānī (d. 737 = 1336; *G. A. L.*, ii. 83; cf. Goldziher in *Z. D. P. V.*, xvii. 115—122). (6) Two books by a certain Muḥammad al-Rahawī (?), *Al-ḥiṭ' al-manẓūm fī 'ulūm al-tālāsīm wa 'l-nudjūm* and *Ghāyat al-amānī fī 'ulūm al-rūḥānī*, Cairo, no date, are of the same cabalistic type and the author names as his predecessors al-Ghazālī, al-Būnī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638 = 1240; *G. A. L.*, i. 441 sqq.; cf. for this side of Ibn al-'Arabī the study of his *Kleinere Schriften* by H. S. Nyberg, Leiden 1919), Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kālyūbī (? *G. A. L.*, i. 103 ?) and al-Sha'rānī [q. v.]. (7) Another contemporary Egyptian magician has three little treatises. He is Yūsuf Muḥammad al-Awghānistānī (? al-Afghānī ?), known as al-Hindī, of the island of Shandawīl in the Sa'īd, but giving as a Cairo address the abode (*mansīl*) of 'Alī Efendi al-Nakhlī, N° 8 Darb al-Duḥḍera, in the Atfat al-Shaikh Murshid, over against the Mosque of al-Sha'rānī. There he is, or was, prepared to instruct in his art and to give permission to exercise it to those who, after being tested, prove worthy. His books are: *Al-djawhar al-ghālī fī khawāṣṣ al-muthallath li'l-Ghazālī* (see above on the Ghazālīan magic square); *Al-asrār al-rabbāniyya fī tas-khīr al-arwāḥ al-rūḥāniyya* (on the subjugating of the djinn); *Al-'ināyat al-rabbāniyya fī mushāḥadat al-arwāḥ al-rūḥāniyya* (on the same subject). Only the last book has a date, 1325 = 1907. (8) *Kitāb al-fa'id al-mutawālī*, Cairo, no date, is another treatise on the Ghazālīan square by Aḥmad al-Damanḥūrī (d. 1192 = 1778; *G. A. L.*, ii. 371, under the title *'Iqd al-farā'id*). (9) Muḥammad

Ibrāhīm al-Bannānī al-Zakāzīkī, *Al-asrār al-ilāhiyya fī 'l-farā'id wa 'l-abwāb al-rūḥāniyya*, Menūf 1323. (10) Al-Ḥādjdī Sa'dān al-Zandjī, *Al-sirr al-rabbānī fī 'ulūm al-rūḥānī*, Menūf, no date. (11) Al-Ḥādjdī Sa'dūn b. al-Ḥādjdī 'Abd al-Kādir al-Ḥanāwī, *Al-faṭḥ al-raḥmānī fī 'ulūm al-rūḥānī*, Cairo, no date. (12) Al-sāḥir al-shāḥir bi 'l-Hadhād, *Bahāyat al-sāmīn fī tas-khīr mulūk al-djinn adjima'in*, Cairo, no date; professes to be a very ancient Cairo by a very famous magician about whom I know nothing. (13) Al-failusūf al-Yunānī al-ḥakīm Hermes, *Kitāb al-sab' kawākib al-saiyāra*, Cairo, no date, astrology; cf. *Fihrist*, p. 239, 3 sqq.; 267, 12 sqq.; 353, 9 sqq. and notes. (14) Abū Ma'shar [Djāfar b. Muḥammad] al-Balkhī, *Kitāb ṭālī' al-mawlūd li 'l-ridjāl wa 'l-nisā' ala 'l-burūdj wa-ṭawālī'ihā 'ala ṭhalāṭhat wudjūh*, Cairo, no date, d. 272 = 885, *G. A. L.*, i. 221; article above, vol. i., p. 99; on Albumaser cf. *Fihrist*, p. 277 and by index and notes; this title is not there; has curious conventionalized pictures of the Signs of the Zodiac. Another book of similar subject — the influence on the nature, dispositions and fortunes of men and women exerted by their birth-Signs of the Zodiac, combined with arithmetical calculations and suitable amulets — assertedly by the same author, *Hadhā kitāb al-Yunānī al-failusūf al-shāḥir bi-Abī Ma'shar al-falākī al-kabīr* (Cairo, *Maḥḥa'a al-ḥusainiyya*, no date; in Brill's Cat., N° 80 there is a copy of this work [N° 33], dated Cairo 1288); another printer and publisher but has the same pictures of the Signs of the Zodiac; on p. 2 professes to give *ashkāl ramliyya* but, if so, they are quite different from the usual geomantic figures as in the next book. (15) Muḥammad al-Zanātī, *Kitāb al-faṣl fī usūl 'ilm al-raml*, Cairo, no date; on this author and on his art see Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Quatremère, i., p. 204—209; transl. de Slane, i. 233—241 and note; also J. Payne, *Alaeddin and the enchanted lamp*, p. 199—201; cf. also *J. R. A. S.*, for Jan. 1906, p. 121 sqq.; *Z. D. M. G.*, xviii. 177; xxv. 410; xxxi. 762, the geomancy of this book is essentially the same as that of modern western occultists, e. g. Franz Hartmann, *Principles of astrological geomancy*, London 1889. (16) An undated and anonymous fa'l-book described under FA'L [q. v.]. Another very simple little luck-book is *Bakhtak yā-bū bakhtī* by Markūs Djirdjis. A calendar, *Taḥwīm al-asrār al-khafiyya*, for 1326, has more elaborate fortune-telling additions with political outlook. (17) Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 = 1505), *Kitāb al-raḥma fī 'l-tibb wa 'l-hikma*, Cairo 1324, *G. A. L.*, ii. 155, N° 238; a compound of *simiyyā* and folk-medicine in 195 sections. (18) 'Abd al-Rahmān Ismā'il, *Tibb al-rikka* (2 parts; Cairo 1310, 1312); a counter-blast to all the above with much curious information on popular superstitions, especially medical; the author is a graduate of the Kaṣr al-'Ainī medical school and writes with the indignation of the qualified medical practitioner.

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D. S. Margoliouth, *Divination (Muslim)*, vol. iv., p. 816—818; D. S. Margoliouth, *Magic (Arabian and Muslim)*, vol. viii., p. 252—253; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*; the sections on *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*; A. H. Frost, *Magic Squares*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. xi., xvii. 310—313; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science during the first thirteen centuries of our Era*, 2 vols., New York 1923; J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*; G. v. Vloten, *Über Geister und Dämonen in W.Z.K.M.*, vii. 169 sqq.; Reinaud, *Description des monuments musulmans du cabinet de M. le duc de Blacas*, 2 vols. and many plates of amulets, etc., Paris 1828. Also on amulets are the following: C. G. von Murr, *Beyträge zur arabischen Literatur*, Erlangen 1803, p. 32—37; von Hammer-Purgstall, *Die Geisterlehre der Moslimen*, Vienna 1852; Rudolf Krehl, *Der Talisman James Richardson's erklärt*, Leipzig 1865; D. B. Macdonald, *Description of a silver amulet*, *Z. A.*, xxvi. 267—269; W. B. Stevenson, *Some specimens of Moslem charms*, Glasgow University Oriental Society *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow 1920, p. 84—114; cf. further bibliography in *Isl.*, xiii. 360 sq. and article by Bergsträsser, p. 227 sqq.; Emile Mauchamp, *La Sorcellerie au Maroc*, Paris, Dorn-Ainé, no date. On haunting spirits in modern Islām and how to exorcise them: Sophia Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, London 1844, Letters iv., xiv., xvii.; Bayle St. John, *Two Years Residence in a Levantine Family*, London 1856, chap. xx.; J. S. Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, ii. ed., London 1905, p. 369—374 (with use of *khabaṭ* here in connection with the *djinn*, cf. *Kurʾān* ii. 276 and the commentators thereon; also Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Quatremère, i. 195; *khabaṭ* is thus the Arabic equivalent for "raps" in western spiritism). The only occurrence of the spiritist "cabinet" for materialisations which I have so far found is in Doutté's *Magie et Religion*, p. 384 sqq. In Cairo 1908, a case of automatic writing was reported to me from Upper Egypt; otherwise it does not seem to occur. Rescher, *Studien über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Islām*, ix. 1—24. Richard Hartmann, *Eine islamische Apokalypse, in Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft*, i. 3. A. Goodrich-Freer (Mrs. Hans Spoer), *The Occult in the Nearer East*, a series of articles by a practised folk-lorist in *Occult Review*, 1905—1906; also in *Folk Lore*, vols. xv., xviii., xxii. The classical authority in Arabic on the *djinn* is: Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shiblī (d. 769 = 1367; *G. A. L.*, ii. 75), *ʾAkām al-marǧūʾān fī aḥkām al-djānn*, Cairo 1326, reviews by Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxiv. 439 sqq. and O. Rescher in *W. Z. K. M.*, xxviii. 241—252. On the interpretation of dreams Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110 = 728; *G. A. L.*, i. 66; Ibn Khallikān, de Slane's transl. ii. 586; ed. Cairo 1310, i. 453) is the oldest stated authority. Assertedly by him, *Taʿbir al-ruʾyā*, Cairo 1320, 56 pages, and *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, a much more extensive treatise — neither of these in Brockelmann — on the margin of the first vol. of the following; ʿAbd al-Ḡhanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143 = 1731; *G. A. L.*, ii. 345, n^o 28), *Taʿbir al-anām fī taʿbir al-manām*, Cairo 1320, 2 vols., but another publisher. On the margin of the second vol. is *Al-ishārāt fī*

ʿilm al-ibārāt by Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhīrī (d. 872 = 1468; *G. A. L.*, ii. 135). On the whole subject cf. N. Bland, *On the Moslem Interpretation of Dreams* in *J. R. A. S.*, xvi. 153 sqq. (D. B. MACDONALD)

SHIYAWN. 1. The Arabic name for Zion, Hebrew *Shiyōn*, the Arabic form coming from the Aramaic *Shiyōn*. Yāqūt tells us that it is a famous place in Jerusalem, a quarter in which stands the Shiyawn church. In Muslim legend the mosque on the hill of Shiyawn is regarded as the place in which Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Joseph served in their youth in the sanctuary. Shiyawn is mentioned as early as the poet al-Aʿshā (Maimūn b. Kaïs) as a power which perhaps raises an army against the Arabs; the commentators explain this to refer to Byzantium. — *Shayūn* is, according to Bakrī, the name of a tribe but Ibn Duraid does not mention it.

2. The name of a fortress in Northern Syria. According to Yāqūt, it is a stronghold near the Mediterranean Sea but not immediately on the coast in the administrative district of Ḥ-Ṣ-N. (without article, perhaps *Himṣ* is meant). According to Ibn al-Athīr and Yāqūt the fortress was surrounded on all sides by deep ravines except for a narrow approach from the north, which was about sixty ells broad, but had been strengthened by a deep ditch made by the hand of man. Three walls surrounded the buildings, two protected the outer town and one the fortress. Ibn al-Athīr speaks of five walls. During the Crusades the fortress was for a considerable time in the possession of the French. In 584 (1188) Saladin began to bombard it soon after the 27th *Djumādā I* and took the fortress soon after the 2nd *Djumādā II* (24th and 29th July). It corresponds to the Sahiun of the Crusaders and to the modern *Shayūn*, about sixteen miles as the crow flies east of the seaport of *Ladhīkiya*.

Bibliography: 1. Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 725; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 612; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, v. 402; Thaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1324, p. 215. 2. Yāqūt, v. 402; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 5. (P. SCHWARZ)

SIKANDAR. [See ISKANDAR.]

SIKHS. The term "Sikh" literally means a "learner", a "disciple". The name was for the first time given to the followers of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh faith in the Punjab in the xvth century.

History

Sikhism was founded, like Buddhism, as a protest against the spiritual despotism of the Brahmins and as a revolt against the restrictions of the caste system and the exaggeration of Hindu ritual. It aimed at teaching social equality and universal brotherhood, abolishing sectarianism and denouncing superstition. Nānak, the founder of the creed, was born of Khatri parentage in 1469 at Talwandi (now called after him Nankāna), a small town not far from Lahore. He did not receive much school education, yet he was from his early youth given to meditation and original thinking, and was, like the Arabian prophet, gifted by nature with strong common sense. He showed an aversion to all sorts of worldly pursuits and it was with some difficulty that he was persuaded by his father to go to Sultānpur (at present in the Kapūrthala state) to enter the private service of Nawāb Dawlat

Khān Lodi, the governor of the province. The Nawāb appointed him storekeeper to his household, and he performed his official duties for several years to the satisfaction of his employer. In his leisure hours he retired to the jungles for meditation, and tradition says that in one of these devotional excursions he was taken in a vision to the Divine Presence and there received his mission to preach to the world that "there is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and bountiful". Nānak now left the service of the Nawāb and became (at the age of 30) a public preacher. He began a series of tours in the course of which he visited all parts of India, particularly the sacred places of the Hindus and shrines of Muslim saints. Wherever he went he held controversies with priests and *shāikhs*, demonstrated the futility of their belief in dogmas and rituals, and taught the necessity of self-denial, morality and truth. He is also said to have travelled through Persia and to have visited Mecca and Baghdād. In Persia and Afghānistān he gained converts and even established dioceses (*mandjīs*), notably at Būshahr and Kābul (Sewaram Singh, *Life of Guru Nanak*, p. 73). It is not stated, however, whether he knew enough Persian or Arabic to be able to preach to the people of these Islāmic countries. The statement of the *Siyar al-Muta'akkhirin* that Nānak studied Persian and Muslim theology with one Saiyid Ḥasan has been rejected by the modern Hindu and Sikh critics. "This", says one of them, "seems to be an effort on the part of a Muslim writer to give the credit of Nānak's subsequent greatness to the teachings of Islām" (G. C. Narang, *The Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 9). Macauliffe, however, is inclined to accept that Nānak was "a fair Persian scholar" (*The Sikh Religion*, i. 15), but does not mention the source whence he received his instruction in that language.

For the last ten years of his life Nānak settled at Kartārpur, a village founded in his honour by a millionaire on the bank of the Rāwī, where he continued to preach his new religion to the numerous visitors whom his piety attracted from far and wide. He died at the age of 70 in 1539, leaving behind him a fairly large number of disciples (*sikhs*) and two sons, one of whom named Sri Čand founded the Udāsi sect (*see infra*).

Shortly before his death, Nānak nominated one of his devoted followers named Angad (a *Khatiri* like himself) to succeed him as *guru* (apostle) of the Sikhs. After performing the ceremony of nomination he declared that Angad was as himself and that his own spirit would dwell in him. Nānak had already preached the doctrine of metempsychosis, but this particular declaration gave rise to the belief among the Sikhs that the spirit of Nānak was transmitted to each succeeding *guru* in turn, and this is why all of them adopted Nānak as their *nom de plume* in their compositions. Guru Angad occupied the office of apostle for 13 years until his death in 1552. Tradition ascribes to him the invention of the Gurmukhi characters in which the sacred writings of the Sikhs have been preserved, but it has been pointed out, notably by Grierson and Rose, that the Gurmukhi script is of a different and earlier origin (*J. R. A. S.*, 1916, p. 677; *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, i. 677). The tradition may have arisen from the fact that Guru Angad adopted

the script in recording the life and compositions of Nānak.

Amar Dās, the third *guru* of the Sikhs, was nominated by Angad himself. His ministry lasted 22 years (1552–1574), and is marked by his taking the first steps towards a religious and social organization of the Sikhs. Missionary work was undertaken by him in a systematic manner; over twenty dioceses (*mandjīs*) were established in various parts of the country, where some of his zealous disciples preached the gospel of Sikhism. In order to promote feelings of equality and brotherhood among the increasing number of Sikhs, he maintained a public refectory (*langar*) where all ate together without distinction of caste or creed. Amar Dās cultivated friendly relations with the Emperor Akbar who visited him at his own residence in Goindwāl (on the Beas) and granted him a large estate. This very much enhanced his prestige and helped to increase the number of fresh converts. He kept up the spirit of Nānak in his own ethical teachings, denounced the superstitious customs of the Hindus, particularly the practice of widow-burning (*satī*), and enjoined re-marriage of widows.

Amar Dās was succeeded by his favourite disciple and son-in-law Rām Dās, who propagated the tenets of Sikhism with a still larger measure of success. He had the good fortune to find in the Emperor Akbar a warm admirer who was ever keen to do him favour. The Emperor granted him (in 1577) a large plot of land in which he began the excavation of the sacred tank (meant for the devotional ablutions of the Sikhs) which was afterwards named *amrit sar* "the pool of nectar". Around the tank the *guru* founded a small town which he called after himself Rāmdāspur and which subsequently grew into the now flourishing city of Amritsar. The construction of the tank was completed by his son Arđjan the 5th *guru*, who, in the midst of it, founded the *Har Mandar* — the temple dedicated to God — as a common place of worship for the Sikhs. To Europeans it is now known as "the Golden Temple of Amritsar". The *Guru* declared that "by bathing in the tank of Rām Dās, all the sins that man committeth shall be done away, and he shall become pure by his ablutions" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii. 13). Thus was created a Mecca for the Sikhs — a centre for their national life.

Arđjan succeeded his father in 1581, and henceforward the office of *Guru* became hereditary. Arđjan took further steps to organise the Sikhs as a community. The greatest service that he rendered to the cause of Sikhism was the compilation of the *Granth*, the bible of the Sikhs. *Guru* Angad had already committed to writing the life and compositions of Nānak; Arđjan carried the work further and added thereto the hymns of the next three *Gurus*, which he carefully collected. To these he added his own numerous compositions along with considerable extracts from the writings of several Hindu and Muḥammedan saints anterior to Nānak. "It was one of the *Guru*'s objects to show the world that there was no superstition in the Sikh religion, and that every good man, no matter of what caste or creed, was worthy of honour and reverence" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii. 61). The volume thus compiled by *Guru* Arđjan (completed in 1604 after some years of labour) is called the *Adi Granth* ("the ancient scripture"), as

distinguished from the *Dasam Granth* or the *Granth* of the tenth Guru (see below).

Ardjan was an ambitious and enterprising leader. He combined business with spiritual guidance and deputed *Masands* (collectors or agents) to various districts of the country to realize the Guru's dues, which so far were only voluntarily offered by the disciples. This brought him wealth and with it pomp and show. He styled himself *saīā pādshāh* "the true King", which clearly marks his ambition for political power. He encouraged commercial enterprise among his disciples and sent them not only to various parts of India but also to Afghānistān and Central Asia for purposes of trade and propagation of the Sikh faith. In 1606, Ardjan financially helped Prince *Khusraw* who had rebelled against his father, the Emperor *Djahāngir*. After the defeat of the Prince, the Guru was imprisoned, by the Emperor's command, at Lahore where he shortly afterwards died.

During the Guruship of Ardjan's son and successor *Hargovind* (1606—1645), Sikhism made a great advance. The first four Gurus were peaceful teachers of quietism and self-denial, but Ardjan initiated the policy of secular aggrandizement, while *Hargovind* openly adopted active resistance, which marks the beginning of the military career of the Sikhs. He was by nature a soldier, passionately devoted to the chase and manly games. Systematic collection of tithes and offerings had made him extremely rich and he was not slow to assume kingly authority. He cherished a hatred of *Djahāngir* to whom he ascribed the death of his father; a desire for revenge was certainly one of the causes of his resorting to arms. He enlisted in his service a number of outlaws, malcontents and freebooters, "built the stronghold of *Hargovindpur* on the *Beās* and thence harried the plains. He had a stable of 800 horses; three hundred mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him, and a guard of sixty match-lock-men secured the safety of his person" (Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 56). The alarming reports of the Guru's military organisation reached the Emperor, who summoned him to his court and ordered his internment in the fort of *Gwālīār*. He was released after some time, but the imprisonment gave him a further cause of resentment. Soon after the death of *Djahāngir* and the accession to the throne of the Emperor *Shāh-djahan*, *Hargovind* assumed a defiant attitude and took up arms against the government. In the course of six years he thrice defeated the troops sent against him by the governor of Lahore. But he feared vengeance on the part of *Shāh-djahan* and retired to the hills where he lived unmolested until his death in 1645.

Under *Hargovind* the Sikh faith was greatly transformed. They ceased to be mere recluses, and their Guru was no longer a mere spiritual guide, but a military leader as well. They felt their strength and saw the possibility of future political power.

Hargovind was succeeded by his grandson *Har Rai*, who was, unlike his grandfather, of a retiring nature. He had intimate friendly relations with *Dārā Shikōh*, the eldest son of *Shāh-djahan*, and in 1658 when *Dārā* wandered in exile pursued by the hostile troops of his younger brother *Awrangzēb*, *Har Rai* assisted him in crossing the *Beās* and reaching a comparatively safe locality. Of course he incurred the displeasure of *Awrang-*

zēb who summoned him to Delhi to answer for this affront. He sent on his own behalf his son *Rām Rai* who was detained at the imperial court as a hostage to insure the peaceful conduct of his father. *Har Rai* died in 1661 and his younger son *Har Kishan* (a child of six) succeeded him. His right to the Guruship was disputed by *Rām Rai* who laid his own case before *Awrangzēb*. The infant apostle was invited to Delhi to settle the dispute with his brother. There he was attacked with small-pox and died (1664).

There followed a struggle for succession after the death of *Har Kishan*, and it was after much opposition that *Tegh Bahādur*, son of *Hargovind*, was acknowledged as Guru from among a score of candidates for the pontifical throne. His opponents continued to assert their claims, and some of them were even set up as rival Gurus. *Tegh Bahādur* retired, in some bitterness to the *Siwālīks* and there founded *Anandpur*, a town which played a part of some importance in the subsequent annals of the Sikhs. Further, he set out on an extensive tour in India, visiting the Deccan and the Eastern Bengal where bishoprics of the Sikh Church already existed. In the course of his travels he resided for some time at *Patna*, the seat of one of the arch-bishoprics (*takhts*), where his son *Govind Rai*, the future Guru and the real founder of the political power of the Sikhs, was born (1666). *Tegh Bahādur's* influence as Guru extended as far as Ceylon in the south and Assam in the east. After a time he returned to the *Pundjāb* where he "maintained himself and his disciples by plunder". He "gave a ready asylum to all fugitives and his power interfered with the prosperity of the country" (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 64). The imperial troops marched against him and he was made prisoner and brought to Delhi where he was put to death by the order of *Awrangzēb* (1675). The popular story is related in the *Gurmukhi* chronicles that while in the presence of the Emperor, the Guru prophesied the coming of the English and destruction of the Mughal power at their hands. The words uttered by him on this occasion "became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on *Dihli* in 1857 under General *John Nicholson* and thus the prophecy of the 9th Guru was gloriously fulfilled" (Macauliffe, iv. 381).

The figure of *Tegh Bahādur's* son *Govind Rai*, who was saluted as Guru after the execution of his father in 1675, is perhaps the most prominent in the history of the Sikhs. He succeeded to the apostleship as a mere boy, but ended his career by completely transforming a community of mere devotees into a nation of warriors who were destined to rule the *Pundjāb* for nearly a century. The violent death of his father seems to have left a lasting impression on his young mind, and he cherished a bitter hatred towards *Awrangzēb*. But the power of the latter was too great to allow the possibility of revenge. He was therefore compelled to retire to the hills in order to be left in peace and receive the training necessary to befit him for the task of leadership. For twenty years he lived there, occupying himself in hunting and acquiring a knowledge of the sacred languages of the *Muhammadans* and *Hindus* and their religions. He nurtured his feeling of vengeance and formed his plans for the future with a view to destroying the power of the *Mughals*. He set about the task of uniting the Sikhs into a

nation by promoting amongst them feelings of democratic equality. He admitted both high and low into his fold and conducted a vigorous war against the caste system. In order to create uniformity in spirit as well as in form, he instituted the ceremony of initiation or baptism called *pahul* to be performed in the following manner:

"The initiate, after bathing and donning clean clothes, sits in the midst of an assembly generally summoned for the purpose, some sugar is mixed with water in an iron basin and five Sikhs in turn stir it with a double-edged dagger chanting certain verses of the Granth. After this, some of the solution is sprinkled over the hair and body of the initiate and some of it is given him to drink. The *raht* or rules of Sikh conduct are also explained to him. The solution is called *amrit* (nectar) which is supposed to confer immortality on the initiate, to make him a "Singh" (lion) and a true Kshatriya" (Rose, *Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, i. 696). After receiving the *pahul*, every Sikh was to leave his locks unshorn, to wear by way of uniform the 5 K's, i. e. 5 things whose name begin with a K, viz.: (1) *Kāñh* or short drawers, (2) *Kirpān*, a dagger, (3) *Karū*, an iron bracelet, (4) *Kesh*, long hair, and (5) *Kanghā*, a comb. The suffix "Singh" was to be added to the name of every baptised Sikh, the Guru himself to be called in future Govind Singh. He denominated his initiated disciples the *Khālṣa* (the pure, elect, liberated) or *Khālṣa* (from the Arabic root *khalasa* or *khaluṣa*). Govind Singh struck the key-note of his policy by thus addressing the Sikhs:

"Since the time of Baba Nānak *Āranpahul* hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility; but the *Khālṣa* can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger, and change my followers from Sikhs to Singhs or lions. They who accept the nectar of the *pahul* shall be changed before your very eyes from jackals into lions and shall obtain empire in this world and bliss hereafter" (Macauliffe, v. 93). "Abolition of caste, equality of privileges with one another and with the Guru, common worship, common baptism for all classes, and lastly, common external appearance — these were the means, besides common leadership and community of aspirations, which Govind employed to bring about unity among his followers, and by which he bound them together into a compact mass before they were hurled against the legions of the great Moghuls" (Narang, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

By his prolonged residence in the hills, Govind Singh wanted, besides carrying on his proselytizing activities uninterrupted, to secure the assistance of the numerous hill chiefs against what he called the tyranny of the Muḥammadan rule. But in these objects he entirely failed, for the hill *rājās* whose dynasties had ruled independently since time immemorial, generally resented the principles of democracy being taught to their subjects and they unanimously resisted the religious propaganda of Govind. Failing to secure their alliance by friendly means, he tried the experiment of force. From his retreat at Anandpur he led marauding expeditions into their territories carrying away all that he could lay his hands on. The *Rājput* chiefs of Bilāspur, Katōḥ, Handūr, Djasrota and Nālagarh

united to attack the Guru with an army of 10,000. He opposed them at the head of 2,000 of his followers, including 500 Pathāns whom he kept in his service, and won his victory at Bhangāni chiefly through the help of Saiyid Budhū Shāh, chief of Sādhora. Govind's power now increased; he had a number of retreats in the hills and his depredations in the adjoining territories grew more frequent and violent. The *Rājās* jointly appealed for help to Awrangzēb, who despatched orders to the governor of Sarhind to effect an alliance with them and attack the Guru. In the battle that ensued he was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Anandpur (1701). Here he was besieged by the imperial forces and the siege was prolonged. Provisions ran short and his followers deserted him. His family, including his mother, wives and young boys effected their escape to Sarhind where they were betrayed and the two children were put to death. Govind himself escaped in disguise, and with a few faithful followers fled to the fortress of Čamkaur (in the present district of Amballa) hotly pursued by the enemy. He was forced to leave Čamkaur and again fly for his life. He wandered in disguise from place to place until he reached the wastes of Bhatinda, halfway between Ferozepur and Delhi. "His disciples again rallied round him and he succeeded in repulsing his pursuers at a place since called "Muktsar" or the Pool of Salvation", constructed in commemoration of the Sikhs who fell in the action. For some time he settled at a place called Dandama "halfway between Hansi and Ferozepur", where he occupied himself in preaching and composing the *Dasam Granth* (see below), which is regarded by the Sikhs as supplement to the *Adi Granth* compiled by Guru Arđjan. Meanwhile Awrangzēb died and was succeeded by his son Bahādur Shāh, who, contrary to the policy of his father, sought to conciliate the Guru. He conferred upon him the military command of the Deccan whither he proceeded to assume his charge. But shortly after his arrival there, he was stabbed by one of his Afghān servants for some private grievance, and he died at Nānder on the banks of the Godāwari (Oct. 1708). On his deathbed he refused to nominate anyone to succeed him, but enjoined upon his disciples to look upon the Granth as their future Guru, and upon God as their sole protector, thus putting an end to the apostolic succession. Govind's end came before his object had been achieved, "but his spirit survived to animate the Sikhs with courage."

Govind Singh was succeeded, not as a Guru but as a military leader of the Sikhs, by Banda, a *Rājput* of Kāshmir belonging to the Bairāgi order. Meeting Govind in the Deccan, he was converted to Sikhism and styled himself "Banda" or "slave" (of the Guru). Banda was charged by Govind to return to the Pundjāb and urge the Sikhs to avenge the murder of his children and unite to destroy the Muḥammadan despotism. The Sikhs "flocked to him, ready to fight and die under his banner". At heart Banda was ambitious, and under the pretext of carrying out the orders of the Guru he sought to attain to political power. He began his operations in the Pundjāb by committing highway robberies, freely distributing the spoils among his adherents. This attracted many criminals — "scavengers, leather-dressers and such like persons who were very numerous among the Sikhs" — to his person. The Moghul power, after

the death of Awrangzēb, was fast declining; constant struggle among his sons and grandsons for the throne left the Sikhs free to increase their power, and the criminal activities of Banda went unchecked. He proceeded, with an army of lawless freebooters, from town to town in the very neighbourhood of Delhi, plundering and mercilessly slaughtering the Muḥammadans in thousands. Prospects of plunder and the sacred duty of avenging the death of the Guru's children swelled the number of Banda's followers. The accursed town of Sarhind, where the children were done to death, was stormed by them in May 1710 and freely given to plunder. The Sikhs perpetrated horrible atrocities on the Muslim inhabitants of the town, whom they butchered without distinction of age or sex. They extended their destructive activities to the very walls of Delhi. The Emperor Bahādur Shāh, who was away in the Deccan, was alarmed on hearing the reports of these outrages and forthwith hastened to the Pundjāb to make redress. The imperial troops defeated Banda, but he escaped to the adjoining hills. The death of Bahādur Shāh in 1712 was followed by a war of succession between his sons, from which Dīahāndār Shāh came out successful. He was however murdered, after a short reign of eleven months, by his nephew Farrukhsīyar who now ascended the degraded throne of Delhi. 'These commotions were favourable to the Sikhs', who once more began to ravage the country under the notorious Banda. Farrukhsīyar charged 'Abd al-Ṣamad Khān, governor of the Pundjāb, to put a stop to the atrocities of the Sikhs. With a large army he pursued Banda who was at last besieged in the fortress of Gurdāspur on the Rāwī. Finally he was seized, made prisoner and brought to Delhi where he was tortured to death (1716).

Banda's character is by no means amiable. Even from the Sikh standpoint, he does not deserve reverence, for his motives were selfish and his means unscrupulous. Besides assuming sovereign authority, he aimed at creating a distinct sect of his own, and contrary to the dying injunctions of Govind Singh, he claimed to be acknowledged as the eleventh Guru. Moreover, he made certain other alterations in the Sikh beliefs and rituals — facts which led the more ardent followers of Govind Singh to revolt against his authority. However, there is no doubt that the stormy career through which the Sikhs passed under his leadership gave them a good deal of martial training.

The defeat and death of Banda was followed by a period of reaction and a severe persecution of the Sikhs in the reign of Farrukhsīyar. They were declared outlaws; many of them abandoned their faith, but the more loyal among them were forced to take shelter in the hills and forests. Successive governors of the Pundjāb, notably the Mu'in al-Mulk, better known as Mir Mannū, carried out the repressive policy of Farrukhsīyar, and for a time it seemed that the Sikh nation would become extinct. But the Moghul power was rapidly decaying, and in the Pundjāb it was more notably weakened by the frequent invasions of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī. The distracted state of the province was favourable to the Sikhs who began gradually to reappear and reorganise themselves. They built several fortresses and acquired wealth by freely plundering the defenceless towns. The centre of their national activities was Amritsar, which they

greatly enriched and fortified. Prince Tīmūr, who governed the Pundjāb in the name of his father Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī was hostile to the Sikhs. In 1756, he attacked Amritsar, demolished the Har Mandir and filled the sacred tank with the debris. The Sikhs mobilised in large numbers to avenge this outrage and succeeded in driving the Prince out of Lahore, which they temporarily occupied. Their military leader Dīassā Singh Kalāl (the "brewer") struck coin in his own name with a Persian inscription. But the advent of the Mahrattas under Raghoba (in 1758) made them retire from Lahore, and brought the ferocious Aḥmad Shāh for the fifth time to the Pundjāb. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas in the memorable battle of Pānīpat (1761). The Sikhs became active as soon as he left the Pundjāb and regained their lost power. He therefore came back with the definite object of breaking their power and recover his territories. In a desperate battle fought near Ludhiāna (1762) he totally defeated them with heavy carnage, but he had soon to leave the Pundjāb in order to suppress a rebellion at Kandahār. The Sikhs recovered soon and in 1763 they defeated Zain Khān, the Afghān governor of Sarhind, which they sacked and destroyed. Once more they took possession of Lahore, and this time their hold was more permanent. They assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed the regime of the Khālṣa as supreme in the Pundjāb (1764). The sovereign authority was vested in a national council called the *Gurmatta*. The coin of the Sikh commonwealth bore the Persian inscription:

*Dig u tigh u fath u nuṣrat bī dirang
Yāft az Nānak Gurū Govind Singh*

"Guru Govind Singh received from Nānak
The Sword, the Bowl and Victory unfailing"
(Khazān Singh, *History of the Sikh Religion*, p. 264).

Now that the common danger which confronted the Sikhs was removed, they became disunited and divided into a number of states or confederacies called *Misals*. These *Misals* were 12 in number, governed independently of each other by their respective chiefs (*Sardār*, q. v.), who were under no supreme authority and had nothing in common with one another except their religion. "They were almost constantly engaged in civil war, grouping and regrouping in the struggle for pre-eminence". They were "loosely organised and varied from time to time in power and even in designation". After thirty years of this variable rule in the Pundjāb, there appeared on the scene a strong man who united these jarring confederacies into a compact sovereignty. This was Randjit Singh.

Randjit Singh's father Mahā Singh was the chief of the Suckerchakia *Misal* with its headquarters at Gujranwala, 40 miles to the north of Lahore. At the age of 12 (in 1792) he succeeded to the barony of his father. He gradually rose to power through his personal character and genius with which he was gifted by nature. In 1799 he acquired possession of Lahore through a royal investiture granted to him by Zamān Shāh (grandson of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī), who was still looked upon as virtual owner of the Pundjāb. Amritsar was reduced by Randjit Singh in 1802. The possession of Lahore and Amritsar, the two most important towns of the Pundjāb, made his personality conspicuous and enlarged his prestige. He assumed the title of Mahārāja and continued to

extend his possessions until gradually he annexed all the *Misals* to his dominions. With the English, whose territories now extended to the Sutlej, Randjit Singh had friendly relations. A treaty of alliance was concluded between the two powers in 1809 which Randjit Singh very faithfully observed. He organised a powerful military force trained by some of the European generals, notably French, who had previously served under Napoleon, and after Waterloo came to the Punjab to enter the service of the Mahārāja. With this force he was able to reduce the whole of the Punjab, annex Kashmir (in 1819) and Peshāwar (in 1834). He died in 1839, leaving behind him a consolidated kingdom extending from the Sutlej to the Hindu Kush, but no one among his heirs was capable enough to manage it. Three of his sons ascended the throne in rapid succession; conspiracies were rife and led to assassinations, civil war and enormous bloodshed. The army had become uncontrollable and spread terror throughout the country. The court at last found an outlet for its activities by inciting the army leaders to cross the Sutlej and invade the British territory. This led to the first Sikh war (Dec. 1845), in the course of which the Sikhs were defeated by the English general Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough in four successive battles fought at Ferozshāh and Mudki (in the present district of Ferozepur) and 'Aliwāl and Sobrāon near Ludhiāna (Jan.-Febr. 1846). "The victory opened the way to Lahore which was promptly occupied by the Governor-General" (Sir Henry Hardinge). The Sikh Durbār accepted the British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) to act as President of the Council of Regency to the minor Mahārāja Dalip Singh, son of Randjit Singh. The revolt of Diwān Mubārāj, governor of Multān, against the government at Lahore (in 1848) tempted the Sikhs again to take up arms against the English. War was consequently declared and Lord Gough inflicted two heavy defeats on the Sikh army, first at Chillianwāla and then at Gujrat (early 1849). The Punjab was declared annexed to the British dominions and the Sikh rule came to an end.

Religion

Sikhism aimed at purifying the religious beliefs of the Hindus. The teachings of its founder were therefore mainly negative. He strongly protested against caste restrictions and superstitious beliefs. He preached absolute equality of mankind; he taught that mechanical worship and pilgrimages do not elevate the human soul; that spirit and not the form of devotion was the real thing. No salvation is possible without a true love of God and good deeds in this world. Sikhism, like Islām, condemns idolatory and teaches strict monotheism. Its God is the God of all mankind and of all religions, "whose name is true, the Creator, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and beneficent" (*Djāpātī of Guru Nānak*).

Reverence for the Guru is much emphasized, for although "God is with man, but can only be seen by means of the Guru" (Macauliffe, ii. 347). Sikhism also believes in the doctrine of Karma and Metempsychosis.

The theology of Nānak was not formal; his sole object was to bring about a social and moral reform. Sikhism remained a pacific and tolerant cult until the social tyranny of the Hindus and political

friction with Muhammadans transformed it into a militant creed. Govind Singh made Sikh theology more formal and prescribed rules for guidance in private and social affairs. He forbade the use of tobacco and wine, though the latter is now more freely indulged in by the Sikhs.

The sacred book of the Sikhs is the *Granth*, which is held by them in great reverence. The first portion of it, called the *Ādi Granth* was compiled, as mentioned above, by the fifth Guru Arjān. It includes the hymns of the first five Gurus together with selections from the compositions of saints and reformers anterior to Nānak, notably Kabīr, Nāmdev, Dīai Dev, Rāmānand and Sheikh Farid. The *Granth* is composed wholly in verse with different metres. The bulk of it is in archaic Hindi written in Gurmukhi characters; other portions are in various other Indian dialects and languages including Sanskrit, together with a few verses and tales in Persian (written in Gurmukhi script). The second portion, called the *Dasam Granth* (or Granth of the 10th Guru) was compiled by Govind Singh and includes, in the main, his own writings. The major part of it consists, like the *Ādi Granth*, of hymns in praise of God, but it also comprises the autobiography of Govind Singh, called the *Vakītra Nātā* ("the wonderful drama") along with other miscellaneous compositions by the Hindi poets whom he kept in his service. The entire *Granth* usually forms a quarto volume of about 1,200 pages. Some of its chapters are used by the Sikhs as Divine Services and are repeated by them privately in the morning, evening, and at bed-time. Such are: (1) the *Djāpātī* by Guru Nānak (see Macauliffe, i. 195—217); (2) *Āsa Kī Vār* by the same (*ibid.*, pp. 218—249); (3) the *Djāpātī* by Guru Govind (*op. cit.*, v. 261); (4) the *Rakīrās* (*op. cit.*, i. 250—257); (5) *Sakīās* (*ibid.*, 258—260) and (6) the *Sakīmasī* by Guru Arjān (*op. cit.*, iii. 197 *seq.*). They are also recited at the administration of the *pañai* or baptism.

The cosmopolitan views of Nānak were acceptable to both Hindus and Muhammadans; moreover, he did not prescribe any particular forms of worship, hence it is not surprising that he gained converts from both religions. But it was undoubtedly Hinduism — the faith of his own parents — whose social system he wanted to reform, therefore naturally his teachings were addressed to the Hindus rather than the Muhammadans. The majority of his disciples was derived from the *Djāt*, Arora and Khatri castes; to the last of them belonged all the Gurus including Nānak himself. To the Brahmins and Rājputs, whose social status was very high, the democratic tenets of Sikhism were less acceptable.

The sects and sub-sects of the Sikhs are numerous, but the main divisions are two: (1) the *Keshādhāris*, otherwise called "Singhs", and (2) the *Sakīdhāris*. The former represent the baptized and therefore more orthodox followers of Guru Govind Singh, while the latter were originally those who refused to accept his baptism and join the militant *Kālā*. Other important sects are: (1) *Nānakpanthīs*, "known roughly as Sikhs who are not Singhs, followers of the earlier Gurus, who do not think it necessary to follow the ceremonial and social observances inculcated by Guru Govind Singh. Their characteristics are, therefore, mainly negative; they do not forbid smoking; they do not insist on long hair; they are not

baptized with the *pahul* and so forth". In other words, they belong to the *Sahjdhārī* division. (2) *Udāsīs* (the renouncers) are also, like the *Nānakpanthīs*, included in the *Sahjdhārī* division. They represent the ascetic order founded by Sri Čand, son of Nānak. They remain celibate and their tenets are very much tinged with the Hindu ascetic beliefs. (3) the *Akālīs* (worshippers of *Akāl*, the Immortal, Timeless God) differ essentially from all other Sikh orders in being a militant organization founded by Govind Singh. They are more orthodox than most of the Sikhs and still retain their characteristic militant spirit. (4) the *Bandās* or *Bandāpanthīs* i. e. those who accepted Banda as the eleventh Guru, while the *Djat Khālśa* are strict adherers to the doctrines of Govind in opposition to the innovations of Banda. (5) the *Mashahīs* (pron. *Masbis*) represent members of the scavenger class converted to Sikhism by taking the *pahul*, while the name *Rāmdāsī* (followers of Guru Rām Dās, by whom they were first converted) is applied to *Čamārs* (leather-dressers) who have taken the *pahul*. The Sikh shrines are scattered over the greater part of the Puṇdjāb, but the better known among them are to be found in the districts of Amritsar, Gur-dāspur and Ferozepur — the holiest of them being the Golden Temple of Amritsar and Nankāna Šāhib (near Lahore) the birthplace of Nānak, where annual fairs, attended by a very large number of Sikhs, are held.

According to the census returns of 1921, the total Sikh population is 3,238,803; of which 3,110,000 (all but 4%) are in the Puṇdjāb, the chief centres being the districts of Amritsar, Ludhiānā and Ferozepur, and the native states Patialā, Nāhba, Dīnd and Faridkot. The strength of the chief sects is as follows:

Keshdhārīs	2,876,320
Saljdhārīs	228,600
Djat Khālśa	531,300
Nānakpanthīs	22,500

Ever since the English conquest of the Puṇdjāb (in 1849) the Sikhs have remained loyal subjects of the British Crown. As a community they are prosperous; physically they are superior to the rest of the Puṇdjābis. Military service is one of their favourite occupations and they are justly looked upon as among the finest soldiers of the East. Sikh regiments rendered excellent service to the cause of the Allies in the great European war.

The Sikhs have made considerable progress during the last 40 years. There now exist several organized bodies working systematically for their social and educational advancement. The "Singh Sabha" was founded 30 years ago with the object of propagating the religious doctrines of the Khālśa with its headquarters at Amritsar. Another body, called "the Chief Khālśa Diwān" has undertaken the work of social reformation and spread of education. It has its branches in all districts and Sikh states. The "Sharomani Gurudwārā Parbandhak Committee" is another institution very recently established with the purpose of taking into their hands the management of the Sikh shrines which were formerly controlled by hereditary Hindu *mahants*. "The Committee chiefly represents the Akālī sects but has received support from Sikhs in its campaign for the control of shrines in which it has attained a considerable measure of success".

The Sikhs now form a distinct community entirely separate from the Hindus. Their ceremonies of birth, marriage and death are no longer presided over by the Brahmans, but by the Gyanīs, the professional interpreters of the Granth. Like Hindus they burn their dead, but unlike them they marry late and their widows freely re-marry. The Sikhs are also progressing numerically owing partially to the influx of converts from the Hindu depressed classes. The centre of all religious and social activities of the Sikhs is Amritsar where they maintain a large educational institution called the Khālśa College affiliated to the University of Lahore. Another similar institution exists at Guḍjranwālā, while their communal schools are scattered over the whole province.

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(MUHAMMAD IQBAL)

SIKKA (A., from *sakk*), die, coinage, currency, coin in general; *dār al-sikka* = mint. In the coin-legends of the Sultāns of Dehli of the

thirteenth (sixth) century, *al-sikka* is used only of the gold coins, the corresponding word on the silver coins being *al-fidda*. From 1320 to 1388, after which the formula was no longer used, *sikka* is applied to both gold and silver. Except for a sporadic occurrence of the denomination *sikka murādī* on a rare coin of Humāyūn, the noun is not found again till the reign of the Mughal Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur (1707—1712 = 1119—1124), who introduced on his coins the formula, *sikka* or *sikka mubārak* followed by his titles, which remained usual till the end of the dynasty. The Persian verb *sikka zad* however regularly occurs in the couplets of the Emperors from Djahāngir onwards. The word *sikka* (*sicca*) came for some reason not quite certain quite early in the xviii century A. D. to be particularly associated with the rupee by the English in India and was applied to a recently struck rupee, not yet liable to discount for depreciation. The new rupee, issued by the East India Co. in 1793 to abolish the monetary confusion then existing, was known as the "19 san sikka" because it was dated in the 19th year of Shāh 'Ālam II and remained the unit of British Indian currency for 40 years.

Through Egypt and Italy (*zecchino*) the Arabic *sikka* has given us the word "sequin", which found its way also into the Anglo-Indian vocabulary in the forms "chicken" and "chick". (J. ALLAN)

SILĀH-DĀR (A. P., "bearer of arms"), an officer of the Mamlūk court, each of whom carried one of the pieces of the Sultān's equipment and presented it to him when he required it. There were several of them; their chief, called the *amīr silāh* was in charge of the arsenal (*silāh-khānā*) and of all that was used in it, or went in or out of it. He ranked among the amīrs of a hundred (*amīr mi'a*) and had the title *djannāb karīm 'ālī*.

The Ottoman Turks retained the same title under its Persian form *silāh-dār*. The *silāh-dār-āgha* and the *ṣōka-dār-āgha* were the two chief officials in the Sultān's chamber; at the mosque they thrice presented him with rose-water and perfume of wood of aloes. At the ceremony of *khirkā-i sharīf* [q. v.] the *silāh-dār-āgha* stood beside the relic; each time that it was kissed, he wiped it with a muslim handkerchief which he then presented to the individual who had just kissed it. Beside him stood an official in charge of all these handkerchiefs. On the last day of Ramadān, after the midday prayer, the Sultān went to the apartments of this official and from a raised kiosk witnessed the sport of *tomaḡ* (tilting).

The *silāhdārs* were a cavalry corps as old as the Janissaries; they numbered 8,000 men under Muḥammad II and 12,000 under Aḥmad III. Its chief was called the *silāh-dār-āgha* like the Sultān's sword-bearer, but did not enjoy the same privileges.

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SILIWAN. [See MAIYAFARIKIN.]

SILVES, in Arabic **SHILB** (ethnic: *Shilbī*), a small town in southern Portugal, the former capital of the province of Algarve (Ar. *al-gharb*) and important metropolis of the Gharb al-Andalus under Arab rule. It was part of the district of al-Shinshīn, in the time of al-Iḍrisī. It was surrounded by gardens and orchards, and

there were many water-mills. It had a harbour on the river, with timber-yards, where the wood of the forests of the region was prepared for exportation. Its figs were renowned. Its population, which claimed to be of Yaman origin, talked a very pure Arabic and had a reputation for its taste in literature and in poetry. The town was celebrated by a poem of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, al-Mu'tamid (cf. R. Dozy, *Script. Ar. loci de Abbād.*, i., p. 391).

After the downfall of the 'Umayyad caliphate of Spain, Silves, like many of the small capitals of the Peninsula, became the capital of a very small independent state, under the ephemeral dynasty of the Banū Muzain, on which the recent discovery of a fragment of history has enabled definite facts to be produced for the first time. In 440 (1048—1049) the ḡaḍī of the town declared himself an independent sovereign; he named himself Abu 'l-Aṣṣagh 'Isā b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Djamīl b. Sa'īd (author of a commentary on the *Muwattā'* of Mālik b. Anas) b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Naṣr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'l-Djūd Muzain. He took the honorary title of al-Muza'ffar and organised his state with a watchful eye on his powerful neighbour, the prince of Seville al-Mu'taḍid [q. v.] of the dynasty of the 'Abbāids. But this sovereign did not hesitate to attack him and ended by killing him in the course of a battle, at the end of 445 (April 1053). The son of Abu 'l-Aṣṣagh, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, succeeded him, with the honorific title of al-Nāṣir; he made himself loved by his subjects and died in Rabī' II 450 (June 1058) leaving the throne to his son 'Isā al-Muza'ffar II. He, like his grandfather, was without delay attacked by al-Mu'taḍid, who blockaded him in Silves and cut off every means of communication. The town was besieged and its ramparts destroyed by means of siege-artillery and saps. The prince of Silves was beheaded by the victor in his own palace in Shawwāl 455 (October 1063). The little dynasty of the Banū Muzain was extinguished with him, after maintaining itself for only fifteen years.

At the end of the Almoravid dynasty, Silves was the starting point of two revolts: that of Abu 'l-Kāsim Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain Ibn Kisiy (Kāsi) and that of Abu 'l-Walid Muḥammad b. 'Umar Ibn al-Mundhīr. At last in 586 (1190) the king of Portugal, Sancho I, seized Silves, which was retaken a little later by the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb. Some years afterwards, it passed definitely under Portuguese rule.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SIMĀK, "the prominent", the name of the brightest star in the constellation of the Virgin (magnitude I. 2.). Virgo (*al-adhrā*) has from early times been represented as a woman holding an ear of corn (*sumbula*) in the left hand. The constellation is also often called Sumbula. Al-Simāk (Greek *στράχυς*, Latin *spica*) is close to her right hand. The Arabic word al-Simāk was corrupted in the west to *Asimech*, or *Elsamach*. As it was thought that al-Simāk was connected with Arcturus in Boötes by being placed opposite it, a distinction was made between *al-Simāk al-aṣāl* (the unarmed Simāk = Spica) and *al-Simāk al-rāmiḥ* (the Simāk with the lance = Arcturus [magnitude I. 2]). From the adjective part of the Arabic name for Arcturus, *al-rāmiḥ*, came the *Aramech* of the west. The dual forms *al-Simākān* and *al-Anharān* (the day-light and the rain-bringing) occur as general name of both stars. Al-Simāk is the fourteenth moon-station.

Our constellation of Virgo was represented in Babylonian by the ideogram AB.SIM (= *Shīrū*, corn standing in the stalk). Spica alone had the same ideogram. The stars ζ, ν, β Virginis were allotted by the Babylonians to Leo. The constellation of the Virgin belonged to the Goddess Shala (wife of the weather-god Adad) along with Shubultu (ear of corn).

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SIMANCAS, a small town in Northern Spain, situated eight miles south-east of Valladolid and now famous for its castle where are preserved the archives of the kingdom of Spain. The name is transcribed in Arabic *Shant Mānkas* in the *Kitāb al-Ibar* of Ibn Khaldūn. It was near Simancas that in 327 (939) the armies of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III were severely defeated by the Christian King Ramiro II. This battle itself was only the prelude to a still more bloody encounter, the "battle of the ditch" (*waḡ'at al-khandaḡ*), or battle of Alhandega, which took place soon after to the south of Salamanca, on the banks of the river Tormes.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SIMAW, a town in Asia Minor, 85 miles S. E. of Kutahya, 110 miles south of Brussa, the residence of a *kā'im-makām*, capital of the *kaḍā* of the same name. Simaw has now about 6,000 inhabitants mainly Muslims, and has a neglected appearance. It played a considerable part at an

earlier period. It is the *Σόναος* of the ancients, of which many traces still exist (ruins, inscriptions etc.). In the Byzantine period, Simaw was the see of a bishop. In 783 (1381/1382) Simaw was conquered by Murād I and incorporated in the Ottoman Empire; cf. 'Ashīkpaḥazāde, *Tārīkh*, Stambul 1332, p. 57, 3. Simaw, which possesses nine large and three small mosques, four medreses and a dervish monastery was the birthplace of several men of importance in the history of the Muslim religion, e. g. Shaikh 'Abd Allāh Ilāhī (d. 896 A. H.), Kara Shams al-Dīn (cf. Ewliya, *Siyāhetnāme*, iii. 377) and notably Shaikh Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd famous for his rebellion, the "Son of the *kāḍī* of Simaw" (cf. Ibn Kāḍī Simawna, p. 416; F. Babinger in *Isl.*, xi., 1921, p. 1 sq.; xii., 1921, p. 103 sqq.). Simaw has been visited and described in modern times by various European travellers, such as W. J. Hamilton, A. D. Mordtmann Sen., K. Buresch, Th. Wiegand, A. Philippson etc. The remains of the old defences of which, in addition to the citadel commanding the town which was afterwards transformed, there are still ruins on a low mound not far from the town, would be worthy of fuller investigation, as well as the ancient inscriptions built into the mosques. Simaw which now lies off the line of traffic, will soon be opened up by the Balikesri-Ushak (wrongly 'Ushshāk) railway. Near it is the Simaw-Gölü, or Lake of Simaw.

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

SĪMIYĀ, in form like *kibiriya*, belongs to old Arabic beside *simā*, *imā* (*Qur'an*, xlviii. 29 etc.; *Baidāwī*, ed. Fleischer, i. 326, 14, 15), in the sense "mark, sign, badge" (Lane, p. 1476a; *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v., ii. 200 of ed. Būlāḡ 1282; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 696; *Lisān*, xv. 205). But the word, as a name for certain departments of magic, had a quite different derivation; in that sense it is from *σμημία*, through the Syriac *ܣܡܝܝܐ*, and means "signs, letters of the alphabet" (Dozy, *Suppl.*; i. 708b and references there; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ii., col. 2614). In the Syriac-Arabic lexicons the Syriac word is regularly rendered by the Arabic '*alāma*'; *simiyā* was taken over, apparently, in a technical sense. Payne Smith, following apparently Bruns, gives as the predominant technical meaning "chiromancy"; in Boethor, *Dictionnaire français-arabe* (i. 154b), under *Chiromancie*, *simiyā* is given as one of three Arabic renderings. By Barhebraeus (d. 685/1286) the Syriac and Arabic forms are used together (*Chron. Syr.*, ed. Paris, p. 14, 7; *Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Pococke, p. 33); according to these passages the science ('ilm) was "invented" in the time of Moses by a certain *ܡܪܝܬܝܡ*,

ܡܪܝܬܝܡ, which Bruns and Kirsch rendered "Eunumius", but he seems to be quite unknown. The *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* (ii. 1032b) suggests a derivation from *ܡܫܝܬ*, "name of Allāh", and the Names of Allāh certainly play a large part in *simiyā* (Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 344, who also suggests, p.

102 that the form of the word has been affected by *kimiya'*; but see above).

The term, apart from the dubious "chiromancy", has been and is applied to two quite different branches of magic; there is no evidence which of these, if either, Barhebraeus had in mind. (1) It is very widely applied at the present day to what is often called "natural magic", but is evidently hypnotism. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḥaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii. 126) gives this as the third division of magic (*sihr*) in his arrangement and says that the philosophers (*al-falāsifa*) call it *sha'wadha* and *sha'badha*; cf. Lane on these words p. 1559^a, where it is instructive to notice his struggles, in a pre-hypnotic age, to render the idea of hypnotism. Ibn Khaldūn expresses it very clearly as a working of the *nafs* of the magician on the imagination of his subject, conveying certain ideas and forms which are then transferred to the senses of the subject and objectify themselves externally in appearances which have no external reality. Well described cases of this will be found in Lane's *Arabian Nights*, chap. i., note 15, ii, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xii.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Paris ed., iii. 452 sq.; iv. 277 sq.; Nöldeke, *Doctor und Garkoch*, p. 5 and passim. Cf. also Doutté, pp. 102 and 345 sq.; he calls it also *nirandj*; *Muḥit*, ii. 1032^b; Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, part vii., p. 102 and references there.

(2) The second is dealt with at length by Ibn Khaldūn in a special section (ed. Quatremère, iii. 137 sqq.; de Slane's transl. iii. 188 sqq.; Bülāḳ, folio ed. of 1274, p. 242 sqq.; Bülāḳ, quarto, p. 420 sqq.; not in Beyroust editions). In Ibn Khaldūn's time (d. 808/1405) it was called distinctively *sīmiyā'* and at the present day many treatises on it are in print and are widely studied. For some of these see Nos. 1, 3, 4 in the list of magical books, article *sihr* above, but all books on licit magic are affected by it and the *Zā'irdja* [q. v.] is a specially complicated form of it. Ibn Khaldūn prefers to call it the Science of the secret powers of Letters (*hurūf*) because *sīmiyā'* was originally a broader term applied to the whole science of talismans and this limited use only originated in the extremist school of Ṣūfis who professed to be able to control (*taṣarrafa*) the material world by means of these letters and the names and figures compounded from them. It was thus considered a possible study and practice for pious Muslims. But the Ṣūfis who took it up were of the speculative and pantheistic school and claimed control of the elemental world and power to invade its order (*khawāriḳ al-'āda*) and asserted that all existence descended in a certain sequence from a Unity (the Neoplatonic Chain); for this they constructed a system of technical terms and on it compiled treatises. In their system the entelechy (*kamāl*) of the Divine Names proceeds from the help of the spirits of the spheres and of the stars, and the natures and secret powers of the letters circulate in the Names built out of them. Then they circulate similarly in the changes of transient becoming (*al-'akwān*) in this world and these *'akwān* pass from the first initial creation (*al-'ibdā'*) into the different phases of that creation and express clearly its secrets. This seems to mean that letters contain the primal secrets of creation and the secret powers which still circulate in the *'akwān* and that the Divine Names and Allocutions (*kalimāt*; q. v.) are produced from letters; therefore

the elemental world and the *'akwān* in it can be controlled by these names and allocutions when used by spiritual souls (*nufūs rabbāniya*). That is the doctrine of al-Būnī [q. v.], Ibn 'Arabī [q. v.] and their followers. As to the nature and origin of this secret power in letters there is dispute. Some assign it to an elemental nature or constitution (*mi'ādī*) and divide letters into four classes according to the four elements. Others ascribe it to a numerical relationship (*nisba 'ada-diya*) based on the value of the letters as numbers (*abjad*). Ibn Khaldūn admits that there does exist such control of the material world but it is by divine grace in the *karamāt* [q. v.] of the *walīs* [q. v.] and when those who lack that divine grace and insight endeavour to exert the same control by means of these names and allocutions they are in the same class as the workers of magic by means of talismans, except that they have not the scientific training and system of these magicians. They may produce effects through the influence of the human *nafs* and purpose (*himma*) — which for Ibn Khaldūn is the basis of all such working, licit and illicit — but these effects are contemptible beside those of the professional magicians. Ibn Khaldūn, therefore, disapproves of this attempt by al-Būnī and others to produce a pious and licit magic; but there is no question that al-Būnī has imposed his system upon Islām. There are many examples of this form of magic in Muslim literature; e. g. several references in the longer recension of "The Forty Vezirs", transl. by Petis de la Croix (*Histoire de la Sultane de Perse et des Visirs*), see especially an extended exposition, p. 186 sqq. of ed. Amsterdam, 1707. The best description and a sympathetic exposition of this state of mind which sees in letters relations to the universe and a science of the universe is in Louis Massignon's *Al-Hallaj*, p. 588 sqq.; cf., too, Doutté, p. 172 sqq. It is evident that this is a sister phase of thought to the Jewish *Qabbāla* of the alphabetic and thaumaturgic type connected with the divine names, teaching that the science of letters is the science of the essences of things and that by letters God created and controls the world and that men by suitable knowledge of these can control material things (cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, p. 127 sqq.; article *KABBALA* by H. Loewe in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Rel. and Ethics*, vii. 622—628).

Bibliography has been given in the article. (D. B. MACDONALD)

SĪMURGH (P.), a mythical bird. The word is a composition of *murgh* (bird) with (the modern-Persian equivalent of) Pahlawī *sēn* (Avestan *saēna*, the name of a great bird of prey, probably the eagle). Cognate with the Irānian word is Skrt. *gyena* (a falcon); whether Armenian *cin* (a kite) and Greek *ιερνίος* may be compared, is doubtful. The Avestan word occurs once in company of the word *mērigha* (bird), and once without it (cf. Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, col. 1548); in Pahlawī *sēn* as well as *sēnmurgh* are found. The Avestan information about *saēna* is scanty: once, the Ized Wērēthraḡna is compared with it (*Yasht*, xiv. 41), and in the 17th paragraph of the late and not very original *Yasht*, xii., in an invocation of the Ized Rashnu, there is made mention of the tree of the *saēna*, which stands in the midst of the sea Wourukasha. This tree is called Wispōbīsh (= "having all healing powers"), and it contains

the seed of all plants. It cannot be established from the Avestan text, what precisely is the relation of the *saēna* to the tree; it may be, that, as in the Pahlavi *Mēnōk-i Khrat*, there is implied, that the dwelling-place of the bird is on that tree (comp. *Sacred Books of the East*, v., p. 89, note 1). In any case, in this xiith *Yasht*, the *saēna* must be a mythical figure. The *Bundahishn* states, that the *sēn* of two kinds (1.: aspects, *āwēnāk*) was the first of birds, but she is not chief (*raʔ*) of birds, for that dignity belongs to the *karshift*-bird (*Pahlavi Text Series*, iii. 121). The Persian epic gives a more vivid notion of the Simurgh, less affected by Zoroastrian theology and cosmology. In the heroic tradition of Irān there are found two Simurghs, viz. the bird-shaped guardian genius of Zāl and Rustam, and, secondly, a monstrous bird, killed by Isfandiyār. The first Simurgh, according to the *Shāhnāma*, lives on the mountain Alburz, far from the dwelling-places of men; its nest has columns of ebony and sandalwood; aloë-wood also belongs to the materials of this building. The nest is once even called *kākh*; to the impressive bird (*haibat-i murgh*) the awful nest (*hawli-i kunām*) is suited. When the Simurgh comes near, the air is darkened; the bird is like a cloud "whose rain are corals". Zāl, the son of Sām, who was after his birth exposed by order of his father, was found by the Simurgh, who bore him to her nest, where she educated the child. A heavenly voice announced to the bird the future glory of the race of Zāl. The Simurgh has the gift of speech, like men; so she could teach the young Zāl to speak. Later on, the bird delivered the youth to his father Sām. She had given to Zāl the name Dastān-i Zand. When parting, the Simurgh gave the young man one of her feathers; if he should happen to want the bird's help in times of distress and peril, he had only to burn (part of) it, to see the glorious being approach (*bibinī ham andar zamān farr-i man*). Afterwards, the Simurgh, being called by that feather-magic, gave counsel at the occasion of the birth of Zāl's son, the famous Rustam, to the effect that the mother should be intoxicated and her side opened; she mentioned also the herb, which, mixed up with milk and musk, would cure the wound; after that, the scar had to be rubbed with a feather of the bird. The second and last time the Simurgh was called upon, was on the occasion of the fight of Rustam with Isfandiyār; the bird extracted the arrows from the bodies of Rustam and his horse, Rakhsh, and cured his wounds, this time also by means of her feathers. Then she warned the hero, that whoever should kill Isfandiyār, must be miserable in this world and the next. Rustam, however, insisted upon obtaining the means to conquer his antagonist. So the Simurgh conveyed him within the space of a single night to the place, where the fatal tree grew, from a branch of which the arrow was to be made, with which Isfandiyār could be slain (*Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, pp. 133, etc.; 222 sq.; 1703 etc.). In contradistinction to this good Simurgh, which is called *shāh-i murghān* (op. cit., 139, 191) and *farmānrawā* (222, 1666; 1706, 3701), and which knows the mystery of fate (*rās-i sipīhr*, viz. the fact, that he, who slays Isfandiyār, will be damned: 1705, 3691 etc.), the other 'Simurgh', killed by Isfandiyār in the course of his seven adventures,

is a noxious monster. It lives on a mountain, and resembles a flying mountain or a black cloud; with its claw it can lift crocodiles, panthers, even an elephant. It has two young ones, as large as itself; if they fly, they cast an enormous shadow. Isfandiyār slew this being by a stratagem, using a kind of chariot (*gardūn*), which was all set over with sharp weapons. The corpse of the monster covered a whole plain (*Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, p. 1597, etc.). Once, also this bird is called *farmānrawā* (1598, 1763).

Except the name, there is no great resemblance between the Avestan *saēna* and the Simurgh of the epic, although they have some features in common. Both dwell far from the inhabited world [on the relation of the Wourukasha to the Alburz see s. v. KĀF (ii. 659, col. 6)]; with the healing power of the epic bird, the relation of the *saēna* to the medicinal tree may be compared; in turn, the Simurgh itself has a connection with the fatal, far-off tree at the sea of Čin, where the baneful twig grows, which can slay Isfandiyār. Feather-magic is known to the Avesta, but not in connection with the *saēna*. *Yasht*, xiv. 34 etc. a feather-magic is taught against enemies: it consists of rubbing the body with a feather of the bird of prey *wār(n)gan*; the wearing of such a feather as an amulet is also mentioned. In the same *Yasht* (45 and 46), to ensure victory in battle, it is recommended to let fly four feathers, while uttering an appropriate spell, which helps also in mortal dangers. The difference here is great: the feathers are not those of the *saēna*, they are not burned, and the procedure does not aim at summoning some one. The Avestan bird belongs to the good (non-Ahrimanic) creation, although it is no chief (*raʔ*) of birds. That the epic Simurgh is called *shāh-i murghān* is nothing but a poetical conception. The Simurgh, which appears in the story of Zāl and his son may be considered as a kind of good genius (comp. also Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, p. 10, 59). If the malignant Simurgh in the adventure of Isfandiyār is not merely an addition to the older epic tradition (for it is supposed, with much reason, that the series of Isfandiyār's adventures is an imitation of Rustam's seven exploits), perhaps the statement of the *Bundahishn*, that this bird is of two aspects (kinds) could be compared, so that also in Zoroastrian lore there would have been a difference between two kinds of *saēna* (*sēn*). The Pahlavi statement, however, is too indistinct, to be made use of in this respect.

The rôle of the Simurgh as a guardian genius of heroes (on a possible parallel in Achaemenian dynastic tradition comp. Nöldeke, op. cit., p. 4) is not reflected in the Avesta. As it is very probable, that the cycle of Rustam and his family originally did not belong to Zoroastrian tradition (Nöldeke, op. cit., p. 9 etc.), this principal feature of the epic Simurgh must also be due to a non-Zoroastrian origin. It may be then, that two different mythical conceptions have been subsumed under one name. The Avestan *saēna* may, originally, correspond to one of the bird-shaped beings of Āryan mythology. We may, however, suppose, that it has lost most of its characteristics in being accommodated to Zoroastrian cosmology. There are a few resemblances between the Irānian conceptions and some features of Indian bird-mythology: the *saēna* lives far off on the tree in the sea Wourukasha, and a king of birds (*pakṣirāṭ*, is

Garuḍa meant?) lives also far off in the *varṣa* Hiraṇmaya (*Mahābhārata*, vi/viii. 5 sq.). The *sēn*, according to the *Mēnōk-i Khrat*, when alighting at his nest, breaks off thousand twigs of the medicinal tree, and the story of Garuḍa, tearing off and bearing away a branch of the Rauhiṇa-tree is well known (*Mahābh.*, i/xxix. 39, etc.; cf. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 21). One might also consider the fact, that, as the *saēna* stands in a certain relation to the healing herbs, so Garuḍa to the *amṛta*, the drink of immortality, and the *cyena*, mentioned in *R̥gveda*, iv. 26 and 27, to the Soma. But these faint resemblances may be due to accident at any rate, they are insufficient to justify a comparison between Irānian and Indian myth in this case. On a possible explanation of the *sēn* as a sun-bird comp. A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, 1921, p. 42.

On the other hand, the principal characteristic of the epic Simurgh is its protection of the exposed child Zāl, and, later on, its function as tutelary genius of Zāl and Rustam. It must therefore be classed with the various guardian-animals we meet in the stories of the youth of some historical or mythical heroes, as Cyrus, Romulus, etc. It is however true, that this Simurgh shows also features of a more fierce kind.

Thaʿālibī, in his history of the Persian kings, renders the word Simurgh by 'Ankā [q. v.]. In non-epic Persian literature, the dwelling-place of the Simurgh is the fabulous mountain Kāf (which originally may be the same as the Alburz; on this question comp. s.v. KĀF, ii. p. 659; Wensinck, *l. c.*). A more rationalistic view is e. g. that of Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī (*Nushat*, ed. Le Strange, i. 232; ii. 225) who says that on the isle of Rāmnī (Sumatra?) the nest of the Simurgh is found.

In mystical literature, the Simurgh as a symbol of the deity, is well-known from ʿAṭṭār's *Mantik al-Tāʾir*. The name of the bird, moreover, appears, in Persian literature, very often in poetical similes. A few instances out of many are: Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, i., vs. 1441; 2755; 2962; Rückert, *Grammatik, Rhetorik und Poetik der Perser*, p. 20; Azraqī as quoted in ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii. 89, where the synonym 'ankā is used.

(V. F. BÜCHNER)

SĪN, twelfth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 60. For palaeographical details see above i. 390 and ARABIA, plate 1. Sīn corresponds to: a) aethiopic *sāt*, Assyrian *sh*, Hebrew and Aramaic *š*, whereas *shīn* corresponds to Aeth. *sawt*, to Hebrew *š* and Aramaic *š* to Hebrew *š* and Aramaic *š*.

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages*, Cambridge 1890, p. 57 sqq.; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908, i. 128 sqq.

SINAL [See AL-TÜR].

SINĀN, usually called **KÖDJA MİʿMĀR SINĀN**, the greatest architect of the Ottomans. Sinān came from Kaişariya [q. v.] in Anatolia where he was born on the 9th Radjab 895 (April 15, 1589) the son of Christian Greeks. His father was later called ʿAbd al-Mennān but his real name is not known. His non-Turkish origin (*mühtedī*) is beyond question and is never in dispute, either among his contemporaries or among all serious

Turkish scholars. The young Sinān came into the Serai in Stribul with the levy of youths (*dewşirme*, q. v.), became a Janissary, distinguished himself in the campaigns against Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522) by his bravery and was promoted to be *senberekçi başı*, i. e. chief firework-operator. In the Persian war (1534) he showed special ingenuity, when he devised ferries for crossing Lake Van, which proved particularly effective. He continued to rise in rank and was ultimately appointed *Şubazkī* (police magistrate). When Selīm I advanced on Wallachia, Sinān was in his train. He built a bridge across the Danube, which aroused further admiration and laid the foundations of his fame. Henceforth he was exclusively engaged in building mosques and palaces, commissions from the Sulṭān and grandees of the Empire. That, as is often stated, he began the building of the Selimiye immediately after Selīm I's death, — the mosque which stands on the top of the fifth hill in Stribul and which was finished in 1522, — is impossible even on chronological grounds; in dazzling rapid succession from the end of the thirties arose the further creations of this master, which were built in parts all of the empire, mainly by command of Sulaimān the Great. Only the largest mosques can be mentioned here: in 1539 the Mosque of Roxelane (*Khaṣṣeki Khurram*), in 1548 the Princes' Mosque, in 1550/1556 the Suleimāniya, in 1551/1574 the Selimiye at Adrianople, built by order of Selīm II. These are his finest efforts. In addition he built a countless number of small mosques, palaces, schools, bridges, baths, etc. The poet, Muṣṭafā Sāʿī, his biographer, gives 81 mosques, 50 chapels, 55 schools, 7 Kuran schools, 16 poor-kitchens (*imāret*), 3 infirmaries, 7 aqueducts, 8 bridges, 34 palaces, 13 rest-houses, 3 store-houses, 33 baths, 19 domed tombs (*türbe*), in all 343 buildings. Sinān was working for three-quarters of a century everywhere from Bosnia to Mecca. As Corn. Gurlitt points out, Sinān displayed an incomparable lightness of touch in his use of the dome. On a square, hexagonal or octagonal base he developed his interiors, always striving at the effect of a great ceremonial hall, a uniform architecture enclosing the worshipping rulers and their hosts. He is predominantly concerned with the interior and readily neglects the exterior for it. But everywhere, Gurlitt says, appears the peculiarity of the Turkish character, everywhere he creates models which are as little Byzantine as they are Persian, as little Syrian as they are Seldjūk, but are all the more Turkish (cf. C. Gurlitt, *Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1909, p. 94). Sinān had numerous pupils to assist him, including Aḥmad Agha, Kamāl al-Dīn, Dāʿūd Agha, who was executed for free-thinking (cf. *Ḥadīkat al-Djāwāmiʿ*, i. 198), Yatīm Baba ʿAlī, Yūsuf and the younger Sinān, who is frequently confused with him, and to distinguish him from the latter he was later called *kodja* the "old". Yūsuf, his favourite pupil, is said to have been the architect of the palaces in Lahore, Delhi, and Agra, which were built by the Emperor Akbar. This Michael Angelo of the Turks died when nearly 90 (herein also resembling him) on the 12th Djumādā I, 986 (July 17, 1578). He was buried behind his masterpiece, the Sulaimān Mosque, close to the offices of the *Shaiḫ* al-Islām, beside a chapel, school, and well, built and endowed by him. The chronogram (*tārīkh*) gives the year of his death without any possibility of doubt as 986 (cf.

Islâm, ix. 247 sq. where the sources are collected) but it is supposed by Aḥmad Rafiḳ Bey, *ʿAlimler wa-Şanʿatçıları*, Stambul 1924, p. 33 note, that in the *taʾriḳh* the vowel *i* was allotted the value 10 so that the year of death would be 996 (1588), which seems also to be added in figures. As the *taʾriḳh* was composed by Muṣṭafâ Sâʿî (d. 1004 = 1595; cf. Riḍâ, *Tadhkira*, 51), a famous *naḳḱāsh* of his time, this error in the most important line seems odd, to say the least.

The following is an exact list of all Sinân's buildings based on the statements of Muṣṭafâ Sâʿî (d. 1595).

I. MOSQUES (*Djami*):

1) Suleimāniya, Stambul; 2) Shāhzāde-Mosque, Stambul; 3) M. of Khaṣṣeki Khurram, Stambul; 4) M. of princess Mihr-u Māh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 5) M. of the mother of ʿOthmān Shāh, Ak Serai, Stambul; 6) M. of the daughter of Bāyazīd II, Yeñi Baghçe, Stambul; 7) M. of Aḥmad Pasha, Top kapu, Stambul; 8) M. of Rustam Pasha, Taht al-kalʿa, Stambul; 9) M. of Mehmed Pasha, Kaḍirgha limani, Stambul; 10) M. of Ibrāhīm Pasha, at the Siliwri-gate, Stambul; 11) M. of Piāle Pasha, Stambul; 12) M. of ʿAbd al-Rahmān Çelebi, at Mollā Kūrāni, Stambul; 13) M. of Maḥmūd Agha, Stambul; 14) M. of Oda bashi, at Yeñi kapu, Stambul; 15) M. of Khodja Khosraw, at Koḍja Muṣṭafâ Pasha, Stambul; 16) M. of Hammāmī Khaṭun, Şulu Monastir, Stambul; 17) M. of *Defterdār* Sulaimān Çelebi, Üsküblü deşhmesi, Stambul; 18) M. of Farraḳh Kiaya, Balat, Stambul; 19) M. of Dragoman Yūnus Bey, Balat; 20) M. of Khurram Çaush, at Yeñi Baghçe, Stambul; 21) M. of Sinân Agha, at Kaḍi deşhmesi, Stambul; 22) M. of Akhi Çelebi, İzmir iskelesi, Stambul; 23) M. of Sulaimān subashi, at Un kapu, Stambul; 24) M. of Zāl Pasha, Aiyüb; 25) M. of Shāh Sultān, Aiyüb; 26) M. of Nishāndji bashi, Aiyüb; 27) M. of Amīr-i Bukhārī, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 28) M. of Merkez Efendi, at Yeñi kapu, Stambul; 29) M. of Çaush bashi, Sütlüğe, Stambul; 30) M. of Nūr Shaikh-zāde Husain Çelebi, at Kiremidlik; 31) M. of Kāsim Pasha, at the Arsenal, Stambul; 32) M. of Mehmed Pasha, at the ʿAzablār kapusu, Stambul; 33) M. of Kılıdji ʿAlī Pasha, at Top-khāna, Stambul; 34) M. of Muḥyi ed-Din Çelebi, at Top-khāna; 35) M. of Mollā Çelebi, between Top-khāna and Bashik Taşh; 36) M. of Abu ʿl-Faḍl, at Top-khāna; 37) M. of Prince Djihāngir, Top-khāna; 38) M. of Sinân Pasha, Bashik Taşh; 39) M. of the Sultāna, Skutari; 40) M. of Shamsi Aḥmad Pasha, Skutari; 41) M. of Iskandar Pasha; 42) M. of Muṣṭafâ Pasha, in Gebize; 43) M. of Pertew Pasha, in Izmid; 44) M. of Rustam Pasha, in Şabandja; 45) M. of Rustam Pasha, Samanlı; 46) M. of Muṣṭafâ Pasha, Boli; 47) M. of Farhād Pasha, in Boli; 48) M. of Mehmed Beg, in Izmid; 49) M. of ʿOthmān Pasha, in Kaişariya; 50) M. of Hādjdji Pasha, in Kaişariya; 51) M. of Djanābi Aḥmad Pasha, in Angora; 52) M. of Muṣṭafâ Pasha, in Erzerum; 53) M. of Sultān ʿAlā ed-Din, in Çorum; 54) M. of ʿAbd es-Salām, Izmid; 55) M. of Sultān Sulaimān, in Iznik (built

out of a Byzantine church which had been destroyed by fire); 56) M. of Khosraw Pasha, in Halab; 57) the domes of the sanctuary in Mekka; 58) M. of Sultān Murād Khān (III), in Maghnisa; 59) restoration of the M. of Orkhan Ghāzi, Kutahiya; 60) M. of Rustam Pasha, Bulawadin; 61) M. of Husain Pasha, Kutahja; 62) M. of Sultān Selim (II), Kara Buḡar; 63) M. of Sultān Sulaimān on the Gök maidān in Damascus; 64) M. of Sultān Selim (II), in Adrianople; 65) M. Taşhlik for Maḥmūd Pasha, in Adrianople; 66) M. of the *Defterdār* Muṣṭafâ Pasha, in Adrianople; 67) M. of ʿAlī Pasha, in Baba eskisi; 68) M. of Mehmed Pasha, in Hafsa; 69) M. of Mehmed Pasha, in Lüle Burghās; 70) M. of ʿAlī Pasha, in Eregli; 71) M. of the Bosnian Mehmed Pasha, in Sofia; 72) M. of Şüfi Mehmed Pasha, in Herzegovina; 73) M. of Farhād Pasha, in Çataldja; 74) M. of the executed Muṣṭafâ Pasha, in Ofen (Budapest); 75) M. of Firdūs Bey, in Isbarta, Asia Minor; 76) M. of Memi kiaya, in Ulaşlu; 77) M. of Tatar Khān, in Gözleve; 78) M. of Rustam Pasha, in Rusçuk; 79) M. of the Wāzir ʿOthmān Pasha, in Trikala, Thessaly; 80) M. of Khaṣṣeki Khurram, in Adrianople; 81) M. of the Sultān wālide, in Scutari.

II. SMALL MOSQUES (*Masdjid*):

1) Chapel of Rustam Pasha, Yeñi Baghçe, Stambul; 2) Ch. of Ibrāhīm Pasha, on the ʿİsā kapu, Stambul; 3) Ch. of Muṣṭafâ Çiwizāde, at the Top-kapu, Stambul; 4) Ch. of Amīr ʿAlī, beside the custom-house (*gömrük-khāna*), Stambul; 5) Ch. of the architect Sinân, beside the offices of the Shaikh al-Islām; 6) Ch. of the chief huntsman (*awḍji bashi*), beside the custom-house, Stambul; 7) Ch. of *Defterdār* Sharifzāde Efendi, in Stambul; 8) Ch. of *Defterdār* Mehmed Çelebi, in Stambul; 9) Ch. of Hāfiẓ Muṣṭafâ Efendi, at Yeñi Baghçe, Stambul; 10) Ch. of Simkash bashi, at the bazar of Luṭfi Pasha, Stambul; 11) Ch. of Khodjaizāde, at the *teṭimme* of the mosque of Mehmed II, Stambul; 12) Ch. of the Çaush, at the Siliwri-gate, Stambul; 13) Ch. of the daughter of Çiwizāde, Dāūd Pasha, Stambul; 14) Ch. of Taḳiyādjī Aḥmad, *ibid.*; 15) Ch. of Şary Hādjdji Naşūh, in Stambul; 16) Ch. of the slaughterer (*kaşşāb*) Hādjdji ʿIwād (properly ʿAwḍ), in Stambul; 17) Ch. of the cook (*tabbākh*) Hādjdji Hamza, at Agha çairi, Stambul; 18) Ch. of Hādjdji Ḥasan; 19) Ch. of Ibrāhīm Pasha, at the Kum kapu, Stambul; 20) Ch. of Bairām Çelebi, Wlaga, Stambul; 21) Ch. of Shaikh Farhād, *ibid.*; 22) Ch. of *kirakdjī bashi* (commander of the rowers), before the Kum kapu, Stambul; 23) Ch. of the workshop (*kār-khāna*) of the damask-makers (*kamkhaḍjilar*), in Stambul; 24) Ch. of the workshop of the goldsmiths (*kuyumdjilar*), in Stambul; 25) Ch. on the Hersek-Hippodrome (*Hersek bodromu*), near the Aya Sofia, Stambul; 26) Ch. of *yaya bashi*, on the Fenār kapu, Stambul; 27) Ch. of ʿAbdī şubashi, in the Sultān-Selim-quarter, Stambul; 28) Ch. of Hādjdji İlyās, at the bath of ʿAlī Pasha; 29) Ch. of Husain Çelebi, at the Selimiye, Stambul; 30) Ch. of Dukhānizāde, at Koḍja Muṣṭafâ Pasha, Stambul; 31) Ch. of Kāḍizāde, at the Çukur ḥammāmī, Stambul; 32) Ch.

of *Muftî Hâmid Efendi*, at 'Azablar hammâmî, Stambul; 33) Ch. at the tüfenk-khâna, outside the walls (*hişâr*); 34) Ch. of Serai aghasi, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 35) Ch. of the superintendent of the metalcasters (*dök-medjilar bashî*), in Aiyüb, Stambul; 36) Ch. of the arpadji bashî, Aiyüb; 37) Ch. of the physician Kâisünizâde, in Südlüdje, Stambul; 38) Ch. of the snow seller (*karđji*) Sulaimân, in Aiyüb; 39) Ch. of the snow seller (*karđji*) Sulaimân, in Stambul; 40) Ch. of Aḥmad Celebi, in Kiremidlik; 41) Ch. of Yaḥyâ kiaya, in the Kâsim Pasha quarter, Stambul; 42) Ch. of *shahr emini* (supervisor of the city) Hasan Celebi, *ibid.*; 43) Ch. of Sahîl Bey, Top-khâna, Stambul; 44) Ch. of Ilyâszâde, *ibid.*; 45) Ch. of *bazar bashî* Memî kiaya, in Scutari; 46) Ch. of Mehmed Pasha, *ibid.*; 47) Ch. of Hâdjî Pasha, in Scutari; 48) Ch. of sarrâdj khâna, in Khâşkoi, Stambul; 49) Ch. of the sarrâf, outside the Top kapu, Stambul; 50) Ch. of the *rûznâmuđji* 'Abdî Celebi in Şulu monastir.

III. SCHOOLS (*Madrasa*):

1) Sch. of Sultân Sulaimân, in Mekka; 2) Six schools, built by command of Sultân Sulaimân, in Stambul; 3) Sch. of Sultân Selim I (!) beside the Köşhik of the *khâlîdjilar* (carpet-makers); 4) Sch. of Sultân Selim II, Adrianople; 5) Sch. of Sultân Selim II, in Çorlu; 6) Sch. of Prince Mehmed, in Stambul; 7) Sch. of Khaşşeki Khurram, on the women's market ('*awrat basari*'), Stambul; 8) the school called *Kahriya* of the Khaşşeki Khurram, in Sultân Selim, Stambul; 9) Sch. of the Sultân-mother, in Scutari; 10) Sch. of Princess Mihr-u Mâh, in Scutari; 11) Sch. of Princess Mihr-u Mâh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 12) Sch. of Mehmed Pasha, Kadyrgha limani; 13) Sch. of Mehmed Pasha, in Aiyüb; 14) Sch. of the mother of 'Othmân Shâh, Ak serai, Stambul; 15) Sch. of Rustam Pasha, Stambul; 16) Sch. of 'Alî Pasha, Stambul; 17) Sch. of the executed Mehmed Pasha, Top kapu, Stambul; 18) Sch. of Şüfi Mehmed Pasha, Stambul; 19) Sch. of Ibrâhim Pasha, Stambul; 20) Sch. of Sinân Pasha, in Stambul; 21) Sch. of Iskandar Pasha, in Stambul(?); 22) Sch. of 'Alî Pasha, in Baba eskisi; 23) Sch. of the Egyptian Muştafâ Pasha, in Gebize; 24) Sch. of Aḥmad Pasha, in Izmid; 25) Sch. of Kâsim Pasha, in Stambul(?); 26) Sch. of Ibrâhim Pasha, at the 'Isâ-Gate, Stambul; 27) Sch. of Shamsî Aḥmad Pasha, in Scutari; 28) Sch. of *kapu aghasi* Dja'far Agha, in Stambul(?); 29) Sch. of the Agha of the Gate Maḥmûd Agha, in Stambul(?); 30) Sch. of the *Mo'tilsâde* Amir Efendi, in Stambul(?); 31) the School called Umm walad, in Stambul(?); 32) Sch. of the chief huntsman (*awđji bashî*), in Stambul(?); 33) Sch. of the *Muftî Hâmid Efendi*, in Stambul(?); 34) Sch. of the military judge Firûz Agha (!), in Stambul; 35) Sch. of Khodjiagzâde, at Sultân Mehmed, Stambul; 36) Sch. of Aghazâde, in Stambul(?); 37) Sch. of Yaḥyâ Efendi, in Stambul; 38) Sch. of the *Defterdâr* 'Abd es-Salâm Bey, in Stambul; 39) Sch. of Tûṭî kâđi, in Stambul; 40) Sch. of the physician Mehmed Celebi, in Stambul; 41) Sch. of Husain Celebi, in Stambul; 42) Sch. of

Amin Sinân Efendi, in Stambul; 43) Sch. of Shâh-kuli, in Stambul; 44) Sch. of the Dragoman Yûnus Bey, in Stambul; 45) Sch. of the snow seller (*karđji*) Sulaimân Bey, in Stambul; 46) Sch. of Hâdjî Khatun, in Stambul; 47) Sch. of the *Defterdâr* Sharîfzâde, in Stambul; 48) Sch. of the judge Hâkim Celebi; 49) Sch. of Baba Celebi, in Stambul; 50) Sch. of Kirmasî (!) Celebi, renovated; 51) Sch. of *segban* 'Alî Bey at the custom-house, in Stambul; 52) Sch. of the *nishândji* Mehmed Bey, at Altı mermer; 53) Sch. of *benestân ketkhudasi* Husain Celebi, in Stambul; 54) Sch. of Gülfum Khatun, in Scutari; 55) Sch. of Khosraw kiaya, in Angora.

IV. KUR'ÂN-READING SCHOOLS (*Dâr al-Kurra'*):

1) K. of Sultân Sulaimân, Stambul; 2) K. of the Wâlide Sultân, Scutari; 3) K. of Khosraw kiaya, Stambul; 4) K. of Mehmed Pasha, Aiyüb, Stambul; 5) K. of the *Muftî Sa'id* Celebi, Küçük Qaraman, Stambul; 6) K. of the Bosnian Mehmed Pasha, Stambul; 7) K. of the *Muftî Kâđizâde* Efendi, Stambul.

V. TOMB CHAPELS (*Türbe*):

1) T. C. of Sultân Sulaimân Khân, Stambul; 2) T. C. of Sultân Selim (II.) Khân, Stambul; 3) T. C. of Prince Mehmed, Stambul; 4) T. C. of the Princes, Stambul; 5) T. C. of Rustam Pasha, *Shahzâde bashî*, Stambul; 6) T. C. of Khosraw Pasha, Stambul; 7) T. C. of Aḥmad Pasha, Top kapu, Stambul; 8) T. C. Mehmed Pasha, Aiyüb, Stambul; 9) of the sons of Siyâwush Pasha, Aiyüb, Stambul; 10) T. C. of Zâl Maḥmûd Pasha, Aiyüb, Stambul; 11) T. C. of Khair ed-Dîn Barbarossa, Bashik Taşh, Stambul; 12) T. C. of Yaḥyâ Efendi, Bashik Taşh, Stambul; 13) T. C. of Shamsî Aḥmad Pasha, Scutari; 14) T. C. of the Beylerbeyi's of Cyprus 'Arab Aḥmad Bey, Stambul; 15) T. C. of Kilydjî 'Alî Pasha, Aiyüb, Stambul; 16) T. C. of Pertew Pasha, Aiyüb, Stambul; 17) T. C. of Princess Shâh Khobân, wife of Luṭfi Pasha, Yeñi Baghçe, Stambul; 18) T. C. of Hâdjî Pasha, Scutari; 19) T. C. of Aḥmad Pasha, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul.

VI. HOSPITALS (*Timûr-khâna, Tab-khâna*):

1) H. of Sultân Sulaimân, Stambul; 2) H. of Khaşşeki Khurram, Stambul; 3) H. of Sultân Wâlide, in Scutari.

VII. AQUEDUCTS (*Kemer*):

1) Derbend kemeri; 2) Uzun kemeri; 3) Mu'allak kemeri; 4) Göründje kemeri; 5) Aqueducts at Müderris köyi; 6) Reservoirs (*hawuz*); 7) Rebuilding of Uzun kemeri.

VIII. BRIDGES:

1) Br. at Büyük Çekmedje; 2) Br. at Siliwri; 3) Br. of Muştafâ Pasha across the Maritza; 4) Br. of Mehmed Pasha, in Mermere; 5) Br. of Oda bashî, Halkali; 6) Br. of the Agha of the Gate (*kapu aghasi*), Harâmî deresi; 7) Br. of Mehmed Pasha, in Sinânlî; 8) Br. of the grandvizier Mehmed Pasha at Vişegrad, Bosnia (cf. M. Hoernes, *Diramische Wanderungen*, Vienna 1888, p. 245).

IX. POOR-KITCHENS (*Imârat*):

1) K. of Sulţân Sulaimân, Stambul, built 962 (beg. Nov. 26, 1554); 2) K. of Khaşşeki Khurram, in Mekka, near the Ka'ba; 3) K. of Sulţân Selim, Kara Buñar; 4) K. of Prince Sulaimân, Stambul; 5) K. of Sulţân Sulaimân, Çorlu; 6) K. of Princess Mihr-u Mâh, in Scutari; 7) K. of Sulţân Wâlide, in Scutari; 8) K. of Sulţân Murâd III, Maghnisa; 9) K. of Rustam Pasha, in Rustuk; 10) K. of Rustam Pasha, in Şabandja; 11) K. of Mehmed Pasha, in Burghas; 12) K. of Mehmed Pasha, in Hafsa; 13) K. of Muştâfâ Pasha, in Gebize; 14) K. of Mehmed Pasha, in Serajevo (Bosna Serai); 15) K. of Muştâfâ Pasha, in Kiwetin (?); 16) K. of Sulţân Sulaimân, in Damascus; 17) K. of the bridgehead of Muştâfâ Pasha köprüsü.

X. WAREHOUSES (*Makhsan*):

1) W. in Galaşa; 2) W. at the Imperial Arsenal, Stambul; 3) W. in the Serai, Stambul.

XI. REST-HOUSES (*Karawânserai*):

1) Caravanserai of Sulţân Sulaimân, Stambul; 2) C. of Sulţân Sulaimân, in Büyük Çekmedje; 3) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Tekfur daghi (Rodosto); 4) C. of Rustam Pasha, on the market (*bit bazari*) in Scutari; 5) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Galaşa; 6) C. of 'Alî Pasha, on the market in Scutari; 7) C. of Pertew Pasha, on the place Abu 'l-Wafâ, Stambul; 8) C. of Muştâfâ Pasha, in Ilgın, Anatolia; 9) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Ak biyik, Anatolia; 10) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Şamanlı; 11) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Şabandja; 12) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Eregli (Qaraman); 13) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Karişhdiran, Bulgaria; 14) C. of Khosraw kîaya, Ipsala; 15) C. of Mehmed Pasha, in Burghas; 16) C. of Rustam Pasha, in Adrianople; 17) C. of 'Alî Pasha, in Adrianople; 18) C. of Mehmed Pasha, in Hafsa.

XII. PALACES (*Serai*):

1) Rebuilding of the old Serai, Stambul; 2) New Serai, Stambul; 3) S. in Scutari; 4) S. in Galaşa; 5) Rebuilding of the S. on the At mejdân, Stambul; 6) S. on the Yeñi kapu, Stambul; 7) S. in Kandillî; 8) S. at Fener baghçe, Stambul; 9) S. in the garden of Iskandar Çelebi, in Scutari; 10) S. in Halkall at Stambul; 11) S. of Rustam Pasha, Kadyrgha limân, Stambul; 12) S. of Mehmed Pasha, at Aya Şofia, Stambul; 13) S. of Mehmed Pasha, Scutari; 14) S. of Rustam Pasha, in Scutari; 15) First S. of Siyâwush Pasha, in Scutari; 16) Second S. of Siyâwush Pasha, in Scutari; 17) S. of Siyâwush Pasha, in Stambul; 18) S. of 'Alî Pasha, in Stambul; 19) S. of Ahamad Pasha, on the At mejdân, Stambul; 20) S. of Farhâd Pasha, Sulţân Bâyezid quater, Stambul; 21) S. of Pertew Pasha, on the place Abu 'l-Wafâ, Stambul; 22) S. of Sinân Pasha, on the At mejdân, Stambul; 23) S. of Süfi Mehmed Pasha, Kodja (Muştâfâ) Pasha quarter, Stambul; 24) S. of Mahmûd Agha, Yeñi Baghçe, Stambul; 25) S. of Mehmed Pasha, in Halkall at Stambul; 26) S. of Princess Shâh Khobân, wife of Lutfi Pasha, in the Kâsim Pasha quarter,

near Kâsim çeshmesi, Stambul; 27) S. of Pertew Pasha, before Shâhzâde, Stambul; 28) S. of Ahamad Pasha, on the domain (*çiftlik*); 29) First S. of 'Alî Pasha, Aiyûb; 30) Second S. of 'Alî Pasha, Aiyûb; 31) S. of Mehmed Pasha, on the estate (*çiftlik*) of Rustam Pasha; 32) S. of Mehmed Pasha, in Serajevo (Bosna Serai); 33) S. of Rustam Pasha, on the estate of Iskandar Çelebi.

XIII. BATHS (*Hamâm*):

1) B. of Sulţân Sulaimân, Stambul; 2) Three baths in the Imperial Palace; 3) B. of Sulţân Sulaimân, Kaffa, Krim; 4) Three b. in the palace at Scutari; 5) B. of Khaşşeki Khurram, at the Aya Şofia, Stambul; 6) B. of Khaşşeki Khurram, in the Jewish quarter (*Yehûdiler*), Stambul; 7) B. of Wâlide Sulţân, in Scutari; 8) Sultan's-Bath (*sulţân-hammâmî*), Kara Buñar; 9) B. of Wâlide Sulţân, at Djubba 'Alî (usually: *Djubbali*), Stambul; 10) B. of Princess Mihr-u Mâh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 11) B. of Lutfi Pasha, *ibid.*; 12) B. of Mehmed Pasha, Galata, Stambul; 13) B. of Mehmed Pasha, in Adrianople; 14) B. of Ibrâhim Pasha, at the Siliwri-Gate, Stambul; 15) B. of the Agha of the Gate (*kapu aghasi*), Şulu Monastir; 16) B. of Kodja Muştâfâ Pasha, Yeñi Baghçe, Stambul; 17) B. of Sinân Pasha, in Bashik Taş, Stambul; 18) B. of Mollâ Çelebi, in Fündüklü, Stambul; 19) B. of Admiral 'Alî Pasha, Top-khâna, Stambul; 20) B. of the same, Fener kapu, Stambul; 21) Bath of the Muftî, in the druggists' market (*ma'djündji çarshusu*), Stambul; 22) B. Mehmed Pasha, in Hafsa; 23) B. of Markaz Efendi, Yeñi kapu, Stambul; 24) B. of Nishândji Bashi, Aiyûb, Stambul; 25) B. of Khosraw Pasha, Orta köj; 26) a bath in Izmid; 27) B. in Çataldja; 28) B. of Rustam Pasha, in Şabandja; 29) B. of Husain Bey, in Kâsarîya; 30) B. of Şary kürz (Şarl güzel, cf. above p. 171b), Stambul; 31) B. of Khair al-Dîn Pasha, at the custom-house (*gömrük-khâna*), Stambul; 32) B. of Khair al-Dîn, in Zairak; 33) B. of Ya'kûb Agha, Top-khâna, Stambul.

Bibliography: No monograph dealing exhaustively with the life and artistic activities of Sinân has yet appeared nor is there any architectural survey of his buildings yet in existence. The main source so far is Muştâfâ Sâ'î's work, *Tadhkirat al-Bunyân-i kodja mi'mâr Sinân*, of which there are two editions: one without date and place of publication (Stambul, middle of the sixteenth century), 16 p., small 8°, entitled *Tadhkirat al-Abniya*; the second, Stambul 1315, Ikdam press, 72 p., 8°. The two editions give lists of Sinân's buildings which differ from one another in many points. Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Siyâhetnâme*, seems to have known Sâ'î's work. The following are references to Sinân in Ewliyâ Çelebi: i. 140 (*Travels*, i, 1, p. 69); i. 147, 148 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 73); i. 150 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 75); i. 155 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 79, 80); i. 159 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 81); i. 163 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 82 sq.); i. 307 (lacking in *Tr.*); i. 308 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 167); i. 309 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 168); i. 310 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 169); i. 311 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 169); i. 312 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 169); a list of all his mosques in Constantinople is given on i., p. 313 sq. (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 170 sq.); building

in Brussa (Caravanserai of 'Alī Pasha; not in Muṣṭafā): ii. 19; buildings in Izmid: ii. 64 = *Travels*, ii. 1, p. 31. — Almost all the Constantinople mosques built by Sinân are fully described in Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain Efendi of Aiwānsrai (flourished in the second half of the xviiith century), *Gardens of the Mosques* (*Ḥadīkat al-Djawāmi'*), with additions by 'Alī Sāti', printed at Sтамbul 1281; Extracts from it were given by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, Pesth 1833, ix., p. 47—144 (Mosques), p. 148 sqq. (Schools, Medreses); *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, ed. by H. Grothe, Halle 1914, vol. xi., p. 67 sqq. (F. Babinger); *Isl.*, Strassburg 1919, vol. ix., p. 247 sq. (F. Babinger); *Yeñi madj-mū'a*, Sтамbul 1917, vol. 13, p. 249—252 and vol. 14, p. 269—279 (Aḥmad Rafiḳ Bey; with pictures). On Sinân's pupils, cf. *Quellen zur osmanischen Künstlergeschichte in Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Leipzig 1924, i., p. 35 sqq. — The two above-mentioned *Tadhkkira's* are as MSS. in Cairo, National Library (cf. 'Alī Efendi Hilmi al-Dāghestāni, *Fikhrī* [Cairo 1306], 231 [united in an old *madjmi'a*]).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

SINÂN PASHA, name of several viziers of the Ottoman empire, mostly of Christian origin (as the name Sinân [al-Dīn Yūsuf] suggests; cf. *Isl.*, xi. 20, note 1 and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 536, note a). The most important are:

1. **Khodja Sinân Pasha**, vizier under Mehmed II the Conqueror. Mollā Sinân al-Dīn Yūsuf Pasha was a son of the famous Mollā Khidr Beg, who, a son of the *qādī* of Siwri Ḥiṣār Djalāl al-Dīn, traced his descent to the celebrated **Khodja Naṣr al-Dīn**. His father who died in 863 (1458/1459) was the first *qādī* of Sтамbul (cf. the art. **KHIDR BEG**). Sinân Pasha was born in Brussa probably about 1438, was taught in his youth by his father, afterwards entered the train of Mehmed II whose teacher and councillor he became. According to one story, probably erroneous, after the second deposition of the famous grand-vizier Maḥmūd Pasha [q. v.] he succeeded him but fell into disfavour about 881 (1476/1477) and was only later appointed *müderri* in Siwri Ḥiṣār and in Adrianople after a remarkable cure which the Sultān made him take (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 241). Sultān Bāyazīd who had taken a fancy to him granted him an ample allowance. In 887 (1482/1483) he retired, but a year later we find him acting as *mütasarrif* of Gallipoli. He died on Ṣafar 24, 891 (March 1, 1486) at Gallipoli where he was buried in a *türbe* restored by Maḥmūd II in 1247/1248 (1831). His two brothers also earned the title of Pasha, namely Aḥmad Pasha and Ya'kūb Pasha (cf. *Tashköprüzāde-Madjidi*, i. 96, 197). Mollā Sinân Pasha, called simply **Khodja Pasha** by his contemporaries, was an important scholar and the author of several works on mathematics, metaphysics, astronomy, ethics and legends of the saints. He wrote a commentary on the astronomical works of Čaghmini (*Sharḥ-i Čaghmini*), and a commentary on al-Djīrī's *Mawāḥiḥ fi 'Ilm al-Kalām*. His *Ma'ārif-i Sinân* deals with ethics and under the title *Tadhkkirat al-Awliyā* he wrote a "legends of the saints" (original manuscript in the Nūr-i 'Oḥmāniya library at Sтамbul). A discourse on prayer from his pen entitled *Munādīāt* was printed at Sтамbul (Abu 'l-Dīyā Press).

Bibliography: *Tashköprüzāde-Madjidi*, *al-Shakā'ik al-nu'māniya*, i. 193—195, Sтамbul 1269; following him 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akḥbār* (part not yet printed) and Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tadji al-Tawāriḳh*, ii. 498—500; Brusali Mehmed Tāhir, *'Oḥmānī Mü'ellifleri*, ii. 223 sqq. (thorough); *Sidjill-i 'oḥmāni*, iii. 103 sq.; *Sālnāme* of Edirne of 1310; regarding the tomb of Sinân Pasha there are two different statements. The tomb (*türbe*) is however still in existence in Gallipoli, according to J. H. Mordtmann; cf. also Ewliyā, *Siyāhetnāme*, v. 418 (monastery, *tekke*), 419 (poor-kitchen, *imāret*), 420 (tomb), but see Brusali Mehmed Tāhir, *op. cit.*, ii. 224, note 1. II. **Khādim Sinân Pasha**, grand vizier under Selim I. Sinân al-Dīn Yūsuf Pasha was probably of Christian descent; he was first of all governor of Rumelia and then of Anatolia. In the battle of Čaldiran (Aug. 23, 1574), he commanded with success the right wing of the victorious Ottoman army and when Hersekoghlu Aḥmad Pasha, four times grand vizier, was suddenly dismissed on Ramaḍān 9, 920 (October 28, 1514) he became his successor. *Poi fa Bassa Sinan un suo schiavo qual era imbrahor* (e.g. *emirachor*, master of the horse) *e avea 7 aspri addi, e il beglerbeg di Natolia nuovo*, reports the Venetian Bailo Antonio Giustinian, under date March 1, 1516. In the campaign against Syria and Egypt, Sinân Pasha was made commander-in-chief. On 29th Dhu 'l-Hidjja 923 (January 23, 1517) he commanded the Anatolian troops in the battle of Ridāniya, but was killed in personal combat with Sultān Tūmān Bāy. His successor in the grand-vizierate was Yūnus Pasha [q. v.].

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 421, 462, 492, 496, 662; *Sidjill-i 'oḥmāni*, i. 105; the Italian sources mentioned in Jorga, *G. O. R.*, ii. 330, note 1; *Ḥadīkat al-Wusarā'*, 21 sq.

III. **Khodja Sinân Pasha**, five times grand vizier of the Ottoman empire. Sinân Pasha was of Albanian descent; he was the son of a peasant in Dibra (Debr) or according to others in Delvino (cf. Jorga, *G. O. R.*, iii. 170, no authority given; *nato vicino a Delvion all'incontro di Corfu*, according to Bailo Matteo Zane in 1594; cf. E. Albèri, *Relazioni*, iii. 3, p. 420, Florence 1855). He entered the Serai through the levy of youths (*dewshirme*; q. v.), under Sulaimān became *čāshnegir bashi*, chief cup-bearer, was later promoted to be *mīr-i liwā* of Malaṭia, Kaṣtamūni, Ghazza, Tarabulūs (Tripolis in Syria), Erzerum and Ḥalab, and in the spring of 1568 became governor of Egypt (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 551). From here he undertook campaigns against the Yemen, which he conquered for the Ottoman empire. The Ottoman poet Nihālī celebrated this event in a poem entitled *i Feṭḥnāme Yemen* (MS., perhaps autograph in the Vienna National Library, cf. G. Flügel, *Catalogue*, i. 640 sq.) and the Arab historian Maḥmūd Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī describes fully in prose this and the following campaigns in a work dedicated to Sinân and entitled *al-Barḳ al-Yamāni fi 'l-Faṭḥ al-'Oḥmāni* (cf. S. de Sacy, *N. E.*, iv. 473; part ed. with Portuguese translation by D. Lopez, Lisbon 1892). For further panegyrics of Sinân Pasha, cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 560, 779 from 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akḥbār*. In 979 (1571/1572) Sinân Pasha was again appointed governor of Egypt, and in the spring of 1574 in the campaign against Tunis he was given supreme command

of the Ottoman land forces. Goletta (Ḥalk al-Wādī) was stormed after a month's siege and Tunis incorporated in the Ottoman empire. Sinân Pasha who had become sixth vizier in 980 (1572/1573) was promoted two years later to be vizier of the cupola (*kübbe westîrî*). In the spring of 1580 he led the Ottoman army against Georgia and on the 14th Radjab 988 (August 25, 1580) he was appointed grand vizier in succession to Aḥmad Pasha who had died. Georgia was conquered but not subdued so that almost immediately after the conclusion of the campaign, difficulties arose which resulted on the 20th Dhu'l Ka'da 990 (December 5, 1582) in Sinân Pasha's dismissal and banishment to Dimetoka, later to Malghara (i. e. *Μεγάλη Καρβά*) (cf. Selânikî, *Târîkh*, p. 170; Gio. Tom. Minadoi da Rovigo, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiani*, Turin 1588 and Venice 1594, in which the writer describes fully the Persian campaign from his own experience). Through harem influence and a present of 100,000 ducats, however, he soon succeeded in exchanging his exile in Malghara for the governorship of Damascus (cf. Selânikî, p. 215; *G. O. R.*, iv. 185), from which he returned to Constantinople in Djumâdâ II, 997 (April 1589) as grand vizier. The vast wealth which he already possessed and which later assumed fabulous proportions, enabled him to make remarkable gifts (e. g. a grand-admiral's flagship and seven galleys) and to erect splendid buildings. The handsomely fitted köshk of the Serai on the shore of the Golden Horn which bore his name and was not destroyed till 1827 (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 187 note d), owed its origin to him. He also took up the old plan of connecting the Black Sea with the Gulf of Nicomedia by digging a canal from the Sea of Şabandja [q. v.] to the Gulf of Nicomedia for which he hoped to utilise the skill of Sinân the architect [q. v.]. This great undertaking seems to have fallen through as a result of the wars (cf. also Ḥādjdjî Khalifa, *Djîhân-Numâ*, p. 666 and the literature quoted under ŞABANDJA). On the 11th Shawwâl 999 (August 2, 1591) Sinân Pasha again fell from favour and was dismissed, but by the 25th Rabi' II, 1001 (January 29, 1593) a rising of the Janissaries caused him to be sent for to fill the grandvizierate for a third time. Henceforth all his energies were concentrated on winning military laurels in the west, especially in Hungary. In the spring of 1593, he therefore assumed in person supreme command of the army in the Hungarian campaign, which he concluded with the capture of numerous castles and strongholds. A month after the death of Murâd III on the 6th Djumâdâ II, 1003 (February 16, 1595), he had again to surrender the imperial seal and go into exile at Malghara, only for a few months however. On the 29th Shawwâl 1003 (July 7, 1595) he replaced his rival and relative Ferhâd Pasha and a few weeks later began a campaign against Wallachia, which had rebelled. The rather inglorious course of this campaign and the loss of Gran, which was ascribed to the inactivity of his son Mehmed Pasha, Beglerbeg of Rumelia (cf. the documents mentioned in J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 645 sq.), brought about his dismissal and banishment to Malghara on the 16th Rabi' I, 1004 (November 19, 1595). But when his successor Lala Mehmed Pasha died on the third day after his appointment, the imperial seal was again for a fifth time entrusted to Sinân Pasha. He

was just engaged on plans for conquering Erlau in Hungary when he died on the 4th Sha'bân 1004 (April 3, 1596). He was buried in his own türbe in the Şofiler quarter of Stambul. — Sinân Pasha was an unusually cruel, stubborn, selfish, and at the same time ignorant, man as to whose character Ottoman (notably 'Âli) and western chroniclers are entirely in agreement. He was feared among the European envoys at the Porte. Not all of them dared reply so sharply and to the point as the Austrian envoy Dr. Barthold Pezzén (cf. *Des Freyherrn von Wratislaw merkwürdige Gesandtschaftsreise nach Constantinopel*, Leipzig 1787, p. 138; Engl. ed., London 1862, ed. by A. H. Wratislaw). The Venetian *baili* all agree in their descriptions of this powerful man, for example: Constant. Garzoni (1573, in Albèri, *Relazioni*, iii. 1, p. 411), Antonio Tiepolo (1576, in Albèri, *op. cit.*, iii. 2, p. 153 sq.), Lor. Bernardo (1592, in Albèri, *op. cit.*, iii. 2, p. 358: *fu fatto massuu* [e. g. *ma'zûl*, deposed] *per causa della caicadin* [e. g. *Kaya Khaṭûn*]), Paolo Contarini (1583, in Albèri, *op. cit.*, iii. 3, p. 240), Giov. Moro (1590, in Albèri, *op. cit.*, iii. 3, p. 329, 372 sq.), Matteo Zane (1594, in Albèri, *op. cit.*, iii. 3, p. 420 sq.). He is described (1573) as "a strong young man with a thick black beard" (in St. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt on/M. 1674, p. 31, 109; cf. also C. Garzoni, *op. cit.*, iii. 1, p. 411: *non molto grande di persona, con barba lunga, castagna, di bella e grata presenza*). Sinân Pasha was immensely rich; his estate is fully described in H. F. v. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, Berlin 1811, part 1, p. 101 sqq.; cf. Pertsch, *Türk. Hss. Berlin*, p. 79: MS. 39, fol. 105a, also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 258 sq. A brother of Sinân Pasha was the Beglerbeg Ayâs Pasha (d. 975 = 1568) executed by order of Sulaimân the Great, who left two sons Maḥmûd Pasha (cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, iv. 314) and Muştafâ Pasha (*ibid.*, iv. 380). On Ayâs Pasha, not to be confused with the grand vizier of the same name, who also was an Albanian (from Valona) cf. *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, i. 447.

Bibliography (in addition to works already mentioned): the Ottoman historians most of whom have been used by J. von Hammer, also *Hadîkat al-Wuzarâ*, p. 35 sqq.; Ḥādjdjî Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, i. 76 sq., followed word for word in *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, iii. 103 sq. — An Arabic biography of Sinân Pasha is in the *MS. Wetstein 409* (Ahlwardt, vii., N^o. 8471) on fol. 135b. — On Sinân's son, the Beglerbeg Mehmed Pasha, cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, x. 527 below (Index s.v.) and *Sidjill-i 'othmânî*, iv. 139; he died in Djumâdâ I, 1014 (September-October 1605). Among Sinân Pasha's relatives was the grand vizier Ferhâd Pasha, who again was related to Pertew Pasha (cf. Marcantonio Domini [1562] in Albèri, *Relazioni*, iii. 3, p. 188 at the top: *questo Pertaff passa gli anni 55; è albanese e parente del magnifico Ferrat bassa, essendo maritato nella madre di sua moglie*).

(FRANZ BAHINGER)

SIND, consists of the lower valley and delta of the river Indus (Sindhu) from which the province takes its name, and lies between 20° 35' and 28° 39' N. and 66° 40' and 71° 10' E.

The Aryans were settled on the Indus before 1000 B. C. and about 500 B. C. Darius Hystaspes conquered the valley, but Persian rule in Sind had passed away when Alexander the Great traversed

the country in 325 B. C. After his departure it was included first in the Mauryan empire and then in that of the Bactrian Greeks. From the first century before, until the seventh century after, Christ India was invaded by various hordes from Central Asia, of whom the Ephthalites, or White Huns, settled in Sind and established the Rāi dynasty, which was terminated by the usurpation of the Brāhman minister Čač, whose son Dāhir was reigning when Sind was invaded by the Arabs. In A. D. 711 Muḥammad b. Kāsim Sākifi, invaded the country, by the order of the Khalifa al-Walid, in order to avenge the maltreatment of some Muslim merchants who had failed to obtain redress, captured the seaport of Daibul, the town of Nerankot (the modern Ḥaidarābād), and Rāwar, where he defeated and slew Dāhir, and finally took the capital, Aror or Alor, and, in 713, Multān, where much treasure fell into his hands. He had barely had time to organize his conquest when he was superseded by Sulaimān, who succeeded al-Walid in 715, and, as a protégé of al-Ḥaǧǧīdjādī, whose cruelty had made many enemies, was put to death with torture at Wāsīt, on the Tigris.

A succession of Muslim governors ruled Sind, leaving the administration chiefly in the hands of the natives, who enjoyed the free exercise of their religion; but the hold of the khalifas on the province gradually weakened, and in 871 was entirely relaxed. Two Arab chiefs founded independent states at Multān and Maṣūra, but when Maḥmūd of Ghazni led his raids into India, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Dā'ūd, governor of Multān and Sind, still maintained the fiction of allegiance to the khalifa. His adherence to the Qarmatian heresy cost him his throne, and Maḥmūd placed a governor of his own in Multān. In 1053 the Sumras, a Rāǧpūt tribe, cast off the yoke of Farrukhzād and established their authority in Lower Sind, but the upper province remained subject to the Ghaznavids and was conquered, with the rest of their dominions, by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām. His lieutenant, Nāsir al-Dīn Qabācha, submitted to Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibak of Dihli, but was defeated by Shams al-Dīn Ḥlutimish, whose authority he refused to recognize. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the troops of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khalǧi overthrew the Sumras and destroyed their capital, but in 1333 the Sammās, a Rāǧpūt tribe converted to Islām, seized the reins of government, and set up a ruler of their own with the title of Djam. Muḥammad b. Tughlaq of Dihli died in March, 1351, on the banks of the Indus, while in pursuit of a rebel whom the Sammās had harboured, and Sind contended successfully with the imperial arms until the Sammās were reduced to obedience and vassalage by Firūz, Muḥammad's successor. With the decline of the power of Dihli that of the Sammās revived, the greatest of their line being Djam Nanda, or Niẓām al-Dīn, who reigned for forty-six years and died in 1509. In 1520 Sind was invaded by Shāh Beg Arghūn who, having been driven from Kāndahār by Bābur, succeeded in establishing himself in Sind. Djam Firūz, the last of the Sammās, was driven into Guǧarāt, where he died. Humāyūn, expelled from Hindūstān by Shīr Shāh, made two abortive attempts to conquer Sind, during the second of which his son Akbar was born at Umakot in 1542, but was compelled to flee into Persia. On the death of Shāh Ḥasan, the last of the Arghūns, in 1554,

the Tarkhāns, another short lived dynasty, became rulers of Sind, and witnessed the sack of Thatha by the Portuguese in 1555, but in 1592 Akbar defeated Mirzā Dīānī Beg Tarkhān, and annexed Sind, which was incorporated in the *suba* of Multān. The province was a part of the empire, but owing to its remoteness local affairs remained much in native hands. The Dāūdputras were powerful in Lower Sind in the seventeenth century, and were succeeded by the Kalhoras, who in 1701 ousted them from Shikārpūr and obtained from Awrangzib a large grant of land. For the next forty years the Kalhoras increased their power, but in 1740 Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora incurred the displeasure of Nādir Shāh, to whom that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus had been ceded, and was compelled to surrender Shikārpūr and Sibi and to pay a heavy tribute. In 1754 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (Abdālī), to whom Sind had passed on the death of Nādir Shāh, drove Nūr Muḥammad to Džaisalmer, where he died, but his son, Muḥammad Murād Yār Khān, appeased the Afghān and retained the kingdom. In 1768 his brother and successor, Ghulām Shāh, founded Ḥaidarābād on the site of Nerankot. The relations of the Kalhoras with the English East India Company, which in 1772 opened a factory at Thatha, were the reverse of friendly, and the factory was closed in 1775. Some years later Mir Bidjar, a chief of the Tālpūr tribe of the Balūč, rose in rebellion, and the Kalhora compromised the matter by appointing him minister, but he was assassinated in 1781 after defeating an Afghān army near Shikārpūr, and his son 'Abd-Allāh Khān Tālpūr drove 'Abd al-Nabī, the last of the Kalhoras, to Kalāt. 'Abd al-Nabī regained his throne and put 'Abd Allāh to death, but the latter's kinsman, Mir Faṭḥ 'Alī, defeated him and finally compelled him to take refuge in Džodhpūr, where his descendants still hold distinguished rank. In 1783 Faṭḥ 'Alī, the first of the Tālpūr Mirs, established himself as Rā'is of Sind. The history of the country under its new rulers is bewildering, owing to its partition among different members of the family — (1) the Ḥaidarābād or Shāhdādpūr branch, ruling in Central Sind, (2) the Mirpūr or Manikānī branch, seated at Mirpūr, and (3) the Suhrābānī branch, ruling at Khairpūr.

The early relations of the English East India Company with the Mirs of Sind were unsatisfactory, and difficulties in connection with the passage of British troops through the province on the outbreak of the first Afghān war in 1838 led to the introduction of some degree of British control. The Mirs were now amenable, but their army rose against the British, and in 1843 was defeated by Sir Charles Napier at Miānī. Mir 'Alī Murād, of the Suhrābānī branch, remained faithful to the British, and was permitted to retain his principality of Khairpūr, but the rest of Sind was annexed, and has since been a British province. Under the administration of Sir Bartle Frere it remained tranquil during the Mutiny of 1857, and the only British regiment in the province was set free for the suppression of the revolt elsewhere.

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SINDIBĀD-NĀME (Syntipas), a widely known collection of stories, which since the time of Pétis de la Croix has been much studied by folklorists. The general theme is as follows: A king entrusts the education of his son to the sage Sindibād. The prince is ordered by his tutor to keep silence for seven days; during this time he is calumniated by the favourite queen and the king is on the point of putting him to death. Seven viziers, by each telling one or two stories succeed in postponing his execution and on the eighth day the prince, who has recovered the use of his speech, is proved innocent. This cycle is also known as the history of the seven viziers. In another cycle (the history of the ten viziers, *Bakhtiyār-nāma*), ten viziers accuse a prince whom they wish to ruin in the eyes of the king and the prince defends himself by relating these stories. The *Tūtī-Nāme* studied by Pertsch is another similar collection.

The book of Sindibād is referred to by Mas'ūdī (tenth cent.) alongside of *The Thousand and One Nights*; at a later date it became incorporated in the *1001 Nights*, but also retained an independent existence. It is found in the Oriental literatures, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Pehlvi, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and it entered the mediaeval literatures of the West; French, Latin, Italian, Catalan, Slavonic, Armenian and German versions are known. India has stories of the same genre and Benfey has attempted to derive the Syntipas from an Indian prototype *Siddhapatī*, which we do not however possess; its Indian descent has however not been rigorously established. It may be noted on the other hand that the moral of these stories and characteristic feature of the trial by silence would rather recall Pythagorean tradition.

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SINDJĀBĪ (SENDJĀBĪ), a Kurd tribe in the Persian province of Kirmānshāh. In summer the Sindjābī pitch their tents in the plain of Māhidasht and in the district of Djwānrū; in winter they move to the lands south of the Alwand (in Kurdish: Halawān from the older Hulwān, cf. SARPUL), a left bank tributary of the Diyāla which it joins near Khānīkīn. Here the

pasturages of the Sindjābī stretch from Sarpul to the mountains of Agh-dāgh, Bāghche and Qaṭar (south of Khānīkīn) and in the south stretch as far as Qala-naft. The delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier in 1913 left a part of those winter-quarters of the tribe on the Turkish side but the inconvenience of this division was officially recognised. On the left bank of the Alwand the Sindjābī occupy a narrow strip to the north and west of Qaṣr-i Shīrīn [q. v.] up to the present frontier between Persia and the 'Irāq; they have some ten villages there.

The tribe consists of twelve clans (Čalabī, Daliyān, Seimenewend, Surkhewend, Haḳḳ-Nazar-khānī, etc.). The number of families cannot be over 2,500, of which not more than 500 are pure Sindjābī; the remainder consists of incorporated clans: Lūrs (Arkawāzī) Watkawend, Djāf Kurds (Barāz) and Gūrān (Tufangči). About 1,500 families of the Sindjābī agglomeration winter on the Alwand. According to Soane they speak *Kurdi*, i. e. the dialect which does not belong to the Kurmāndjī group.

The chiefs of the Sindjābī have often acted as governors of the frontier district of Qaṣr-i Shīrīn. The tribe provided the government with a contingent of 200 irregular horsemen.

The *Sheref-nāme* does not mention the Sindjābī. According to themselves they once lived in Bayāt near Shīrāz whence their chief Bakhtiyār Khān brought them into the province of Kirmānshāh where they lived with the Gūrān for some time. This may explain their conversion to the religion of the Ahl-i Haḳḳ (cf. 'ALĪ-ILĀHĪ) although they often profess themselves outwardly "Twelver Shī'īs" (*iḥnā-āsharī*). Under Hasan Khān Čalabī, son of Bakhtiyār Khān, the Sindjābī formed themselves into a separate tribe. The son of Hasan Khān, Shīr Khān Šamšām al-Mamālīk, became chief in 1905 and died an octogenarian in 1915. His sons Kāsim Khān, 'Alī Abkar Khān etc. played a certain part in the military operations of 1916—1918; being on the side of the Turks, they adopted a hostile attitude to the English and Russians.

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SINDJĀR, the name of the capital of a district in Diyār Rabī'a [q. v.] (Balad Sindjār) and of the ranges running north of it (Djabal Sindjār). The town, which is identical with the ancient Singara is situated a very little east of 42° East Long. (Greenwich) and in 36° 22' N. Lat. in a valley of the Tawḳ (now pronounced Tōg) range which is south of and parallel to the Djabal Sindjār, through which the Nahr Tharthār enters the steppes on the south. On the alleged navigability of the river in the middle ages cf. Sarre-Herzfeld (*Bibl.*), i. 193 sq. As the walls show, the town was at one time much larger than now. It was bound to be prosperous from its favourable geographical situation and the fact that it lay on a fertile slope surrounded by desert. According to Ibn Hawḳal it was partly irrigated artificially so that all kinds of fruits grew there. As a stage on one of the two great roads from Mōṣul to Beled (Balat, Eski Mōṣul, see ESKĪ), to Khābūr [q. v.]

and on to Ra's al-ʿAin, Sindjār was able to carry on an extensive trade in its own products. Now the conditions are entirely changed. Sarre and Herzfeld point out especially that in contrast to what the geographers say, namely that date-palms were extensively cultivated in Sindjār, there is not a single palm-tree there now and the limit of fruit bearing by the date-palm lies much farther south. Sachau (*Bibl.*) however talks of fertile fields in the neighbourhood of the town. — The people of the Djabal Sindjār and of the town are Kurds, who belong to the sect of the Yazidis. The district was already Yazidi in the middle ages.

Bibliography: The ancient history of Singara is outlined in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, 1911 sqq., i. 203. The statements of the mediaeval geographers are collected in Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 98 sq.; all the necessary references to the sources are given there and in Sarre-Herzfeld, i. 204. For the history of the town under Islām what is said under SARŪDĪ holds good. Al-Samʿānī, (*G. M. S.*, xx., 1912), f. 312a—b, gives a few bearers of the *nisba* Sindjārī. Modern conditions in Djabal and B. Sandjār are fully described by E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 1883, p. 322 sqq. and there are a number of notes in M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, 1899 (Index s. v. Beled [does not distinguish the different places of this name] and Ġebel Singār). The above account is mainly based on the full description of the mountains, town and monuments (with sources and bibliography) in Sarre-Herzfeld, index s. v. Djabal Sindjār, Nahr Tharthār and Sindjār (in the quotations from vol. II/i. 355, 7) where further references are given. — Maps in the works just mentioned. General view of the town in Sarre-Herzfeld, iii., plate lxxiv. — On the Yazidis of Sindjār cf. Pognon, *Sur les Yézides du Sindgar*, *R. O. C.*, x., 1915/1917, part 3 (reference by Strothmann in *Isl.*, xiii., 1923, p. 371); Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*, s. v. Singara and *Σινδάρια*. (M. PLESSNER) **ŞINF** (A.), pl. *aşnāf*; — synonyms *hırfa*; *kār*, pl. *kārāt*; *hanfa* in Morocco.

Historical. The organisation of labour and the grouping of workers into corporations in Muslim cities dates from the ninth century of our era and is closely connected with a movement half religious and half social, socialistic in origin, that of the Karmatians [q. v.]. At this period, industrial development and the growth of urban populations produced serious crises under the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. The servile war of the Zindj [q. v.] at Baṣra, riots in Baghdad in the first thirty years of the tenth century and lastly the anti-Arab nationalist (*Shuʿūbiya*, q. v.) reaction in the provinces.

The custom, Karmatian in origin, of organising into guilds attained its zenith in the Muslim countries subjected to the new state which arose as a result of the propaganda of the Karmatians, namely the Fātimid caliphate of Cairo (tenth-eleventh century). Then, in 1171, the reconquest of Egypt for Sunni orthodoxy affected it seriously. The guilds were subjected to strict police control and gradually lost all their privileges. Their organisation survived in very humble forms especially in the Ottoman empire, in the Pandjāb, in Persia

and in Turkeṣtān, down to the last years of the sixth century (Ḳuṣī described those of Damascus in 1883).

Since 1917 the ancient Muslim guilds have tended to become *naḳābāt* or syndicates for the new professions, dependent on the Third International (Moscow). This change was noticed in Java in 1920, then in Buḫārā, at Teherān, in Egypt and finally in Tunis since 1924.

Organisation. The earliest sketch of the organisation of the Muslim gild is found — unfortunately in too concise form — in the eighth of the *Rasāʾil Iḫwān al-Ṣafā* (eleventh century) mixed with Hellenistic conceptions which suggest that they are Byzantine survivals.

From the xvth century we have (in manuscripts) a series of catechisms of initiation into the gild, called *kutub al-futuwwa* (q. v.; in Turkish *futuwwet-nāme*; in Persian *kasbnāme*). They enable us to construct the hierarchy of the grades — *naḳīb* (syn. *ṭir*, ʿarīf, amīn). They describe the ceremony of initiation (*ṣhadd*; q. v.); but they do not give any details regarding the regular working of the gild tribunal and the degree of its competence. We can only gather these details from historical and legal texts and from the narratives of travellers like Ibn Džubair and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

The master-craftsman is called *muʿallim*, his journeyman *ḫalīfa*, the apprentice *mutaʿallim*, the labourer *ṣānī*. The members of each gild are pledged to guard the secrets of manufacture and to supply good work at a fair price; the whole body of traditional customs of the gild, orally transmitted, is called *dustūr*, a word which has become well-known since 1908 with the meaning "political constitution" and has been in use among the artisans from a remote period.

Since the ninth century the following have been organised into guilds, the islamised clients (*ma-wālī*), enfranchised and converted, but not the Arab conquerors nor their mercenaries, nor their slaves. Alongside of the clients there have been constituted under their aegis, certain Jewish and Christian corporations, since it is to them alone that Muslim states permit trading in and working in precious metals and drugs.

Since, for ten centuries, there has been no revolution in the technical processes employed by the Muslim artisans, the study of the distribution of the different guilds in the Muslim cities, Fez or Baghdad, Damascus or Cairo, shows that as a general principle there was a fixed topographical distribution of the trade guilds in any particular Muslim city. The principal fixed points were the offices of the money-changers beside the mint, the public market and the tribunal of the *muḥtasib*: the *kaṣāriya* [q. v.] at once general shops and the piece-goods exchange; the thread market; lastly the university, organised into a corporation from its origin (Karmatian propaganda). We know of other centres, economic in origin, the specialised markets for the sale of goods brought to the town from the country or from abroad — the great caravanserāis (*ḫān*, *okāla*, etc.).

A certain number of conditions, specifically Muslim in origin, affect labour in practice, the distribution of tools and the recruiting of labourers. Firstly there is the institution of *ḥubūs* or *awḳāf*, inalienable public property such as irrigation, canals, mills, baths, gardens, bridges, drains; the administration of the *ḥubūs* also affects the guilds,

through the shops, nearly all the fixtures of which are *hubūs*. Then there is the institution of the *hisba* or control of the markets entrusted to a *muhtasib*. This institution, purely canonical in the early centuries, and fallen into disuse in the tenth to twelfth centuries in the great period of liberty for the gilds, was revived by the state from the twelfth century as a police office with the object of keeping a close watch on the gilds, which were suspected, especially in Egypt, Syria and Turkey, of Karmatian and revolutionary sympathies. The manuals for the *hisba* by Nibrāwī and others show this; in Morocco, for example, the *muhtasib* ultimately established a compulsory weekly court, when, according to Muslim law, he ought on the contrary to have prohibited the gilds from fixing compulsory rates (*tas'ir*) for provisions.

There arose a whole collection of moral problems in connection with the gilds. Muslim literature is rich in documents referring to the gilds of charlatans, forgers, immoral and criminal associations, and the theologians and jurists have handed down to us collections of cases of conscience and mental reservations (*hiyal*), the importance of which has recently been shown by Schacht.

Bibliography: There is a general bibliography of the history of labour in the Muslim world in ch. 3 of vol. lviii. of the *R. M. M.* and a summary chronology in vol. liii., p. 19-21.

The connections with the Third International have been exposed in the same *Revue*, vol. li., lii. and lviii.

Additional reference will be found in the Bibliography to the article *SHADD*.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

SINGAPORE (from the Sanskrit *Sinhapūra*, "the lion city") is the name of an island and a city thereon, situated in 1° 17' N., 103° 50' E. (Gr.), at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, from which it is separated by a narrow strait recently bridged by a causeway which carries the line of railway running to Bangkok. In the Middle Ages Singapore was a port of call for the trade between India and China, and its native name *Tēmasek* is recorded in Chinese, Javanese and Malay sources. Originally part of the South Sumatran empire of Śrī Viḍjaya (Palembang), it enjoyed a brief period of practical independence (from *circa* 1250?). In the early part of the 14th century it was unsuccessfully besieged by the Siamese. It is claimed in the Javanese poem *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (1365) under the name of Tumasik as a vassal of the Javanese empire of Madjapahit, and was destroyed by the Javanese *circa* 1377. After that event it was superseded by Malacca, and dwindled into a comparatively unimportant place, though still occasionally visited by passing ships for wood, water and other provisions, and having a *shāhbandar* (port officer) under the Muslim Sultans of Malacca (down to 1511) and subsequently under their successors, the Sultans of Johor. On February 6, 1819 a British settlement was founded at Singapore by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles on behalf of the East India Company. It was on the site of the old medieval port town and included only a small part of the island; but by a treaty made in 1824 the whole island with its adjacent islets was ceded to Great Britain in full sovereignty.

At the time of the British occupation the inhabitants numbered only a few hundred, partly

Muslims (Malays) and partly wandering sea gypsies (Orang Laut) living mainly in their boats. The growth of the town was rapid. The trade is mainly in the hands of European and Chinese merchants, though other races, such as Indians and Arabs, also share in it. Three-fourths of the inhabitants are Chinese. In 1921 the population within municipal limits was 350,355, that of the island generally 418,358. Of this last number about 64,000 to 65,000 were Muslims, the bulk, viz. 53,595, being classed as Malays (though this latter figure included only 33,184 real Malays, 13,328 Javanese, 6,582 Boyanese, 1,142 Bugis and 349 Banjarese, and a few others). The remaining Muslims comprised some 9,000 Indians and about 1,200 Arabs. The great majority are Sunnis of the school of Shāfi'i. Being in touch with the Muslims of Arabia and India on the one hand and with those of the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies on the other, Singapore, though mainly non-Muslim in population, is an important link in the chain of Muslim propaganda and in the pilgrim traffic to Mecca.

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ŞİN-I KALÂN (literally Great China), Arabic and Persian name (the Arabic *şin* is of course for the Persian *šin*) for the seaport of Canton in the Mongol period; it is known especially from the travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q. v.] (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 271 sq.) but is used by other Muslim (Rashīd al-Dīn, Waṣṣāf) and also by Western writers (Odoric de Pordenone, Marignolli, also in the *Carta Catalana*; cf. the quotations in Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London 1866, p. 105, and Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Tawārikh*, ed. Blochet, 1911, p. 493). For Şin-i Kalān Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also has Şin al-Şin; this latter name is according to Yule, taken from Idrīsī [q. v.] who describes in the extreme east of the Chinese empire a large trading town under the name Şiniya al-Şin (*Géographie d'Edrisi*, transl. A. Jaubert, Paris 1836-1840, i. 193 sq.). (W. BARTHOLD)

SİNÜB, a town and seaport on the north coast of Asia Minor between the mouths of the Sakariya [q. v.] and the Kızıl İrmak [q. v.] and about equidistant from the ports of Şamsūn and Ineboli, 75 miles N. E. of Kaşamūnī [q. v.]. It is the celebrated Σινώπρις of the ancients and has retained this name. Muḥammadan authors know it by the name of Sanūb (Abu 'l-Fidā', p. 392 and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari, *Masālik al-Aḥşār*, N. E., xiii. 361), Şanūb (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 348), Sīnāb (Anon. Giese, p. 34; Urudj Beg, ed. Babinger, p. 73), Sīnūb ('Ashīk Paşa Zāde, and, following him, all the Turkish historians and other writers). The town lies on an isthmus running N. E. from the mainland to

which it joins the peninsula of Boz Tepe Adası. This position gives the town two harbours but only that on the south, the safer of the two, has remained in use since ancient times. The strip of coast behind Sınub is bounded by the great range, which borders the Central Anatolian plateau, and is particularly difficult to cross directly south of the town.

The history of Sinope goes back to a remote period. It was already an important port for trade with caravans from Mesopotamia and Cilicia, before it became a Greek colony of Milesians, in the eighth century B. C. Herodotus, Xenophon and Strabo describe it, but in the time of the latter it was no longer the great terminal port for continental trade (cf. Ramsay, *Historical Topography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 27). The town however retained its importance; in the second century B. C., it was the capital of Mithridates of Pontus and after its capture by Lucullus in 70 B. C., it knew several centuries of prosperity as a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Julia Felix. When, under the Byzantine empire, the interior of Asia Minor gradually lost its Hellenism, Sinope remained a commercial city of the first rank. The invasion of Asia Minor by the Saracens in 832 had as one result that Theophobos, commander of the "Persian" auxiliary troops of the emperor, was proclaimed king of Sinope for a brief period; this episode is related by the Byzantine sources, Symeon Magister and Theophanes Continuatus.

As the conquest of Asia Minor by the Saldjūks was confined for the first century to the interior of the peninsula, Sinope remained Byzantine, but also served as a port for the merchants of the Saldjūk empire, who embarked there for the Crimea (Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i. 298). At the beginning of the xiiith century the town passed into the hands of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond. The Saldjūk Sultān 'Izz al-Dīn Kaikubādī took the town from them. Ibn Bibi, who gives a detailed account of its capture (*Recueil des historiens des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, iv. 54 sqq.) gives as the date of the capture the 26th Djumādā II, 611, corresponding to the Nov. 2, 1214 (this day was a Sunday while Ibn Bibi talks of a Saturday). The Saldjūk Sultān had taken advantage of the discord between the two Greek empires, but the immediate pretext for attacking the town was the raids which the lord of Sinope (in Ibn Bibi and Barhebraeus, *Chronicon*, ed. Bedjan, p. 429, called Kīr Aleks, i. e. Kyr Alexis Comnenos, cf. Fallmerayer, *Gesch. des Kaisertums Trapezunt*, Munich 1827, p. 94) had made into Turkish territory. Abu 'l-Fidā' seems also to allude to this conquest (*Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1286, iii. 122 under 611 A. H., cf. Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 96); in any case Barhebraeus is wrong in saying that Alexis was killed by the Saldjūks. The Byzantine historians do not mention the taking of Sinope.

The town was given a Saldjūk garrison and the church turned into a mosque. Some time afterwards, the town was given as a hereditary fief to the celebrated vizier Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaimān Perwāne, who built a fine mosque there which is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. It was about the same time that William of Rubruck passed through the town, which he calls Sinopolis, on his way to Russia. According to Müneddjīm Bashī (iii. 31)

Perwāne was succeeded at Sınub by his son Mu'īn al-Dīn Muḥammad (676—696) then by his other son Muḥaddhib al-Dīn Mas'ūd, on whose death in 700 A. H. his lands passed to the lords of Kaṣtamūnī. But another authority ('Alī, *Kunh al-Akḥbār*, v. 22, quoting Rūhī) says that after the deposition of the Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn (in 1307) Ghāzān Khān granted all the lands in the north and northwest of Asia Minor to Ghāzī Ćelebi, son of the Saldjūk Sultān Mas'ūd. This Ghāzī Ćelebi is well known in history especially for his bravery in his acts of piracy (for example he dived under the water to destroy the keels of enemy vessels) which he committed against the Genoese and the Greeks of Trebizond, whose ally he had sometimes been. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*loc. cit.*) and probably Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 393) however make Ghāzī Ćelebi a descendant of Perwāne. After his death, Sınub was taken by Shudjā' al-Dīn Sulaimān Pasha, lord of Kaṣtamūnī (cf. Isfendiyār Oghlū); it was shortly after this event that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town (c. 1340). During the xiiith century, the town retained its importance as a commercial port, connected with the interior by a road to Iznik and Brūsa (Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i. 196). Trade was mainly in the hands of the Genoese, who probably had a consulate there since 1351; there was also a Genoese colony (Heyd, *op. cit.*, i. 550). Sınub was the last refuge of the Isfendiyār Oghlū, when the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd I had attacked them and in the end they abandoned the town to him in 797 (1394—1395), according to the old Ottoman chroniclers ('Ashīk Pasha Zāde, p. 72; Anon. Giese, p. 34). After the restoration of this dynasty by Tīmūr in 805 A. H. Sınub again passed under their rule; it was the seaport by which the rebels against the Ottomans, like Shaikh Badr al-Dīn (cf. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi. 60) were able to escape under the protection of the Isfendiyār Oghlū. It was however only in the year 1458 that Muḥammad II definitely incorporated the town in his territory by a treaty with the Isfendiyār Oghlū Ismā'il Beg, who received in exchange fiefs in Rūm ılı. This event is recorded by all the Turkish historians and by the Byzantine Ducas and Chalcondylas; the latter mention the formidable defences, that had been erected in the town.

Under Ottoman rule the town never again became a seaport of importance. In 1614, it suffered from an invasion of the Don Cossacks (Na'imā, i. 298), which resulted in energetic measures of defence being taken. Ewliyā Ćelebi (ii. 73) says that it was forbidden to the commandant to go more than a cannon-shot from the citadel and that the attacks of the Cossacks stopped in the reign of Murād IV. The only serious event since that date was the naval battle fought on Nov. 30, 1853 between the Russians and a Turkish fleet in the roadstead of Sınub; the Turks were completely defeated and the town was partly destroyed by the bombardment. This event was one of the immediate causes of the Crimean war (von Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, Leipzig 1867, ii. 194).

Under the administrative reforms in the Turkish Empire, Sınub became the capital of a *sandjak* and of a *merkez kaḍā* in the *sandjak*, in the wilāyet of Kaṣtamūnī; the other *kaḍā* of the *sandjak* are Boyabād and İstefān. Cuinet gives the population of the town as 9,749 of whom

5,041 are Muslims. From the description the town has barely changed in the last few centuries. The citadel is in the west part of the town and is surrounded by enormous walls of the Byzantine period; seen from the peninsula of Boz Tepe, the citadel looks like the bridge of a ship, according to Ewliya. Cuinet mentions other remains of older edifices. The quarters inhabited by the Greek Christians were outside the walls of the town, on the Boz Tepe side. It was this part that suffered most in the bombardment of 1853. Among the mosques Ewliya gives pride of place to the Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn Dījāmī; he gives a detailed description of the *minbar* which was a marvel of art built of marble. According to Hādījī Khalifa, Sulaimān I wanted to transport the *minbar* to Constantinople for the Sulaimāniya Mosque but when they attempted to move it, it cracked so that the Sultān abandoned his plan. The town has many other old mosques and türbes (including that of Saiyid Ibrāhīm Ballāl and that of Sultān Khātūn), the study of which will throw much light on the history of the town. The industry for which Sinüb is more particularly noted is that of goldsmiths' work (especially filigree work). The yards of Sinüb used to build the large Turkish warships of wood from the mountains to the south. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the traffic at the port of Sinüb was less important than that of Şamsūn and Ineboli. An attempt to revive the trade of the town has been made by building a road for vehicular traffic from Sinüb to Amasia, but it is only finished as far as Boyābād.

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SIPĀH, SIPĀHĪ, SIPĀH SĀLĀR. [See SEPOY]. **SIPĪHR**, "celestial sphere", nom de plume (*takhalluṣ*) of the Persian historian and man of letters, Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī of Kāshān. After a studious youth spent in his native town he settled definitely in Tīhrān, where he found a patron in the poet-laureate (*malik al-shu'arā'*) of Fath 'Alī Khān. On his accession (1250 = 1834) Muḥammad Shāh appointed him his private panegyrist (*maddāh-i khāṣa*) and secretary and accountant in the treasury (*munshī wa-mustawfi-i diwān*). The same Shāh entrusted him with the composition of a universal history. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh also encouraged him in this enterprise and in 1272 (1853) conferred on him the title of *Lisān al-Mulk* ("Tongue of the State"). Sipīhr died about 1296 (1878). Gobineau who had known him, speaks of his "gravité docte et administrative" in contrast to the "façons légères et riantes" of his colleague Ridā Qulī Khān Hidayat.

The book entitled *Barāhīn al-Adjām* finished by Sipīhr in 1251 deals with Persian prosody; it is illustrated by examples from the Persian classical poets. The *Diwān* of Sipīhr does not seem to have been published; his verses quoted in antho-

logies (*Madjma' al-Fuṣahā'*) while showing technical skill lack originality and taste. Sipīhr's history, with the pretentious title of *Nāsikh al-Tawārikh* ("Effacement of the Chronicles") according to the Indian catalogues, consists of fourteen volumes of which the last stops at the period of the fifth Shi'ī Imām Muḥammad Bākīr (d. 113 = 731). Its style is evidently appreciated in India where extracts from it have been published, as texts for examinations in Persian, but the present-day Persians criticise it severely and say it is full of inaccuracies and anachronisms. Of more importance is volume v. (?) which, anticipating the full scope of the work contains the official history of the Qādjār [q. v.] dynasty. It consists of three parts coming down to 1267 (1851) with a later supplement dealing with events down to 1273 (1857). This chronicle has been much used by the historians of the Bābī movement [q. v.], Gobineau, Kazembek and Browne. The latter pays a tribute to Sipīhr's candour and accuracy ("scarcely surpassed by the witty and sarcastic de Gobineau") with which he depicts on the one hand the faults of certain representative Persian officials and on the other the courage and heroism of the adepts of the sect.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SIRA (A.), the traditional biography of Muḥammad. The word seems to be used for the first time as the name of a separate branch of study in the title of Ibn Hishām's work (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 3, 4: *hādha kitāb siratī rasūlī 'llāhī*) but there is other testimony to its use to mean biography of Muḥammad; it is already found in this sense in al-Wāḳidī (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii/1. 18, *man rawā 'l-sira*) and in his pupil Ibn Sa'd (*ibid.*, iii/ii. 152; *hādūlā' i 'lamu bi 'l-siratī wa 'l-maghāzī min ghayrihim*). Besides, the word *sira* at this time had already the sense of biography in general; it is known that a *Sirat Mu'āwiya wa-Banī Umayya* by 'Awāna al-Kalbī (d. 147 or 158 A. H.) or by Mindjāb b. al-Ḥārith (al-Tamīmī, d. 231) existed (*Fihrist*, p. 91, 18).

The meaning of "biography" comes in its turn from that of "conduct", "manner of living", which the word *sira* has and which is a natural development from the root *s-y-r* to "betake oneself", to "travel" (*sira* is found in the Qur'an, xx. 22) in the meaning of "manner of being", "form". It

seems that at first the plural form, *siyar*, was used by preference in connection with the biography of the Prophet, having been probably applied to the narratives of the life of Muḥammad in the style of the *siyar al-mulūk* of Pehlevi origin, with which the Arabs were acquainted at the rise of Islām (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, p. xiv.—xviii.). This term *siyar*, in the majority of references which we possess to the early productions of Arab literature relating to the biography of Muḥammad, is constantly found associated with the term *maghāzī* "military expeditions" (cf. A. Fischer, in Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorān*, ii. 221) and the association of these two words helps to enlighten us as to the composite origin of the *Sīra*.

I.

The Origin and Character of the *Sīra*.

The idea of piecing together into a consecutive and organic narrative the story of the life of the Prophet from his birth to his death was neither an early nor a spontaneous one in the community of Islām. If it is natural that the deeds and sayings of the founder of the new faith should have at once attracted the interest of and have recommended themselves to the memory of his contemporaries and still more to the believers of the second generation, it is none the less true that the character of this interest was anything but historical, in the sense in which we understand the word. It was rather concerned, on the one hand with fixing the regular practice of worship and religious law according to the teaching and example of the Prophet and on the other with celebrating, after the fashion of pre-Islāmic Arabia, the warlike exploits of the Muslims under the conduct of their chief, who was regarded by the majority of his followers as an amīr, whose wisdom and bravery, favoured by divine assistance, had gained him the most dazzling successes but who did not differ markedly in character from the amīrs of the *Djāhiliya*. It was the former of these two motives which, as we know, gave the stimulus to the process of formation of the sunna, under the typical form of the narrative *ḥadīth* (ii. 200—206), which, although presented as a collection of biographical data, in reality is quite different in aim and character. The second motif, in its turn, has given rise to an abundant crop of stories relating to the Medinese period in the career of Muḥammad, completely filled with military exploits. These narratives are simply the continuation or development of the literature of the *aiyām al-ʿArab* (i. 230—231), the characteristic features of which had already become fixed at a period antecedent to Islām; they have in common with the latter the naive freshness of style, the tendency to break up the narrative into a number of episodes only very slightly connected with one another, and the abundance of poetical quotations (cf. J. Horowitz in *Islamica*, ii., 1926, p. 308—312), which often must have actually formed the kernel around which the prose story later established itself. One cannot deny to this kind of production a historiographical character, but one must remember that we are not here dealing with history placed in a chronological framework nor arranged on any definite plan. We have rather to deal with a series of "war memoirs" in which the faithful reproduction (although often subjective) and the realistic description of one episode are

found alongside of an inaccurate and distorted description of another, and in which, in particular, the linking up of incidents and a synthetic survey of the course of events are completely lacking.

Of quite another kind are the origins of the biography of the Prophet properly so called. The latter owes its origin to the transformation undergone by the personality of Muḥammad in the religious consciousness of Islām and to the decisive influence which certain heterogeneous elements have exercised on this transformation. It was above all contact with Judaism and Christianity and the desire to set up in successful contrast to the figures of the founders of these two religions, that of the founder of Islām which encouraged the development of the legend with which the person of Muḥammad has been surrounded and which has completely transformed and altered the nature of his character from his childhood (or even before his birth) to his death. The Prophet, who had so definitely declared during his mortal career, that he only considered himself a man like others ultimately came to represent the visible manifestation of divine perfections: his life, becoming a kind of copy of those of Moses and of Christ, was given the stamp of the supernatural in its smallest details (cf. the fundamental work of T. Andræ, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918 [*Archives d'Études Orientales*, xvi.], especially ch. i.).

How are we to conceive the elaboration of this process, which appears completed in its main lines barely a century after the death of Muḥammad? Does the actual narrative, which is its result, contain alongside of elements the fictitious and fabulous character of which cannot be doubted, statements which are based on a tradition more worthy of credence, in which the tendencies, corruptions and the panegyristic amplifications may perhaps contain a kernel of historical fact? Here we have a problem of historical criticism which, first raised by the great European students of Islām in the second half of the last century, is still far from a definite solution, and one which, besides, belongs rather to the study of the personality of Muḥammad and of the origins of Islām, than to that of the origins and editing in literary form of the *Sīra* which forms the subject of this article. It will be sufficient to recall here that the influence of Jewish and Christian tradition (either in the form of imitations of stories from the Old and New Testament or in that of borrowings from the *midrash* and *haggada* on the one hand, and the apocryphal gospels and Christian hagiography on the other) was long ago suspected by Sprenger, and that Nöldeke (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1898, lii. 16—33) was the first to point out, by analysing the stories of the conversion of the first believers, that very often the *Sīra*, far from reflecting an authentic tradition only represents an anticipation, presented with a show of a historical documentation, of a state of affairs much later than the events related. The history of the beginnings of Islām was adapted and idealised for the greater glory of the families and individuals who played the leading parts in the history of the Arab empire. It was however Goldziher's brilliant essay on the character of the narrative *ḥadīth* (*Muh. Stud.*, ii.) that marked a decisive turning-point in the critical study of the *Sīra*. It was recognised that the *Sīra* in the literary form, in which it

has come down to us is simply a collection of narrative *ḥadīths* which do not differ substantially in their mode of formation from the more strictly doctrinal *ḥadīths*. In the one case as in the other, the *isnād* gives no guarantee of authenticity in its remoter links. In the one as in the other, the text contains a formulation of doctrine or a polemical point rather than a historical statement (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 28—58). The analysis of the literary processes that formed the *Sira* has been carried to its extreme by Père H. Lammens in a series of articles in which the learned Jesuit has set out to prove that the whole structure of Muslim tradition regarding the life of the Prophet, at least for the phase preceding the *Hidjra*, is quite without foundation. Every incident related by the *Sira*, each alleged historical detail is only the result of a subjective exegesis of a verse of the *Qur'ān*, out of which the Medina school (where religious zeal for the memory of the Prophet was maintained with the greatest vigour) deduced by a process of "pious fraud" with the use of all sorts of learned combinations and foreign elements, the course which the life of Muḥammad "must have taken" without the existence of any support in historical tradition for the reality of the incidents related. The *Sira* would thus be in substance only a great "Qur'ānic midrash", completely fabricated with the object of glorifying the Prophet and sustaining this or that other religious or political thesis. The radicalism of Caetani and of Lammens, which extends even to the apparently most insignificant details of the life of Muḥammad, including his name and parentage, has seemed extreme to many scholars (cf. de Goeje, in *Centenario Amari*, Palermo 1910, i. 151—158; Nöldeke, in *W.Z.K.M.*, 1906, xxi. 297—312; *Isl.*, 1913, iv. 205—212; 1914, v. 160—170; Becker, in *Isl.*, 1913, iv. 263—269 = *Islamstudien*, Leipzig 1924, i. 520—527; a popular account of the question in my *Storia e religione nell' Oriente semitico*, Rome 1924, p. 111—137); nevertheless, if they have not succeeded in definitely triumphing over the views of those who think that even in that part of the *Sira* which relates to the life of Muḥammad before the *Hidjra* a certain number of statements retain a historical value, the cardinal principle which has guided them has proved extremely fertile. Detailed investigation has revealed from particular passages of the *Sira*, the midrash-like method which governed its formation (cf. especially Schrieke, in *Isl.*, 1915, vi. 1—30; Bevan, in *Beihefte zur Zeitschr. f. alttest. Wiss.*, 1914, xxvii. 51—61; Horovitz, in *Isl.*, 1914, v. 41—53; 1919, ix. 159—183; 1922, xii. 184—189); it may even be said that the character of learned combination seems to extend if not to the whole story of the Medina period at least to some of its episodes (cf. Horovitz in *Isl.*, 1922, xii. 178—183; Vacca, in *R.S.O.*, 1923, x., p. 87—109).

The formation of the *Sira* down to the period of its reduction to its "canonical" form seems to have taken place along the following lines: — the continually increasing veneration for the person of Muḥammad provoked the growth around his figure of a legend of hagiographical character in which alongside of more or less corrupt historical memories there gathered episodes modelled on Jewish or Christian religious tradition (perhaps also Iranian, although to a much less degree).

This material became organised and systematised in the schools of the Medina *muḥaddithūn*, through a midrash, subtle and full of combinations, of passages from the *Qur'ān* in which exegesis had delighted to discover allusions to very definite events in the life of the Prophet. It was in this way that the history of the Medina period was formed. Religious pragmatism also seized upon stories relating to the Medina period and modified their character, often quite profoundly, but in this field it encountered more precise historical statements, which had already been elaborated after the custom and style of dealing with stories relating to pre-Islamic military expeditions. From the combination of these varied elements resulted the *Sira* in its vulgarate form, which we find already fixed in its essential features by the beginning of the second century of the *Hidjra*.

II.

The Reduction of the *Sira* to its Literary Form.

It was the *ḥuṣṣās*, the professional story-tellers found throughout the Muslim world immediately after the first Arab conquests (cf. Goldziher, *Muḥamm. Studien*, ii. 161—166) who were the first to compose and disseminate stories of the life of Muḥammad, which they compiled probably on the model of the Biblical legends and stories of Iranian origin, which formed the bulk of their repertoire. From this there grew up a kind of literature, which belonged to the historical novel rather than to history. A specimen of this sort of literature was the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Wahb b. Munabbih (34—110 A.H.), the fame of which is due particularly to works relating to Biblical and South Arabian history. But it was especially at Medina, as we have already seen, that the study of the *Sira* was cultivated in deliberate fashion alongside of religious tradition. The oldest author of a book on the biography of Muḥammad, 'Urwa b. al-Zubair (23—94), is as well known as a jurist as a historian. The son of the famous companion of the Prophet took only a very slight part in the political activity of his brothers 'Abdallāh and Muṣ'ab; early reconciled to the victorious Umayyads, he sent to the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, at the latter's request, numerous explanatory notes on points relative to the beginnings of Islām (quotations in Ṭabarī, cf. Caetani, *Annali*, i., index to vols. i. and ii.; Fück [see *Bibliography*], p. 8, note 22). His biographical activity was however not confined to this correspondence for he also communicated to his pupils some information collected by him, according to the practice of oral transmission guaranteed by the *isnād*, which henceforth constituted the method of the *Sira* as well as of *Ḥadīth*.

We see that the same rule was adopted by a contemporary of 'Urwa, Abān b. 'Uthmān (22—105), the son of the Caliph, who *also* was settled at Mecca; his teaching regarding the life of the Prophet was collected into a book by his pupil 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra (d. before 125). These earliest literary productions (to the two names just mentioned may be added that of Shuraḥbīl b. Sa'd [d. 122] whose influence seems to have been slight) are given the name *maghāzī*, which, as we have seen, remained classical till a late date and suggests (as

can also be deduced from the fragments that survive) that their contents referred mainly to the public life of the Prophet. This name *maghāzī* is also regularly borne by the works of the second and third generation of historians: we may mention besides 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Katāda (d. between 119 and 129), the more illustrious names of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (51—124) and of Mūsā b. 'Uqbā (d. 141) who had a very marked influence on all later tradition. A fragment of the *maghāzī* of Mūsā published as a separate work has come down to us and was edited by Sachau (*S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1904) but it is not extensive enough to enable us to judge of the character and arrangement of this work any better than we can from passages preserved in the works of later writers.

At the same period the *'ilm al-maghāzī* was also cultivated outside of Medina (Sulaimān b. Tarkhān [44—143] at Buṣrā, Ma'mar b. Rāshid [d. 152] at Ṣan'ā); but such success as these works attained was eclipsed by that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq's (d. 150 or 151; cf. ii, p. 389 *sq.*) book which also marks the end of the development of the Medina tradition and the starting-point of a new conception of the Sira. While his predecessors seemed to have considered the history of the Prophet as an isolated, although grandiose, phenomenon, Ibn Ishāq was the first to place Islām and its founder in the scheme of universal history. The rise of Islām, according to him, is the continuation and conclusion of Jewish and Christian "sacred history" as it arises out of the divine work of creation and of the preaching of the prophets before Muḥammad, but the latter appears at the same time as the most glorious representative of Arabism through whom the age of Arab domination in the world is to be opened. This characterisation of the work of Ibn Ishāq is not of course taken from any explicit formulation of principles: his work is limited, like that of his predecessors, to the collection and arrangement of other documentary material but the very different titles by which his work is referred to (*mubtada' al-khalk*, *al-mabda' wa-khiṣṣ al-anbiyā'*, *al-maghāzī wa'l-mab'ath wa-mabda' al-khalk*, *al-maghāzī wa'l-siyar*, *al-sira wa'l-mubtada' wa'l-maghāzī*, *kitāb al-khulafā'*) clearly show his plan, whether these titles refer to different parts of a single work, a regular exposé of universal history or whether, as is more probable, they do not represent the titles of one or several works published *in extenso* by the author himself but, in keeping with the character of Arabic literary production at the time of Ibn Ishāq, that is essentially the putting in writing of oral teaching, they indicate in summary fashion the entire historiographical activity of Ibn Ishāq, whose different pupils edited and separately transmitted one or other part. This explains the present existence of a "Sira of Ibn Ishāq" separate from the rest of his work in the well-known recension of Ibn Hishām (ii. 387) which, as is now generally recognised, has preserved for us almost intact the primitive text of Ibn Ishāq. The same good fortune has not fallen to the other sections of his works, the *K. al-Mubtada'* and the *K. al-Khulafā'*, which we only possess in fragments preserved by later writers, notably al-Ṭabari.

Ibn Ishāq thus wished to compile a work of greater scope than the *maghāzī* of his predecessors.

This explains why in his work the use of the *isnād* was corrupted in such a way that the scholastic tradition of the *'ilm al-hadīth* was deeply shocked by it and unanimously refused him the title of a *muhaddith*, worthy of credence (cf. the texts collected by Wüstenfeld, Ibn Hishām II, introduction). This verdict (which was pronounced even in the lifetime of Ibn Ishāq by no other than the great jurist Mālik b. Anas and as a result of which Ibn Ishāq found himself forced to give up teaching in Medina and to settle in the 'Irāk) is all the more important as it marks the clear separation between historical, and purely doctrinal *hadīth*. It goes without saying that, in the collection of *hadīth* in the strict sense like those of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, etc., we find biographical information of the first order (especially in the books devoted to the *maghāzī* and to the *manāqib*) but the fact of containing material in common only serves to accentuate still more the difference between the two literary genres.

The abundance and the variety of material collected by Ibn Ishāq forced him to enlarge the circle of his authorities and to accept a number of insufficiently supported traditions. He even takes care to give the source, not always particularly clear, of some of his information, especially when, as is often the case, it goes back to Jewish or Christian sources. He does not neglect, contrary to what seems to have been the case with his predecessors, to use poetry to supplement his sources (he has even been accused of having collected a number of apocryphal verses) and he precedes the narrative of the life of the Prophet with abundant genealogical and antiquarian notes. To sum up, the character of Ibn Ishāq in comparison with the authors who preceded him is that of a real historian and in him we have the final fusion of biography of the religious type of the *muhaddithūn* with that of the epic-legendary type of the *kusṣās*. It is this original and personal character of the work of Ibn Ishāq, which, while it explains the hostility of the schools of tradition, justifies the immense success which it has enjoyed through the centuries, a success which has not only overshadowed similar previous works and some which closely followed him (like the *maghāzī* of Abū Ma'shar [d. 170] [ii. 106] and of Yaḥyā b. Sa'id b. Abnā, d. 194) but made him a decisive influence on the future development of the Sira. In addition to Ibn Hishām's recension, Ibn Ishāq's biography was reproduced for the most part by al-Ṭabari in his two great compilations, the *Tarikh* and the *Tafsir* and through the intermediary of these two writers it has become the principle source of later historiography.

Only one other writer has a position alongside of Ibn Ishāq of hardly less importance, namely Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāḳidi (130—207) whose work as a biographer of the Prophet has come down to us by three different channels, the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (abridged translation by Wellhausen, Berlin 1882: unfortunately we do not yet possess a complete edition of the text) which was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Shudjā' al-Thalajī (181—261): the *sira* which precedes the *Ṭabaqāt* of his pupil and secretary Muḥammad b. Sa'd (d. 230) (Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, vol. i. and ii.) in which, along with traditions going back to al-Wāḳidi, we have others of different origin; lastly the *Ṭabaqāt* themselves, especially in vols. iii. and

iv. for all that deals with the relations of Muḥammad with his companions and with the part the latter played in the history of Islām before the death of the Prophet. With al-Wāḳidī the *Sira* loses this unity and this combination with universal history which Ibn Ishāḳ had given it, although he also, after the model of the latter no doubt, composed a *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh wa 'l-Mabdu' wa 'l-Maghāsi* (*Fihrist*, 98 end): it rather assumes the form of a collection of detached monographs, of which the most elaborate are those devoted to the public life of Muḥammad, his expeditions, his correspondence, the embassies which he received or sent. In comparison with Ibn Ishāḳ, al-Wāḳidī shows little taste for poetry. On the contrary he had a great talent for chronology, the systematic treatment of which, as we know, goes back to him. On the other hand, in collecting the statements of tradition regarding the companions of the Prophet, al-Wāḳidī founded through Ibn Sa'd, who arranged and added to the material supplied by his master, a new branch of the study subsidiary to the 'ilm al-ḥadīth, the development of which has been quite extraordinary viz. the 'ilm al-riḡāl, the biography and criticism of the traditionists.

After al-Wāḳidī (the regular source with Ibn Ishāḳ of successive historians beginning with al-Balādhuri [q. v.]) whose *Sira* incorporated in his *Ansāb al-Ashraf* goes back almost in its entirety to him (cf. de Goeje in *Z. D. G. M.*, xxxviii., 1884, p. 387—390), the *sira* is no longer dealt with for some centuries in works of great importance (we know relatively little about those which al-Madā'inī, the famous historian [d. 225], devoted to it, *Fihrist*, p. 101). The attention of the historians became attracted to the *dalā'il al-mubawwa* and to the *shamā'il* (cf. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, p. 57 sqq.), a branch which broke off from the *Sira* to assume a development of its own, while historical biography is restored, following the example of Tabarī and in general after him, to the great works on universal history. The countless collections of biographies of the companions of the Prophet sometimes contain historical references to the *Sira* differing from those that are taken from the well known sources of Ibn Ishāḳ and al-Wāḳidī and some of which go back to a remote antiquity. A study, which has still to be undertaken of such works as the *Istī'āb* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the *Uṣd al-Ghāba* of Ibn al-Athīr, the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥadjar, etc., aiming at identifying and collecting these statements might yield appreciable results; but in any case we have only scattered and fragmentary material. Still more meagre is the spoil that might be obtained in the commentaries on the *Sira* of Ibn Hishām of which the best known is the *Rawḍ* of al-Suhaili (508—581; cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 135, 413). The colossal compilations of more recent date supply an incredible mass of notices, which their authors, urged by their scholarly zeal to exhaust in the completest manner possible all the sources to which they had access, have laboriously piled up; as regards matter they give no more than is contained in Ibn Ishāḳ and al-Wāḳidī; the most that one finds in them is only some legend of late origin, the importance of which is no doubt considerable for the history of the formation and development of the cult of the personality of Muḥammad, but the value of which for his actual life-story is absolutely nothing; or they are simply variants of

stories already known. Among these compilations, a list of which would immeasurably prolong this article it is sufficient to mention the '*Uyūn al-Athar* of Ibn Saiyid al-Nās (661 or 671—734; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 71), the *al-Mawāhib al-laduniya* by al-Kastallānī (851—923; Brockelmann, ii. 73), the *al-Sirat al-Shāmiya* by Shams al-Dīn al-Shāmī (d. 942 or 974; Brockelmann, ii. 304), the *al-Sirat al-Halabiya* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Halabī (975—1044; Brockelmann, ii. 307) and the commentaries on the two first works *Nūr al-Nibrās* by Sibṭ Ibn al-Adjamī (d. 841; Brockelmann, ii. 67) and *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib* by al-Zarḳānī (d. 1122; Brockelmann, ii. 319). The résumés and the versifications of the *Sira*, in which Arabic literature is so rich, are of course of no historical value.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

SIRĀDJ AL-ḲUṬRUB (A.), "the gnome's lamp" or according to Idrīsī, "the glow-worm's lamp", (for other meanings of *ḳuṭrub* see Lane, vii. 2543), the name for the mandragora (*mandragora officinalis*, L.), one of the *Solanaceae* indigenous to the whole Mediterranean area, with a turnip-shaped root often in two parts, thickly covered with root-fibres, bearing a clump of large, egg-shaped, sinuate leaves, between which grow the axillary petiolated bell-shaped flowers. The fruit is a reddish yellow berry about the size of a cherry which from ancient times has been used for medicinal and magical purposes, as a poison, narcotic or love potion, as early, for example, as the Old Testament under the name *dūdā'im* (Gen. xxx. 14). According to al-Tamīmī, the plant is also called *yabrūḥ al-waḳād* and *shadjarat al-ṣanam*. It is the queen of the seven mandragora and according to H er m e s the herb which Solomon wore under his signet which gave him power over the djinn. The plant is therefore also valuable against all illnesses caused by evil spirits, such as lameness, cramps, epilepsy, loss of memory, etc. According to Ibn Sīnā mandragora is given to a patient to destroy his sensitiveness to pain during severe operations. The most important for magical purposes are the roots known as *alraune*, about the digging of which curious stories are told even in classical authors (Plinius, *Hist. nat.*, xxv. 94; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 6).

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SIRĀF, a town in Persia, on the Persian Gulf, once a commercial port of great importance (ivth/xth century). The houses in several stories were built of teak and other woods brought from Zangbār; it was supplied with water from springs tapped in the mountain of Djam which dominates it from close at hand. The creation of an emporium on the island of Kais [q. v.] ruined it by taking away its Indian trade. It had not a harbour properly speaking and the ships used to moor in an arm of the sea eight miles off, to be sheltered from the wind. The sailors who set out from it went to Maskat, Kulam, the Nicobar Islands, and as far as Kalah in the Malay Peninsula, whence they reached Canton in a month. The trade consisted mainly in the exportation of striped cloth for bath-towels (*fuwāṭ*), pearls, silks, balances, and in the exportation of *berbehār* (Indian spices, *B. G. A.*, iv. 187). The inhabitants were engaged in sea-trade and were sometimes absent for years; they had amassed great wealth by dealing in spices and other merchants. They had built sumptuous houses but they were noted for their voluptuousness and lack of serious thought. It was also the warmest place in the district, so hot that one could not take a siesta there. Under the ʿAbbāsids it was the principal town of the district of Ardāshir-Khurra; it began to decline under the Būyids; destroyed by an earthquake which lasted seven days in 366 or 367 (977) it was afterwards rebuilt. Its ruins may be seen at Bandar Ṭāhirī (Le Strange, transl. of *Nuzhat*, p. 116, n. 2).

A legend says that the mythical king Kai-Kāʿūs when he tried to ascend to heaven, fell down in this country and asked for water and milk to be brought him; this story has been invented to justify a popular etymology (Pers. *shūr*, "milk", *āb*, "water"). According to Yāqūt, the merchants pronounced its name *shilaw*, which is connected with the above etymology. Mention is also made of a spring of fresh water here at the bottom of the sea.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 211 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 331; *B. G. A.*, *Iṣṭakhri*, p. 34, 106, 127, 138; Ibn Ḥawkal, p. 39, 198; Mukaddasi, p. 34, 36, 258, 426; Samʿanī, *Ansūb*, fol. 321 v°; Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ, *Geography*, i. 326; Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 117; transl. p. 116; Sāmī-bey, *Kāmūs al-ʿAlām*, iv. 2747; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 258, 259, 293, 296. (CL. HUART)

SIRĀFI, ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-MARZUBĀN was born before the year 290 (903) in the small town of Sirāf [q. v.] on the Persian Gulf; the wazīr ʿAlī b. ʿIṣā gave the year 280 as the exact date (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, iii. 123). He made his first studies in grammar and law in his native town, but before he was twenty he crossed

the sea to ʿOmān where he devoted his time to Ḥanafī law. Later he returned to Sirāf and went from there to al-Muʿaskar, where he studied Arabic grammar under Mabramān (cf. Zubaidī, *Ṭabaqāt*, N° 44; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 74). Later he went to Baghdād and studied there principally under Abū Bakr Ibn Duraid and became one of the principal pupils of this eminent scholar and propagator of his works. However he did not confine himself to linguistic studies but became an authority in all branches of learning then practised. He studied the sciences of the Qurʾān under Abū Bakr b. Muḍjahīh, grammar under Abū Bakr b. al-Sarrādj and mathematics under Mabramān, mentioned above, tradition under Abū Bakr b. Ziyād al-Nisābūrī and Muḥammad b. Abi ʿl-Azhar. He was reputed to have been a Muʿtazilī, but this cannot be proved from his writings. For over forty years he gave legal advice (*fatwās*) in the Ruṣafā mosque at Baghdād and the Chief Judge Abū Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf appointed him on more than one occasion his lieutenant on the Eastern side of the city of Baghdād. He was also invited to assume a post in the Secretariat of State, but declined the offer. Most biographers describe him as a very pious man, devoting his time to prayers and fasting, refusing any gifts from the great, and we are told that he used to copy each day ten leaves of manuscript which he sold for ten dirhems which sufficed for his livelihood. Against this Yāqūt tells us that he was accused of borrowing valuable manuscripts from two booksellers and, being too mean or too poor, he caused his pupils to make copies of them. At the end of these he wrote that the work had been read over to him, and such copies later commanded a higher price than the originals, on account of the reputation of al-Sirāfi. Though a lawyer of the Ḥanafī school his personal opinion was highly valued and the account of such a personal advice on intoxicating drink is given by Yāqūt; and though against some of the accepted principals of Ḥanafī law the words quoted on the subject are sound advice for any creed. His reputation as a scholar was so great that he frequently received letters from monarchs and ministers from various parts of the Muslim world. The Sāmānid prince Nūḥ b. Naṣr sent him a letter containing over 400 questions and addressed him as Imām, while the ruler of Dailam in a similar letter called him *Shāikh* al-Islām; other letters were from the Egyptian wazīr Ibn Khinzāba etc. Of the ten works which are named by title by his biographers only his commentary on the "Book" of Sibawaihi is easily accessible, but this work enjoyed a great reputation even during his life-time and his contemporary Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, also an eminent scholar of the Baṣrian school, displayed his envy openly. He and his followers tried for a long time to get possession of a copy with the intention of finding in it errors which they could point out publicly. When Abū ʿAlī in the year 368 was able to buy a copy for two thousand dirhem he did not find the errors he had wished and it was too late to meet Sirāfi, as he died the same year on Monday the 2nd of Rājab in Baghdād and was buried in the *Khair* cemetery. As stated above, his biographers attribute to him ten separate works: 1) A commentary on the "Book" of Sibawaihi which has been printed in Cairo 1317 and used for the translation of the "Book" by Jahn (Berlin 1894);

2) Commentary on the poem of Ibn Duraid called *al-Maksūra*; 3) *Alifāt al-Kat' wa 'l-Waṣl*; 4) *al-Iknā' fi 'l-Nahw*, a grammatical work which he did not complete but which was finished by his son Yūsuf. The latter declared that his father had made the science of grammar too easy by this work; 5) *Shawāhid Sibawaihi*, explanations of the verses cited in the "Book" of Sibawaihi; 6) *al-Madkhal (al-Mudkhal?) ilā Kitāb Sibawaihi*, introduction to the "Book" of Sibawaihi; 7) *al-Wakf wa 'l-Ibtidā'*, probably a work on the correct reading of the Qur'ān; 8) *Ṣan'at al-Shi'r wa 'l-Balāgha*, an exposition of the correct composition of poetry and prose; 9) *Akhbār al-Nuḥāt al-Baṣriyyin*, biographies of grammarians of the Baṣrian school or rather anecdotes about them with accounts of their literary disputes, as can be gleaned from extracts quoted by Yāqūt and other authors. This book has been preserved and a good manuscript is in Constantinople and Suyūṭi tells us that he used a copy which formed a large fascicule; 10) *Kitāb Djaṣirat al-'Arab*, a geographical book which has been extracted by Yāqūt for his geographical lexicon. Not mentioned by the biographers is the Commentary on the verses quoted by Ibn Duraid in his large dictionary, the *Djamhara*; having collated the whole of the Leyden manuscript of this work, my estimate is that about a third of the second and third volume of the *Djamhara* is occupied by the commentary on the many verses quoted. (The first volume of the same manuscript does not contain this commentary). The method is most pedantic. Every word is explained, seldom is there a reference to the historical background, but in very many cases it is evident that Sīrāfī had diligently asked Ibn Duraid for an explanation and the whole commentary gives the impression that his only share in the work has been to write down these additional explanations which are not found in the other manuscripts of the *Djamhara*. In addition Sīrāfī is credited with some mediocre verses, and also is the subject of a satire by his greater contemporary Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isbahānī with whom he had had a quarrel.

Biographies of Sīrāfī are found in all works dealing with the lives of grammarians, traditionists and Ḥanafī lawyers. The principal ones are: *Fihrist*, p. 62; Anbārī, *Nuḥāt al-Alibā*, p. 379; Suyūṭi, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 221; Yāqūt, *Irsḥād*, iii, 84—125; *Djawāhir al-Muḍ'ā'a*, ed. Haidarābād, i. 196; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, ii. 218; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i. 130; Flügel, *Klassen der hanafitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, p. 107; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 113 etc.

2) Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Sīrāfī, the son of the former, succeeded his father as a teacher after the latter's death and completed his grammatical work, the *Iknā'*. He did not enjoy the reputation of his father, but three works of his, similar in nature to those of his father, are recorded: 1) a commentary on the verses quoted in the "Book" of Sibawaihi; 2) a commentary on the verses quoted in the *Iṣlāḥ al-Mantiq* of Ibn al-Sikkīt, and 3) a commentary on the verses found in the *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf* of Abū 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām. He resided in Baghdād and died there in Rabī' I, 385 A. H. at the age of 55 years (cf. *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 421).

(F. KRENKOW)

SĪRAT 'ANTAR, the romance of 'Antar, rightly considered the model of the Arabic romance of chivalry. This *sira* surveys five hundred years

of Arab history and includes a wealth of older traditions. The story, in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of how 'Antar, the son of a slave-girl, was adopted into the tribe of Banū 'Abs for saving them at a time of great crisis already bears the stamp of a flourishing but already legendary tradition. The *Sirat 'Antar* far transcends the unconscious development of a legend. By a bold stroke 'Antar, the solitary hero, is raised to be the representative of all that is Arab, 'Antar the pagan is made the champion of Islām. The romance thus comes to reflect the vicissitudes of the Arabs and Islām through half a millenium; the tribal feuds of the old Arabs; the wars against Ethiopian rule in Arabia; the subjection of Arabia and especially of Irāk to Persian suzerainty; the victories of the rising Islām over Persia; the remarkable historical position of the Jews in Arabia down to the seventh century; the conquests from Christianity by the Arabs, especially in Syria; the continuous wars of the Persian and later of the Muslim East against Byzantium; the victorious advance of Islām in North Africa and in Europe; the influence of the Crusades is also undeniable. The contacts between East and West are numerous. The romance is written in smooth rhymed prose into which have been interwoven some 10,000 verses. The editions printed in the East since 1286 A.H. divide the *Sira* into 32 little volumes, none of which, like the separate nights of the *1001 Nights*, ever ends at the conclusion of a tale.

Contents. The romance brings us through numerous legendary stories from early times down to the period when King Zuhair is ruling over the Banū 'Abs. The 'Absī hero Shaddād on a raid captures the negro slave-girl Zabiba (not till the xviiith book do we get the denouement that she is a king's daughter, who had been carried off from the Sūdān), who becomes the mother of 'Antar. As an infant, 'Antar tears the strongest swaddling clothes, at two years old pulls down the tent, at four slays a large dog, at nine a wolf and as a young shepherd a lion. Soon he comes to the rescue of his oppressed tribe, for which he is acknowledged by his father and adopted into his tribe. He seeks 'Abla, his uncle's daughter, in marriage; the latter promises her to him in an hour of need; but after 'Antar has averted the danger, he imposes the most dangerous conditions to be carried out before the marriage. 'Antar fulfils them all but is only allowed to marry 'Abla after ten volumes of wonderful exploits. The area of his exploits widens continually. In his own tribe 'Antar has first to overcome the resistance of his father, then the hostility of 'Abla's relatives, to win over his rivals including the poet 'Urwa b. al-Ward, to put an end to the feuds of the Banū Ziyād, Rabi' and 'Umara. In the feuds between the sister-tribes of 'Abs and Fadhāra, 'Antar proves himself the saviour of the Banū 'Abs; outside of his tribe, he fights and overthrows the strongest heroes and makes them his friends; such are Duraid b. al-Ṣimma, Mu'ammār, Ḥanī' b. Maṣ'ūd, the victor over the Persians at Dhū Kār, 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib, 'Amir b. al-Tufail, 'Amr b. Wudd, the knight of the Ḥarām, Rabī'a b. Muḥaddam, the pattern of Arab chivalry and many others. He fastens up his *mu'allaqa* in the Ḥaram of Mecca after defeating the other *mu'allaqa*-poets in a competition, overcoming all his rivals in duels and passing an examination in

Arab synonyms from Amru 'l-Ḳais. From Mecca he goes to Ḳhaibar and destroys the town of the Jews. But 'Antar is also taken beyond the bounds of Arabia. The *Sīra* does not lack reasons for this. 'Abla's father demands aṣāfir-camels as a bridal gift, which are only bred by Mundhir, King of Hira. This takes 'Antar to the 'Irāk. From there he is summoned to Persia to fight the Greek champion Badramūt. Next we find him in constant association with the kings of the 'Irāk, Mundhir, Nu'mān, Aswad, 'Amr b. Hind, Iyās b. Kābiṣa and their viziers notably 'Amr b. Buḳaila. He has also constant dealings with the Shāhs, Khusrāw Anūsharwān, Khudāwand (no shāh of this name is found in Sāsānian history), Kawādh (probably Kawādh Shiroe) sometimes as a dreaded opponent, sometimes as a most welcome ally. The son of the king of Syria woos the promised bride of a friend of 'Antar. The latter goes to Syria, kills his friend's rival, defeats King Hārith al-Wahhāb (Aretas), but becomes his friend and after the death of Aretas at the request of the princess Ḥalīma becomes guardian of the new king 'Amr b. Hārith, who is still a minor, and as such ruler of Syria. Here 'Antar comes into contact with the Franks, sometimes as an enemy and sometimes as their ally against the Persians. Syria is under Byzantine suzerainty. For the services which 'Antar renders the Christians here, he is invited to Constantinople and entertained and honoured. Lailamān, the king of the Franks, objects to this and demands that the emperor should hand over 'Antar to him. 'Antar along with Heraclius, the emperor's son, then leads the Byzantine army into the land of the Franks, subjects them to the emperor, reaches Spain, defeats King Santiago, pursues his victorious march through his provinces in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt. When he returns from these conquests on behalf of Byzantium to Constantinople, an equestrian statue of him is erected out of gratitude; the statue of his two brothers, who had accompanied him to Byzantium, are placed on either side of his. Shortly before his death, 'Antar comes to Rome. The king of Rome, Balkām b. Markas is hard pressed by Bohemund; 'Antar kills Bohemund and liberates Rome. On a campaign of reprisal against the Sūdānese, 'Antar goes from kingdom to kingdom deeper into Africa till he reaches the land of the Negus. Here he discovers in the Negus the grandfather of his mother Zabība. Even more fantastic are the campaigns against Hind-Sind, against the Christian king Lailamān in the land of Baidā, in the land of the demons. 'Antar's death is brought about by Wizr b. Djabir called Asad al-Rahiṣ. 'Antar had repeatedly defeated him and taken him prisoner but always set him free again. Wizr feels humiliated by this magnanimity and continually renews his attack. Finally 'Antar blinds him. Though blinded, Wizr learns to shoot birds and gazelles with bow and arrow from their sound. 'Antar is struck by one of his poisoned arrows, but Wizr dies before 'Antar under the delusion that he has missed. While dying, and indeed when dead, still sitting on his steed Abdjar, 'Antar still wards the enemy off from his people. 'Antar's marriage with 'Abla was childless but from his secret marriages and love-affairs, several children were born including two Christians, and indeed Crusaders, Ghadanfar, Coeur-de-Lion, son of 'Antar and the sister of the king of Rome

whom 'Antar had married in Rome and left in Constantinople, and Djufrān (i.e. Geoffroi, Godfrey), the son of 'Antar and a Frankish princess. 'Antar's children avenge and lament the death of their heroic father. Ghadanfar and Djufrān then return to Europe. 'Abs becomes a convert to Islām.

Analysis. The following are the main elements that have contributed to the growth of the *Sīra*:

1. Arab paganism; 2. Islām; 3. Persian history and epic; 4. The Crusades.

1. To Arab paganism it owes the chivalrous and knightly Bedouin spirit of the work, the majority of the characters in it, who often have historical features, the feuds between the sister tribes of 'Abs and Fadhāra; in connection with the race between Dāhiṣ and Ghabra, the most powerful of the Ahbār al-'Arab, like king Zuhair's marriage with Tumādīr, Zuhair's death, Mālik b. Zuhair's death, Hārith and Lubna, Djaida and Khālid, anecdotes of Hātim Ṭaiyī, the splendid figure of Rabī'a b. Muḳaddam etc. 2. To Islām belong the introduction with a long midrash of Abraham, repeated legends of Muḥammad and 'Alī, the conclusion of the work which forms a transition to Islām; the tendency of the book, to make 'Antar really prepare the way for Islām; 'Antar's victorious campaigns through Arabia, Persia, Syria, North Africa and Spain are modelled on the conquests of Islām. Certain details give the *Sīra* a slightly Shī'a colouring. 3. Persian influence is found in the knowledge of Persian history and the Persian epic, in places of the Persian language, in the conception of kingship by grace of God, in the knowledge of Persian court life and ceremonial (throne, crowns, imperial carpet), court-hunts (falcons, cheetahs), pigeon-post, Persian offices and ranks (vizier, mōbedān, mōbed, marzpan, pehlēwān, eyes and ears of the Shāh) even the sahāridja (écuyers tranchants). 4. Christianity and the Crusades. The *Sīra* knows of Christians in the Syria of the Sāsānians, in Byzantium and among the Franks. The Franks appear as Crusaders (the romance even mentions the cross worn on the breast), fighting for Shiloe and Jerusalem. Djufrān (Godfrey) besieges Damascus and sends troops against Antioch. The *Sīra* mentions the cross, the dress of the priests and friars, the girdle of the order (which in the *Sīra* is the most important symbol of Christianity next to the cross), the crozier, the bell (clapper), incense, holy water, prayers for the dead, unction, sacrament and of holy-days, Christmas, Palm-Sunday, is aware that among the Franks the clergy are first in Church and state, that marriages between cousins are illegal, seems also to know of excommunication and describes a Spanish place of pilgrimage and day of pilgrimage. The Christians swear by Jesus, Mary, the Gospels, John the Baptist (Māri Hanna al-Ma'madān, Yukhna), by Luke (Lūka), Thomas (Mar Tōma) and Simon. The Emperor Radjīm rules in Byzantium and his son is called Heraclius; Balkām b. Markas is king of Rome. The Christian rulers of North Africa have names which end with the -s, common in Greek and Latin, e.g. Martos, Kardus, Hermes, Ibn al-'Urnūs, Kindaryas b. Kirmās, Sindaris, Theodoros. The king of Spain is called Santiago; of the names of Frankish kings and princes that of Bohemund alone is certain. The names of his brothers Mūbert, Sūbert, Kūbert and that of the prince "Shūbert of the Sea" show what is perhaps the commonest ending

in personal names in Old French. 'Antar's son by the Frankish princess is called Djufrān, which conceals the old French form (Jofroi, Jefroi, Geffroi) of the name of Godfrey of Bouillon. As the romance of 'Antar knows nothing of Europe, but a good deal about Europeans, the author must have become acquainted with them outside of Europe, of course at the period of the Crusades; Bohemund is slain by 'Antar. Godfrey is the son of 'Antar, who comes as a Crusader to Asia, learns his paternity there, avenges the death of his father and then returns to Europe. Even the name "Tafur" of the king of the beggars in the army of Peter of Armenia, seems to be preserved in the *Sira*: "Dāfur" is the name of the usurper who drives the infant prince 'Amr from the throne of Syria but is overthrown by 'Antar. In regard to intelligent sympathy with and toleration of Christianity, the picture we get from the *Sirat 'Antar* is far in advance of that which the mediaeval Christian epic reveals of Islām, where the Muslims are made to worship idols, like Apollo, Cahu, Gomelin, Jupiter, Margot, Malquedant, Tervagant etc. The romance of 'Antar regards the Crusades not without sympathy and admiration. It is true that Crusaders are mentioned, who go to the Holy Land to seek plunder and to escape punishment; but the Franks are fighting for God the Father, for the Son and for the spread of religion.

Folk-lore and literary parallels. There is remarkably little folk-lore in the *Sirat 'Antar* but it includes several noteworthy features: a splendid witches' kitchen, fine examples of allegorical speech, of omens, life-token. Most of the agreements with other narrative poetry may be regarded as commonplaces of the epic; the strength and growth of the hero, his exploits, the killing of a lion, mu'ammārūn (longevity is as common in the 'Antar as in the *Shāh-nāma*), dreams, visions, Amazons, fights between father and son, the Gudrun motif of the bride's fidelity, the motif of the stupid man. There are very few borrowings: Nu'mān's lucky and unlucky day, Khusrāw's bell of justice (the motif of the legend of the Emperor Charles and the snake), a flight to heaven in a box borne by eagles, several African traditions (probably taken from geographical works on Africa). There are also links with European legends. The marvellous signs at the birth of Charlemagne (in Pseudo-Turpin) resemble those recorded in our romance at the birth of Muḥammad, but Pseudo-Turpin undoubtedly borrowed from an older source. Artificial birds made of metal, which sing in various tunes by means of bells and organ pipes are described in French and German epics and also in the *Sirat 'Antar*. But here we have to deal with the historical marvel of the Chrysotriklinium in Constantinople, and with a similar thing in the Ctesiphon of the Sāsānids and also in the capital of the Tatar Khāns. Some coincidences are very striking. Hārith al-Zālim beats his sword Dhu 'l-Hiyāt against a rock, so that it may not fall into the enemy's hands; the rock is broken but the sword is uninjured, just as is the case with Roland's Durandal. 'Antar instructs his son Ghadbān, who wishes to slay Khusrāw and seize the power for himself, on the subject of kingship by God's grace just as, Girard de Viane does his nephew Aimeri who wants to kill Charlemagne. 'Antar's horse Abdjar takes flight to the desert after 'Antar's death, so

that he may not serve another master, just as Renaud de Montauban's Baiart escapes to the forests of the Ardennes. Very remarkable is the parallel between the duel between Roland and Oliver and that of 'Antar and Rabī'a b. Muḥaddam; the sword of the one combatant breaks in two and his magnanimous opponent gets him another; the duellists are reconciled and become brothers-in-law. But such poetical developments have their origin in a similar chivalrous outlook, the relations of the knight to his sword, to his horse, to his overlord and to his opponent.

Chivalry in the *Sirat 'Antar*. The *Sira* is rightly recognised to be a romance of chivalry. In the pagan period among the Arabs the ideal of masculine virtue was *muruwwa*, *futuwwa*; alongside of this we have more frequently in the *Sirat 'Antar* *furusīya* along with *farāsa* and *tafarrasa*. The knight is called *fāris*. 'Antar is called "a father of knights", *Abu 'l-Fawāris*, sometimes *Abu 'l-Fursān*, *Alā 'l-Fursān*, *Fāris al-Fursān*, *Afrasu*. Not everyone who rides a horse is a knight. The knight's qualities are courage, fidelity, love of truth, protection of widows, orphans, and the poor ('Antar arranges special meals for them), magnanimity, reverence for women ('Antar begins and ends his heroic career protecting women; he swears by 'Abla, by 'Abla's eye, conquers in 'Abla's name), liberality, especially to poets. The knights are also poets, especially poets of the *Hidjāz*, who are found in hundreds in the *Sirat 'Antar*. The *Sira* also knows the institutions of chivalry. We meet pages and squires, not only the *suhārīdja* of Ctesiphon; 'Antar himself trains several thousand squires. The *Sira* even describes tournaments on a great scale, in the *Hidjāz*, in *Hira*, in Ctesiphon, the most splendid in Byzantium where 'Antar's lance strikes the ring 476 times. These tourneys have many features in common with those of Europe, fighting with blunted weapons, tilting at the ring, decorating and beflagging the lists, the presence of ladies and girls. These agreements have been explained in the most diverse ways. On the one hand Delécluze saw in 'Antar the model of the European knight, in the *Sirat 'Antar*, the source from which Europe had obtained all its ideas of chivalry, while on the other hand Reinaud simply found European ideas, customs and institutions imitated in the *Sira* (*J. A.*, 1833, i. 102—105). In this some have seen the starting point for the study of the question of the origin of the *Sirat 'Antar*.

Origin. The *Sirat 'Antar* itself frequently and readily talks about itself and its origin. It professes to have been composed by al-Aṣma'ī in the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣhīd at his court in Baghdad; Aṣma'ī lived for 670 years, of which 400 were in the *Djāhiliya*; he was personally acquainted with 'Antar and his contemporaries, concluded the composition in the year 473 (1080) and recorded traditions from the mouths of 'Antar, Ḥamza, Abū Ṭālib, Ḥātim Ṭaiyī, Amru 'l-Kais, Ḥānī' b. Mas'ūd, Hāzīm of Mecca, 'Ubaida, 'Amr b. Wudd, Duraid b. al-Ṣimma, 'Amir b. al-Ṭufail. In fact we have a regular romance regarding the origin of the romance. The repeatedly mentioned *rāwī*, *nāḥil*, *muṣannif*, *ṣāhib al-ibārāt*, Aṣma'ī and other authorities have the same significance for the *Sirat 'Antar* as the *Dihkāne*, *Pehlewi* books and the hoary authorities in Firdawsī, or as the chronicles of St. Denis for the French epic. It is

simply fiction, when the *Sirat 'Antar* tells us that it exists in two versions, one for the Ḥijāz and the other for the 'Irāq. The invention of a Ḥijāz recension is intended to make it believed that Aṣma'ī collected the information in the Ḥijāz from 'Antar and his companions, which was utilised in the romance. The Ḥijāz as the home of the romance is a pure invention. On the other hand 'Irāq may really have made a considerable contribution to the composition of the *Sirat 'Antar*. For the date of origin of the *Sirat 'Antar* we have the following clues: 1. In a religious dialogue between a monk and a Muslim (*Das Religionsgespräch von Jerusalem um 800 A.D. aus dem Arabischen übersetzt* von K. Vollers, *Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxix. 49) the monk mentions the exploits of 'Antar. 2. About the middle of the xith century the Jew Samaw'al b. Yahyā al-Maghribī, a convert to Islām, describes his career and mentions that in his youth he was fond of long tales like that of 'Antar (*M.G.W.J.*, 1898, xlii. 127, 418). 3. The evidence contained in the book itself. The appearance of Bohemund, Djufrān (Godfrey of Bouillon), perhaps also of the king of the beggars, Tafur, brings us to the period after the first Crusade, that is at the earliest in the first half of the xith century. The composition of histories of 'Antar must therefore have already been begun in the viiith century — on the evidence of the religious dialogue above mentioned. According to Samaw'al b. Yahyā a book of 'Antar of considerable size was actually in existence in the middle of the xith century and if Bohemund and Djufrān already appeared in it, it must have been completed at the beginning of the xith century. At the same time the meddahs may have continued to add a great deal to it and in particular continued its islāmisation. The midrash of Abraham which is quite an inorganic addition and the legends of Muḥammad and 'Alī could belong to any period. An original 'Antar can be reconstructed with philological probability. In vol. xxxi., the dying 'Antar reviews his heroic career in his swan-song. He proudly recalls his victories in Arabia, 'Irāq, Persia and Syria. But he mentions neither Byzantium nor Spain, nor Fez, Tunis, Barka, nor Egypt, nor Hind-Sind, the Sūdān nor Ethiopia. This original 'Antar may have arisen in the 'Irāq (under Persian influence or perhaps in emulation of Persian epic poetry). The swan-song makes no mention of children, and knows of only one love of 'Antar's. This original 'Antar therefore should be called 'Antar and 'Abla. Following a genealogical stimulus, the later epic made royal ancestors be found in the Sūdān and royal descendants in Arabia, Byzantium, Rome and the land of the Franks. The Crusades next found an echo and a reaction in the 'Antar. The Crusaders came from the land of the Franks via Byzantium to Syria. 'Antar goes in a kind of reversed crusade from Syria via Byzantium to the land of the Franks and brings about the victory, if not yet of Islām, at least of Arab ideals and culture over European Christianity. The whole geographical area and historical range of the novel is filled with the exploits of 'Antar.

The romance of 'Antar seems to be first mentioned in Europe in 1777 in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* (J. A., 1834, xiii. 256); it was first introduced to European scholarship in 1819 by Hammer-Purgstall and to comparative

literature in 1851 by Dunlop-Liebrecht (*Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, xiii.—xvi.). The study of the problem of scholarship raised by the *Sirat 'Antar* was begun by Goldziher (mainly in his Hungarian works). The *Sirat 'Antar* was for long a favourite subject of study in France. In the *Journal Asiatique* the work was often discussed and partly translated. Lamartine went into raptures of admiration and enthusiasm for 'Antar (*Voyages en Orient: Vie des grands hommes I. Premières Méditations Poétiques*, Première Préface). Taine places 'Antar beside the greatest epic heroes — Siegfried, Roland, the Cid, Rustam, Odysseus and Achilles (*Philosophie de l'Art*, ii. 297). These tributes are not unmerited. The *Sirat 'Antar* unfolds before us the ever changing, glowing panorama of a particularly attractive period with an extravagant power of imagination, a skill in narration which never palls throughout the 32 volumes, and a poetical style of inexhaustible richness.

Bibliography: A very full collection of references to the manuscripts, editions, translations of and treatises on the *Sirat 'Antar* is given in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, etc., iii.; *Louqmāne et les fabulistes. Barlaam 'Antar et les Romans de chevalerie*, Lüttich-Leipzig 1898, p. 113—126. Cf. also: I. Goldziher, *Der arabische Held 'Antar in der geographischen Nomenclatur* (Globus, 1893, lxiv., No. 4, p. 65—67); do., *Ein orientalischer Ritterroman*, Pester Lloyd, Mai 18, 1918; B. Heller, *Der arabische 'Antarroman, Ungarische Rundschau*, v. 83—107; do., *Az arab Antarrégény*, Budapest 1918; do., *Der arabische 'Antarroman, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Hanover 1925. (BERNHARD HELLER)

SĪR-DARYĀ, a large river in Central Asia, flowing like its sister stream, the Āmū-Daryā [q.v.], into the Sea of Aral [q.v.]. European geographers now regard its source as the Narīn which flows through the territory of Džatf-Su (formerly Semirēčeye) and the north-eastern part of Farghāna [q.v.]; the native population has always (in the middle ages and at the present day) considered the Qarā-Daryā in the southern part of Farghāna as the upper course of the SĪR-Daryā. After the junction of the two rivers which form it, the Qarā-Kuldja and the Tar, the Qarā-Daryā flows past the town (now a mere village) of Ūzgend, whence it is sometimes called "river of Ūzgend". The district between the Qarā-Daryā and the Narīn is called in Persian Miyān-Rūdān, in Turkish İki-Şu-Arası. The length of the SĪR-Daryā from the confluence of the Qarā-Daryā and the Narīn is over 1,750 miles. In Farghāna it runs southwest at first and then for the most part northwest. Numerous tributaries flow to the SĪR-Daryā, both from east and west (in Farghāna north and south) from the neighbouring mountains of which only three now reach the main stream (the Čirčik, Keles and Arıf). The Arab geographers mention further tributaries in Farghāna, which now for the most part enter the great Shahr-i Khān canal which runs south of the SĪR-Daryā; this canal was only led from the Qarā-Daryā like the Yangi-Arīk from the Narīn in the xixth century. Whether any canals of any size were led in the middle ages out of the SĪR-Daryā itself to water, for example, the so-called "Hungry Steppes"

between Cinaz and Djizak cannot be ascertained. Muḳaddasī's mention (only in the Constantinople manuscript, *B.G.A.*, iii. 22 m) of an arm or canal (*khalidj*) said to be 140 farsakhs long, between Khodjand and Ustrūshana, is not confirmed by any other sources. The tributaries of the Sīr-Daryā have always been of incomparably greater importance than the main stream. Nor, unlike the Āmū-Daryā, has the Sīr-Daryā — at least in the historical period — had any oasis of importance in its delta.

In Western Europe the Sīr-Daryā is still frequently called by its old Greek name of Jaxartes; a Pahlavi form Jakhšart is assumed and explained by J. Marquart (*Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 6) as *yakhsha arta* "true, genuine pearl". Against this explanation is the fact that in the numerous personal and geographical names compounded with *arta*, this component is always found at the beginning of the word. Yet the word *yakhsha* "pearl" seems actually to be contained in the name; the Chinese (*Cin-ku-ho*) and Old Turkish (*Yinü-ügü*) names of the river have the same meaning. The Chinese transcription of the native name is given as *Yao-sha* (E. Bretschneider, *Med. Researches from Eastern As. Source*, London 1888, i. 75), *Yau-sha* (F. Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, p. 81, in W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, second Series, St. Petersburg 1899) or *Yo-sha* (E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903). In the Muslim period the initial "y" seems to have disappeared in the land itself; the Arabic (*Ḳānūn Mas'ūdi* of Birūnī, in A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, etc., Leipzig 1864, p. 32) and Persian (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, MS. of the Asiatic Museum, f. 24b) manuscripts have *Khashart*: this form and not as Marquart assumes (*Die Chronologie*, etc., p. 5), *Yakhshart* was probably in Ibn Khordādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi., text, 178, 2. The name *Silis* mentioned by Pliny, 6, 16, 18 (cf. A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*², Hamburg 1877, ii., p. 77) is connected with the word *sir* although this latter, a Turkish name, cannot be found before the xvth century. Ibn Khordādhbih (*B.G.A.*, vi. 178, 4) mentions the name *Kankar* which also appears in Chinese transcription (*K'an'kit*) and was used probably on the central course of the river only: cf. *Daryā-i Gang* from Firdawsī in *G. J. Ph.*, ii. 445. The Arabs introduced the name *Saihūn* for the Sīr-Daryā like *Djaihūn* for the Āmū-Daryā (cf. the names *Djaihān* and *Ṣaiḥān* in the south-eastern frontiers of Asia Minor). In the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* of Hamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (ed. Le Strange, 217, 16, transl. and note *ibid.*, ii. 210) appears the *Gul Zaryūn* which seems to occur nowhere else. Blochet explains this word (in Le Strange, l.c.) as the Mongol *gul serikūn* = "cold river", probably wrongly, as the order of words should be reversed. The river is usually called in Arabic and Persian sources after towns and districts on its banks, most frequently "river of Khodjand" (Khodjand is now the only town situated immediately on the bank of the Sīr-Daryā). This name also was adopted by the Mongols (E. Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, loc. cit., in Chinese transcriptions *Ho-shan-mu-lien*, for Mongol *mürān*, "river"). Other names: river of Banāket, or Fanāket (in Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 740: Banākit) after the town

on the right bank near the mouth of the Angren said to have been destroyed by Čingiz Khān (this destruction is not recorded by contemporaries); river of Shāhrukhīya after the town built by Timūr in 794 (1392) on the site of the destroyed Banāket (*Zafar-Nāma*, Calcutta ed. 1888, ii. 636); river of Akhsikat (*ibid.*, i. 441) or Akhsikath [q.v.]; river of Čāc or Shāsh, after the great oasis of Čircik. The last town on the Sīr-Daryā, Arabic al-Ḳaryat al-Hadītha, Persian Dih-i Naw (Gardizi in Barthold, *Očēt o poiendkie v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 83), Turkish Yangikent, later sometimes Shahrkent in historical works (*Ta'rikh-i Djahān Gushā*, i. 69 below) and on coins, was one farsakh from the bank of the river and two days' journey from its mouth (now the ruins of Djankent). The ruins were explored in 1867 by P. Lerch and the coins found there are of the viiith (xivth) century. The river is said to have altered its course about this time and no longer entered the Sea of Aral but according to some was lost in the desert, or to others joined the Āmū-Daryā; on these stories cf. above i., p. 341 sq., 419; on the other hand Abu 'l-Ghāzī in the xith (xviih) century calls the Sea of Aral the "Sea of Sīr" (Sīr Teñizi) and knows nothing of the river ever having not reached the sea.

In the ivth (xth) century the Sīr-Daryā is mentioned as a navigable river along with the Āmū-Daryā (*B.G.A.*, iii. 323, 1); in "times of peace or of truce", food supplies were brought to Ḳaryat al-Hadītha by water (*ibid.*, ii. 393, 4). Navigation is now interrupted by the rapids of Begowat which begin at the village of Ḳosh-Tegermen, fifteen miles below Khodjand; these rapids seem to be nowhere mentioned in Muslim sources; Djuwainī's story (*Ta'rikh-i Djahān Gushā*, i. 71 sq.) of the siege of Khodjand by the Mongols in 1220, and the adventurous flight of the commander Timūr Malik presupposes an uninterrupted passage by water from Khodjand to the towns on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā (cf. e.g. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, i. 225 sq.). After the foundation of Russian rule on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā (since 1847) an attempt was made to introduce steam navigation on the river; the steamers of the Aral fleet went up the Sīr-Daryā also and had their most important anchorage at the town of Kazalinsk founded by the Russians. After this service ceased in 1882, no further such attempts have been made, although several times proposed; traffic on the Sīr-Daryā is maintained solely by boats of native construction (*bayik*).

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AL-SĪR DJĀN, a town in Persia, in the province of Kirmān, near the Fārs frontier; it used to be called al-Ḳaṣrānī, "the two castles",

and was the capital of Kirmān. The streets are broad, the gardens well irrigated, the climate healthy and temperate. The palace and mosque were built by the Būyid 'Aqūd al-Dawla. The canals which water it were dug by the Šaffārids 'Amr and Ṭāhīr b. Laīth. Wood being scarce, all the houses are covered with brick vaulting. It had eight gates, two markets, the old and the new, with the mosque between the two. The minaret was surmounted by a lampholder of carved wood built by 'Aqūd al-Dawla who had also built a palace near the Bāb Ḥakīm gate. Corn was grown, cotton and dates, cotton manufactured and *kursī* desks as at Kūmm, but not so fine.

It was the capital of Kirmān in the time of the 'Abbāsids down to the period of the Būyids, when the Būyid governor moved his residence to Bardasīr (the modern Kirmān). Owned by the Muẓaffarids at the beginning of the eighth (xvth) century, it did not recognise the authority of Timūr and was unsuccessfully besieged by 'Umar Shaikh in 796 (1394); but, under pressure of famine, it surrendered at the end of two years. Since then it has been in ruins, and the site is still marked by the debris discovered in 1900 at Kaḷ'a-i Sang by Sir Percy Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 431), at 5 miles east of Sa'īd Ābād, the modern capital.

Bibliography: Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 263 (cf. 106 and 265) = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 333, *B.G.A.* (Istakhri [*Šīrādjan*], p. 167; Ibn Ḥawqāl [*Šīrādjan*], p. 223; Muḳaddasī, p. 464); Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, f° 322 r°; Abu 'l-Fida', *Géographie*, i. 336; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 141; transl. Le Strange, p. 119; Sāmī-bey, *Kāmus al-A'lām*, iv. 2751; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 300—302, 311, 320. (CL. HUART)

SIRḤĀN, WĀDĪ, the name of a valley in North Arabia, which runs from the south end of the Ḥawrān southwards for a length of 160 miles with a breadth of two to twelve miles. Its north end is marked by the fort of al-Azraq and its southern extremity by the wells of Maikū'. The whole valley is very rich in water and suitable for settlement. At al-Azraq, there is even a large permanent pond, the only one in the whole of North Arabia. If the life and property of the inhabitants are secured, the ten large and small villages in this wādī, which are still inhabited, may be further increased. But under present conditions the inhabitants suffer a great deal from the nomads, for Wādī Sirḥān is their natural road to Syria. The trading caravans, which used to go from Gerrha and Babylon to Syria, used the road through this valley, the history of which as a caravan route can be traced back still further; for the Assyrian kings had tried to control this important trade route and even found themselves occasionally forced to use armed force. The army of King Assarhaddon undertook a campaign against the Bāzu and Ḳhazū who lived in Wādī Sirḥān, the Būz and Ḥazō of the Bible (Gen. xxii. 21 sq.; Job xxxii. 2; Jer. xxv. 23) whose oases are still recalled by the place-names Biḏ and Ḥozowḏa. In the Nabataean period Wādī Sirḥān formed the eastern frontier between the Nabataeans and the nomads and was called "Syriaion pedion". In the Muslim period the Wādī Sirḥān was the much contested frontier between

the tribes of al-Ḳain and Kalb and was called Baṭn al-Sirr and was also used as the natural route of communication between al-Ḥira or al-Kūfa and Syria. The pilgrim-caravans followed it and came to Medīna via Taimā'. The Sirḥān Wādī now belongs to the tribe of Ruwala of the 'Aneze and forms the boundary between their lands and those of the Ahl al-Šhemal (Banū Ṣaḵr and Ḥwēṭā' b. Djaḍ). By section i. of the treaty of Hadda of November 1925, almost four fifths of the Wādī Sirḥān fell to the Sulṭān of Naḍjd, while the northeast corner fell to Transjordan.

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ŠĪRWĀḤ, the name of two ruined towns in South Arabia.

1. A large ruined site in the land of the Beni Djebr (Ḳhawlān), a day's journey west of Mārib in the Wādī Wakīfa. The castle of this town, which E. Glaser considered the oldest foundation of the Sabaeans, is mentioned in the Sabaean inscription Bibl. Nat., N° 2, along with the two ancient castles of Salḥān and Ḡhundān. The town of Šīrwāḥ (*ḡḡarān Šīrwāḥ*) is mentioned in the inscriptions Glaser, 904, 13, 1571, 4; there is also a reference to it in the late Sabaean inscription on the bursting of the dam of Mārib (Glaser, 618, 30) so that it must still have been of some importance in the fifth century A.D. although it could no longer have rivalled Mārib. The most important building among the ruins is the great temple of Almaḳah built by the priest-king Yada'il Dhāriḥ, which like that of Mārib is elliptical in shape. In the centre of the temple stands a stone prism seventy feet long, 35 inches high and eighteen inches thick, the two larger surfaces of which are covered with the famous Sabaean inscription, Glaser N° 1,000, over 1,000 words in length. J. Halévy, when he visited the ruined site, still found numerous monolithic pillars, some upright and others overthrown bearing long inscriptions. The main group of columns like that at Mārib is now called '*Arḡḡ Bilḡis* (throne of Bilḡis). Opposite the temple ruins on a mound is the old citadel of Šīrwāḥ, part of which still existed in al-Ḥamdānī's time. A large number of legends have grown up around it. It is said that the ḡḡinn built it for Dhū Bata'; others say it was built by command of Solomon by the demons

for Bilkis, the queen of Saba. According to the learned South Arabian, Nashwān al-Himyārī, 'Amr Dhū Şirwāḥ al-Malik b. al-Hārith b. Malik b. Zaid b. Sadad b. Himyar al-Aṣghar, one of the eight princes, built it. But this is probably mere speculation by South Arabian genealogists. The Arab philologists connected the name Şirwāḥ with *ṣarḥ*, "high, commanding building", and interpreted it as "castle, palace". E. Osiander and following him H. v. Kremer correctly connected it with the Ethiopic *ṣerḥ* "citadel". At Şirwāḥ there were gold-washings, which were still being worked when Halévy visited them. Al-Hamdānī already knew that gold was found there.

2. A ruined site in the land of the Benī Arḥab, N.E. of Na'īt in the vicinity of Medr, West of the Djebel Etwa. The best preserved of the ruins is the old temple which is now known as the masjid (mosque) and stands in the centre of the extensive area of ruins, 27 paces long and 19 broad. The walls of the temple run from south-east to north-east and are 4 feet thick. The outer wall has however fallen in and only survives to a height of 3 to 5 feet. The stones are very carefully hewn. This enclosing wall is pierced by two gateways, one 3 feet broad in the west front and another, 5 feet broad, in the east front. On the south side a niche 5 feet wide has been left in the outside of the wall, corresponding to a somewhat smaller niche in the inner side of the north wall. A sanctuary enclosed by pillars fills the inner chamber in the upper half and there is a basin also surrounded by pillars in front of it. The pillars of the sanctuary are all destroyed except two. These are 8 feet high, 16 sided, thickening at the top; the capital consists of six parts and is rounded off, and fluted in keeping with the shaft of the column. The pillars around the cistern are octagonal and are also destroyed. To the west of the temple the old town probably lay. Mounds of ruins 20 to 24 feet high now lie there out of which rise great walls forming chambers. The ruins, called *Ḥaḍjar Arḥab* by the Beduins, form the gathering place of the whole tribe of Arḥab for the discussion and decision of important matters. This custom may be a memory of ancient times in which the temple probably played an important part in the worship and legislation of the people.

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SIRWĀL (A.), trousers. Trousers are not originally an Arab garment but were introduced, probably from Persia. From quite early times, other people have copied the thing and the name from the Persians and it almost looks as if Persia were the original home of trousers (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 136³). The Greek *σαράβαρα* or *σαράβαλλα*, Latin *sarabala* (perhaps also Aramaic *sarbālīn*, Daniel iii. 21; cf. Syriac *šarbālīn*) and the Arabic *sirwāl* are all derived from old Persian *zārawāro*, the modern Persian *šelwār* (which is explained as from *šel* = leg, with a suffix *-wār*); to *sirwāl* in turn may be traced the corresponding word among the Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Tartars, Siberians and Kalmucks in the east and the Spanish and Portuguese in the west. The form *sirwāl* has probably been influenced by the word *sirbāl* meaning garment in general (explained as a development of the root *s-b-l* and an originally Semitic word). This occurs in the early Arabic poetry and in the *Kurʾān*, but not *sirwāl*.

The Arab grammarians retained a memory of the Persian origin of the word. As frequently with loanwords, *sirwāl* shows several formations in Arabic, sing.: *sirwāl(a)*, *sirwal(a)*, *sirwil*, dialectic *širwāl*, modern also *šarwāl* and the question is continually discussed whether it is triptote or diptote; plur.: *sarāwīl* and double pl. *sarāwīlāt* both also with *šīn* and dialectic *sarāwīn*, diptote only but usually (like the word from trousers in many other languages) used with singular meaning and varying in sex between masc. and fem.; dimin. *suraiyīl*, plur. *suraiyīlāt*; (ta)sarwala has been formed as a denominative verb.

When the word entered Arabic and the thing was adopted by Muslims is not exactly known,

but the Muslims must have become acquainted with trousers in the very early days of Islām, at the latest during the conquest of Persia. Tradition usually traces them to the Prophet Muḥammad and even credits pre-Islāmic prophets with wearing them. A ḥadīth says: "the first to wear trousers was the prophet Abraham, wherefore he will be the first to be clothed on the day of judgment". Another ḥadīth tells us that Moses was wearing trousers of wool on the day on which God spoke with him. It is related in one tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad that he bought trousers from the linen-drapers, but it is uncertain whether he actually wore them; on one occasion he replied to the question whether he wore them: "Yes, when travelling and at home, by day and night; I was commanded to cover myself and I know no covering really better than these". According to another ḥadīth, he recommends the wearing of trousers in the words: "be different from the people of the book, who do wear neither trousers nor *izār*". But other stories deny positively that he wore them and it is also disputed whether the Caliph 'Othmān wore them. The intermediate view is that it is permitted to wear trousers, *ubīḥā, lā ba'sa bihi*.

In contrast to the men, to whom all that has been said so far applies, the wearing of trousers is recommended for women in all ḥadīths. It is said for example: "Put on trousers, for they are the garments that cover one best and protect your women with them when they go out" or "God has mercy upon the women who wear trousers" (*yarḥamū 'Uḥu 'l-mutasarwīlāti min al-nisā'*) — or "a woman came past riding one day and fell off. The Prophet turned aside in order not to see her and was only put at his ease when he was told that she was *mutasarwila*". Other ḥadīths fix the length of the trousers: — to the ankles, not longer; as a concession, as a protection against insects, they may be a little longer but must not trail on the ground.

The *muḥrim* is forbidden to wear trousers (along with certain other garments). But even the *ṣalāt* in trousers was *makrūh* according to the strictest view and must be repeated; trousers are also considered unfitting for the *mu'adhdhin*.

In actual practice, little attention has been paid to all such restrictions, and numerous passages in historical and geographical literature, in books of travel and in *adab*-books show that trousers have probably been worn in most Muslim lands since the early centuries of the Hijra. It is quite exceptional to find the statement that in one region a so-called *fūṭa* was worn in place of trousers (e. g. in India). The word *fūṭa* is of Indian origin and means a simple cloth without a seam, which was fastened in front and behind to the girdle. A *fūṭa* of this kind — these from the Yemen were particularly noted — was also worn in regions, where trousers were usually worn by women in negligé, in the house instead of trousers (cf. Ibn al-Ḥajjīdī, *Kitāb al-Mudkhal*, Cairo 1320, i. 118).

Oriental trousers differ very much in different countries. They are of all possible widths, from wide pantaloons, which are only drawn together at the bottom over the feet, to close-fitting shapes which look more like drawers and indeed are so-called by European travellers. They are also of very different lengths, from knee-breeches, especially for soldiers, to long trousers coming to below the

feet. Colours were dependent not only on fashion (sometimes only natural colours were considered the thing, as a rule artificial colours never) but also on political considerations; the 'Abbāsīd colour for example was black and that of the Fātimids white. As regards material, a famous Persian speciality was silken trousers; in Egypt and the adjoining lands the white Egyptian linen was popular, trousers of red leather are mentioned as the dress of the women in the market of lights of Cairo, and so on.

In contrast to the European fashion, trousers in the east are worn next the bare body under the other garments (cf. *Djāhīz, Kitāb al-Tādī*, ed. Zeki Pacha, p. 154 below: the shirt and the trousers are *shfār*, the other garments *dīḥār* are worn above) and are supported not by braces but by a special girdle tied round the body, called the *tikka* (modern *dikka*). Although the *tikkak* were covered by the other garments and could not be seen they were the objects of a particular extravagance, being adorned with inscriptions, usually of an erotic nature; the most famous and valuable were the *tikkak* made in Armenia of Persian silk. The prohibition against wearing them issued by the *fuḳaḥā'* had scarcely any effect. A thousand pairs of trousers of brocade with a thousand trouser bands of silk from Armenia (*alf sarāwīl daibaḳīya bi-alf tikka ḥarīr ermenī*) were, according to Makrīzī, ii. 4, part of the estate of an Egyptian noble (cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Bulāḳ* 1299, i. 110); a thousand jewelled *tikka's* were given to the daughter of Khumārawaih b. Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn on her wedding; the *tikka* was also used as a love-token sent by a lady to her admirer.

For practical reasons, trousers formed part of a soldier's dress. Ṭabarī records that even the Umayyad soldiers already wore *sarāwīl* made of a coarse cloth called *miṣḥ*. Under the latter, they wore very short drawers called *tubbān*, which were made of hair. When Islām adopted the old Oriental custom of granting robes of honour, trousers were included among them; indeed they were sometimes regarded as the most valuable part of the gift, which, it has been suggested, is connected with the phallic worship of paganism. Originally the garments of honour given were not new, but had been worn by the donor; he ought to have worn them at least once.

As a kind of uniform and a garment of honour, the trousers play a very special part in the Muslim *futuwwa* organisations. In the ceremonial reception of a new member into the gild, an essential feature of the initiation ceremony (*shadd*, q. v.) is the putting on of the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa*, often briefly called *futuwwa*. Here also stress is laid on the point that the *kabīr* must have either previously worn them himself or at least gone into far enough to touch them with his knees. The *sarāwīl* had occasionally a similar importance for the *ṣūfīyān*, like the *ḥīrka* [q. v.] for the Sūfīs. An oath was taken on the *sarāwīl* (this oath is however invalid according to Ibn Taimīya); they could also be put on a coat of arms with a cup *ka's*.

The putting on of the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* acquired a certain political significance under the "reformer of the *futuwwa*", the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Nāṣir, about whose grants of *sarāwīl*, a few stories have been preserved by the historians. He sent embassies to the petty dynasts of Syria, Persia and India with the demand that they and

their nobles should put on the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* for the Caliph. This was done with solemn ceremonial and they thereby placed themselves under the protection of the Caliph as overlord of the *fiṭyān*. The same Nāṣir seems to have limited the right of investiture to a very few and his successors also claimed the right for themselves. But others did it, for example the Sultān Ashraf of Egypt two centuries after Nāṣir.

When the *futuwwa*-gilds declined, other organisations with political or other aims adopted their external ceremonies, and laid special stress on the putting on of trousers. The gild of thieves in Baghdād for example under Muktafi and a secret Sunni association in Damascus called the Nabawiya with anti-Shi'a tendencies, mentioned by Ibn Djabair. But with the disappearance of the *futuwwa*, the original significance of the *sarāwīl* as a badge of chivalry was no longer understood and they became combined with the *khirkā* of the Sūfis into the *khirkat al-futuwwa*.

For the expression *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* we also find *libās al-futuwwa* with the same meaning "trousers" and in Egyptian Arabic, *libās* (cf. Lane) acquired the general meaning of "drawers" (i. e. for men; for those of women there is a new foreign word *shintiyān*). This circumstance is a criterion for ascertaining the Egyptian texts in the 1001 Nights; they replace the word *sarāwīl* of the non-Egyptian texts without exception by *libās*.

In many expressions *sirwāl* is used metaphorically. Thus, *musarwal* is a pigeon with feathered legs, a horse with white legs or a tree with branches down on the trunk. *Shirwāl al-ʿāṣik* "rogue's trousers" and *sarāwīl al-fukūk* (cuckoo-trousers) (*linaria elatine*) are the names of plants (on the other hand *sarwal* or *serwāl* or *serwīl* for "cypress" is formed of the well known word *sarw* with the article behind it and has nothing to do with *sirwāl*).

Bibliography: In addition to the general dictionaries see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s. v. *Sirwāl* and *Futuwwa*; do., *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, s. v. *Sirwāl*, *Libās*, *Tikka*, *Fūṭa*, cf. also *Mīzar*, *Tubbān*, *Djakshir*, *Ḥizza*, *Ḥikw*, *Sikān*, *Shintiyān*, *Nukba*, *Ḳaṣa* and *Gesenius*, *Thesaurus*, s. v. *srbī*; Ibn Sida, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, iv. 83. — Philology and hadīths: see the special work on the subject *Muntakhab al-Aḳwāl fi-mā yataʿallaq bi-l-Sarāwīl* by Djaʿfar b. Idris al-Kattānī, 10 pp. lith., Fās n. d. Bukhārī has a *Bāb al-Sarāwīl*, ed. Krehl, iv. 77; also Suyūṭī wrote a book *fi-l-Sarāwīl*, cf. the Berlin MS. Ahlwardt, N^o. 5455. — References from historians and geographers have been collected by Dozy, *Vét.* and by Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 96, 314, 368 sq., 399, 436. — On inscriptions on Tikak s. al-Washshā, *K. al-Zarf wa-l-Zurafā*, Cairo 1324, p. 102, 141. — On the different colours of clothing, see al-Ṭabarsī, *K. Makārim al-Aḳhlāk*, Cairo 1311, p. 35. — Military: N. Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omajjaden*, Kieler Diss., 1921, p. 30. — *Futuwwa*: Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, p. 49 sq., 162, 187, 198 sq., 204 sqq.; Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi*, p. 297. — Modern Egypt: Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*⁵, 1860, p. 28—29. — Mecca: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, N^o. 57 (also *Verspr. Geschriften*, v. 84 sq.). — Morocco: L. Brunot,

Noms des vêtements masculins à Rabat, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, i., p. 87 sqq.; esp. p. 95, 107. — Pictures: A. Rosenberg, *Geschichte des Kostüms*, table 296, 374 sqq.; Tilke, *Orientalische Kostüme in Schnitt und Farbe*, Berlin 1923; cf. also Tilke, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des orientalischen Kostüms*, Berlin 1923, p. 25, 32.

(WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

SIS, a town in Asia Minor, also called *Sisiya*, (middle-)Latin *Sisia* and *Sis*; in French sources of the Middle Ages, besides the usual forms, also *Assis* and *Oussis* are found. The most obvious explanation of these last mentioned forms would be from *al* (the Arabic article) + *Sis*: however, attention must be paid to the fact that in the Arabic sources the name seems to occur more often without the article, than accompanied by it (for another explanation of these forms see *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades*; *Doc. Arm.*, ii., p. xii.). *Sis* is the ancient capital of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom, 65 K.M. N. E. from Adana, 290 M. above sea-level. The town lies against the slope of an isolated mountain, which belongs to the Taurus-system. The river of *Sis* rises in the Antitaurus; after uniting with another water-course, the Deli Şu, it falls in the Djaiḥān (Pyramus).

Before the Middle-Ages, nothing is known about this town; the attempted identifications with antique localities (some have thought of Flavia, others of Pindenissus) are very doubtful.

In the Byzantine period we hear of the Arabs besieging in vain τὸ Σίσιον κάστρον in Cilicia, in the 6th year of the reign of the emperor Tiberios III Apsimaros = 703 (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, i. 372). In the Latin text of Anastasius' *Chronographia Tripartita* (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, ii. 237) we find *expugnansque Sisui castrum*, where the form of the name of the locality is to be noted, as also the fact, that *expugnans* is a wrong interpretation for the word *πολιορκήσας* in the text of Theophanes.

In 'Abbāsid time, however, *Sis* belonged to the Muslim empire: it was reckoned among the *thughūr al-Shāmīya*. It was rebuilt during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, under the direction of 'Alī b. Yahyā al-Armanī, but afterwards laid waste by the Byzantines (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 170). There is also a tradition, going back to al-Wāḳidi, of an emigration of the inhabitants of *Sis* to the *a'lā al-Rūm* in the years 194 or 193 (809/810 or 808/809), which event may stand in relation to the loss of the locality by the Greeks, in the interval between the times of Apsimaros and al-Mutawakkil (al-Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*; cf. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 217, where the years erroneously are given as 94 or 93). A further mention of *Sis* is found during the wars of the Ḥamdānid Saif al-Dawla [q.v.] with the Byzantines. That prince, after rebuilding 'Ain Zarba (Anazarba), sent his ḥājīb with an army, which ravaged the Byzantine territory; the Greeks, in revenge, then took the stronghold of *Sis* (*ḥiṣn Sisiya*), in the year 351 (962) (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Thornberg, viii. 404). It appears, then, that in the early Middle Ages *Sis* has been a fortified frontier-town.

The continuous history of *Sis* begins about the end of the xith century of the Christian aera, when it had become the royal residence of the Armenian kings of Cilicia (the Rubenids and the

Lusignans). But already before that time it is sometimes mentioned in the annals of the Cilician kingdom. It is numbered among the places, conquered by the Armenian princes Thoros and Stephanos (Chronicle of Kirakos of Ganjak under 562 Armenian aera = 1113/1114); moreover, Sis belonged to the towns which suffered from the earthquake of the year 1114 (Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa under 563 Armenian aera). Nerses of Lambron, writing in the year 1177, complains, that in the royal residence (*ishkhananist*) Sis, there is no bishop, nor are there suitable churches. It is surprising to find the town mentioned as a royal residence as early as 1177, for it must have been Leo II (1187—1219), who transferred the royal residence for strategical and political reasons, from Anazarba to Sis. Since the time of this ruler, the kingdom of Cilicia is called, by Muslim authors, not only *bilād al-Arman*, but also *bilād Sis*; an Armenian geographer (xiiith century?) cited by Saint Martin, ii. 436 *sq.* also identifies the names Cilicia and Sis.

Leo II caused many new buildings to be erected in the town. The chronicle of the *cométable* Sēmbat speaks already under the year 624 Armenian aera = 1175/1176 of the new-built (*novāshēn*) town of Sis, in connection with the murder of the Rubenid prince Mleh (dated in Hethum's Chronicle, erroneously under 613 Armenian aera = 1164; Sis is also here mentioned as the place, where that event did happen). If the, tolerably late, chronicle of Sēmbat is right in using the term "new-built" here, then there must already have been extensive renovations before the time of Leo II.

This prince, who in 1198 was crowned king (he himself before, and the older Rubenids only wore the title of baron) transferred, as stated above, the royal residence to Sis. His coronation must have been at Tarsus (a later chronicler, Jehan Dardel, erroneously pretends that it was at Sis), but the town of Sis is already called the "metropolis" of Leo in a poem on the taking of Jerusalem by Salāh al-Dīn, written by the Katholikos Grigor IV († 1189; in this poem the form, *Sisuan* is to be noted: *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades; Doc. Arm.*, i. 301). In the year 1212 it was at Sis, that the coronation of Leo's grand-nephew and co-regent Ruben took place. This ceremony was witnessed by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who in his *Peregrinatio* gives a short account of the town: "it was the capital of the king (*capitanea civitas domini regis*), with many and rich inhabitants. It had no walls, *unde potius eam villam quam civitatem nuncuparem*. But there was an Armenian archbishop, and also a Greek patriarch. Then the traveller mentions the stronghold of Sis (*castrum... super se situm in monte valde munitum*); the town rises amphitheatrically against the mountain. The locality belonged in ancient time to Darius, who was vanquished by Alexander". This singular item may be due to a reminiscence of Alexander's victory at the (Cilician) Issus. It is remarkable, that in the elegy of Grigor, cited above, after the mention of Sis, it is said that on that spot also the warriors of Alexander defeated Darius. In the neighbourhood of the town, Wilbrand continues, the king had caused a pleasure garden of indescribable beauty to be laid out.

It is surprising that the town had no wall; it seems that the stronghold was deemed sufficient

for defence. Still in 1375, when Sis was taken by the Egyptians, there was no town-wall: the royal palace, together with some other buildings, were enclosed with a wall; it seems to be this complex which is called by Jehan Dardel the "bourg", and it must be distinguished from the castle on the mountain.

The kings of Cilicia, moreover, had a summer-residence in the Taurus, to the North of Sis, Barjberd, which was also their treasure-house. Likewise, in modern times, the inhabitants of Sis, during the summer, leave the unhealthy town, to take summer habitations (*yaylak*) in the mountains.

The political history of Sis is, of course, intimately connected with the general history of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom. The chief feature of that history consists in the struggle for existence which that kingdom had to carry on against the sultanate of Egypt; it is therefore not surprising, that the chief events connected with the town are attacks of the Mamlūk armies and ravages wrought by them. Other foes were of minor consequence: an attack of a Turkoman chief in the year of the accession of Leo II (1187) was repelled by that prince, but the Turkomans during the reign of the following kings remained a menace to the Cilician kingdom. These nomads, whenever a strong government was lacking, availed themselves of the opportunity to seize on pastures: we shall find them in the actual possession of the territory of Sis in the first half of the sixteenth century. On the occasion of the Egyptian attack of 1266, the town of Sis, with its cathedral, was burnt down and the royal tombs were desecrated. Other Egyptian incursions in the district of Sis occurred in the years 1275, 1276, 1298 and 1303: in the last named year, the city itself was plundered by the enemy. In 1321 the environs again suffered from hostile attack; this time it was the Mongol governor of Rūm, Timurāsh, who, on the instigation, as it seems, of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, carried his ravages in the district of Sis. A similar incursion was made by the then officiating governor of Aleppo, by order of the same sultan in the year 1340; the incursions from the amir of Aleppo were repeated in 1359 and 1369; both times the town was taken. In the meantime, Sis had suffered from the great epidemic, which in Europe, during that same time, is known under the name of the "Black Death" (1348).

However, the end of the Cilician kingdom was imminent. The last king, Leo VI (de Lusignan) was reduced to his capital, Sis; after the retreat of the Egyptians, the Turkomans fell upon the land; then, in the years 1374 and 1375 came the catastrophe. The sieges of Sis during these years by the Egyptians, and the final taking of the town, wherein the enemy was assisted by the treason of some nobles and of the Katholikos, are described in detail in the chronicle of Jehan Dardel, who had been chaplain to king Leo VI since 1377, Leo being then a prisoner at Cairo.

From the ecclesiastical history of Sis during the time of the Cilician kingdom, the following facts may be mentioned. Soon after the time when Nerses of Lambron complained about the desolate state of spiritual affairs in the town, we find Sis (since 1198, when the first archbishop is mentioned) an archbishopric, but depending on the see of Anazarba. There had also been some

church-councils at Sis, e.g. in 1238, under the reign of Hethum I, when the dogma of the processus Spiritus Sancti according to the Greek doctrine was accepted; in 1307 (March 19) another council aimed at unification with Rome, but obedience to its resolutions could only be compelled within the limits of the town of Sis itself. Two years later (1309) another church-council, not summoned by the king, was convened at Sis, to take stand against the innovations of 1307, but the king Awshin dispersed it, and had the ecclesiastics who had been convened, imprisoned. Another synod was held at Sis in 1342, under the reign of Constantine IV.

The patriarchs of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom fixed their seat at Sis in 1292. On June 29 of that year, Rūm Kal'a, which was the former seat of this patriarchate, had been taken by the Egyptians; so the new patriarch (Grigor VII) came to reside at Sis. There his successors have remained even after the fall of the kingdom, and after the renovation of the patriarchal see of Edjmiacin (1441), which caused, of course, a schism in the Armenian church. The chief relic preserved by the patriarchs of Sis was the right hand of St. Grigor, the apostle of the Armenians, which, in 1292, was redeemed, with other relics, from the infidels by king Hethum II.

After the Egyptian conquest, the patriarchs, at first, had no fixed residence; they came only to the town of Sis to perform some ecclesiastical duties, e.g. the benediction of the sacred oil (*myron*). Under the rule of the Rubenids and Lusignans the habitation of the patriarchs had been within the circumvallation of the royal dwellings. After the period of their wandering about, the patriarchs obtained from the Egyptian government permission to reside in the town. First, this residence of the patriarch was an ordinary house; in 1734, long after the Turkish conquest, a monastery was founded by the patriarch Lucas, which seems to have been the seat of the patriarchate until 1810, when the patriarch Kirakos founded another monastery, in which the patriarchate was established when V. Langlois visited Sis (1853). A little before 1874, the patriarch was expelled from Sis, and migrated to 'Ain Tāb.

But if the ecclesiastical history of the town continued until modern times, politically Sis soon became insignificant. Immediately after the Egyptian conquest, Sis remained the capital of a new province, which included Ayās, Tarsus, Adana, Maşşisa and Ramaḍāniya, the whole being dependent on Aleppo. In 893 (1488) Sis was taken by the Osmanlis, during the war between Bāyazīd II and Egypt. Afterwards, the town belonged to the realm of the Turkoman dynasty of the Ramaḍānoghlu, whose members, however, since the time of the fifth prince, Khalil b. Maḥmūd, were vassals to the Porte. Hādjdīr Khalifa, in the *Djihānnumā* contrasts the once flourishing condition of the district of Sis with its uncultivated state in his time.

Under Ottoman administration, Sis belonged to the *wilāyet* Adana, and the *sandjaq* of Kozan. When Langlois visited the locality, he found it to be a village, consisting of \pm 200 houses, inhabited by Turks and Armenians. There was a *masdjid* and a *basār*; the Turkoman beg of the Kozanoghlu tribe was virtually the ruler, for the *pāshā* of Adana had no authority whatever in Sis. The village moreover paid no tribute to the

Porte. There were several remains of old times, but the palace of the Cilician-Armenian kings was ruined; on its site was the monastery, where the patriarch resided. The church, belonging to that monastery, is consecrated to St. Grigor Illuminator and the Descensus Filii Unigeniti; the treasure of that church contains among other relics the right hand of St. Grigor, and two Gospels from the xivth century of the Christian aera. The archives and the library of the patriarchate, Langlois found to be in a deplorable state. Other churches of Sis, partly restored after the Middle-Ages, are consecrated to St. Sophia (the *Çaḡır kilise*), to St. Sergius, to St. Peter and Paul (wholly ruined), to the Holy Virgin, to St. James (ruined). The mountain-stronghold of Sis, built by Leo II (*Sis Kal'a-sī*) was in a tolerable state of preservation.

According to a statement of 1894 (Sāmi Bey Frasherī) Sis then had \pm 3,500 inhabitants, 2 *masdjids*, 3 churches and 3 *medreses*. Its territory, though fertile, is insufficiently cultivated, but in its neighbourhood there are many gardens.

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(V. F. BÜCHNER)

SISAM. [See SAMOS].

SISAR, a town in Persian Kurdistan, bounded by Hamadān, Dinawar and Ādharbāidjān. The Arab geographers place Sisar on the Dinawar-Marāgha road 20—22 *farsakhs* (3 stages) north of Dinawar (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119—121; Qudāma, p. 212; Muḥaddasī, p. 382). According to Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 310), Sisar occupied a depression (*khiḡāḡ*) surrounded by 30 mounds, whence its Persian name "30 summits". For greater accuracy it was called Sisar of Ṣadkhāniya (*wa-kāna Sisar tud'a Sisar Ṣadkhāniya*) which Balādhuri correctly explains as Sisar of the hundred springs: *Khānī* in Persian (*kānī* in Kurd) does mean spring; on the other hand the geographers (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 175; Ibn Rusta, p. 89) locate the sources of the Safid-rūd (Kizil-uzān) "at the gate" or "in the ravine" (*bāb*) of Sisar (Mas'ūdī, *Kit. al-Tanbīh*, p. 62: in the *nāhiya* of S.). Finally Mas'ūdī (*ibid.*, p. 53), speaking of the Diyāla [q.v.], makes it come from the mountains of Armenia (?) and talks of Sisar as belonging to Ādharbāidjān.

These quotations show that the site of Sisar lay near the watershed between the Kizil-Uzān (southern arm) and the Gāwarūd (Diyāla) i.e. near the col of Kargābād, where numerous streams rise flowing in different directions. According to the ingenious hypothesis of G. Hoffmann, the name of the town of Senna [q.v.] might be a contraction of the old form Ṣadkhāniya. There is

not sufficient evidence however to show that the site of the modern Senna is identical with that of the town of Sisar.

It should be noted that while Ibn Khurdādhbih and Qudāma give the distance between Dinawar and Sisar as 20—22 farsakhs, the whole distance between Dinawar and Marāgha is put sometimes at 50—52 farsakh (same writers), sometimes at 60 farsakh (Mukaddasī, p. 384; Iṣṭakhri, p. 194). If an error of 8—10 farsakhs could be made on the stretch Dinawar—Sisar, the latter place might be put further north on the line of the watershed between the northern waters of the Sirwān (Diyāla) and those of the Kizil-Uzān; at the present day names like Čihil-Čashma ("mountain of the 40 springs"), Hazār-kāniān ("village of the 1,000 springs") are common in this district.

In the district of Sisar (Balādhuri, p. 130), there were at first only the grazing-grounds of the Caliph Maḥdī (151—169). This intermediate zone (*ḥadd*) between three great provinces soon became a refuge for outlaws (*al-ṣa'ālik wa 'l-dhu'ār*) and the Caliph ordered his superintendents to build a town. The estates formed a separate district (*kūra*) which was extended by the addition of the following cantons (*rustāk*): 1. Māipahradj, detached from Dinawar; 2. Djudhama (?), detached from the *kūra* of Barza in Ādharbāidjān and 3. Khānidjar (?). Hārūn al-Rashīd stationed a garrison of 1,000 men at Sisar. Sisar was later the scene of battles between a certain Murra al-Rudaini al-'Idjli and the Khāridjis under 'Uthmān al-Awdī (Yāqūt, iii. 216). The Caliph al-Ma'mūn made Humām b. Hānī' al-'Abdi governor of Sisar.

In the viith (xiiith) century Yāqūt is able to add very little to the information given by Balādhuri. In the viiith (xivth) century Ḥamdallāh Mustawfi no longer mentions Sisar. On the other hand he talks of the "mountain of Sinā" forming the boundary of Ādharbāidjān and the "pass of Sinā" in the mountains of Kurdistān in which was the source of the Taghatū. The *Djihan-numā*, while marking correctly on the map the exact site and correct name of Taghatū, gives in the text the wrong reading *n-f-t-w* which Norberg in his translation (Lund 1818, i. 547) renders by Neftu. Quatremère introduced the reading Naghatū found in an edition of Mirkhond. G. Hoffmann admits the identity of this river with the Khorkhōra (a right bank tributary of the Djaghatū). But there is no proof of the actual existence of the name Naghatū and the text of Mustawfi may simply indicate that in his day the frontier between Ādharbāidjān and Sinā was marked by the watershed between the Taghatū (cf. SĀWJ BULĀK) and Bāna. This last district had long been a dependency of Senna. In this way since the viiith (xivth) century the name Sinā (Sinnā, Sina) has become substituted for that of Sisar and its later history will be found in the article SENNA. As to the date of origin of this town, it may be noted that in 1630 Khusrav Pasha destroyed Ḥasanābād which was the capital of the princes of Ardilān (von Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, 1840, iii. 87). Only forty years later, Tavernier (*Les Six Voyages*, Paris 1692, i. 197) speaks of his visits to Sulaimān Khān at *Sneirne* (= Senna).

The name Simsar on Haussknecht's map (G. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 256) has nothing to do with Sisar; it refers to the pass to the south of Sinna, the real Kurd name of which is Sīm-sā

("wearing out shoes"). There is at the present time a village of Sisar near Sardasht and another south of Bāna, on the slopes of Sūrkhew (cf. SĀWJ BULĀK). This only shows how frequent such names are, and explains why the Arabs were obliged to define their Sisar by the addition of Ṣadkhāniya.

It may be added that the popular etymology of Sisar ("30 mounds", according to Balādhuri) does not preclude the identification of Sisar (or of one of the Sisar) with Ṣiṣirtu (Siṣiri) of the Assyrian period. Ṣiṣirtu was a fortress of the land of Kharkhar (cf. the name of the river Khorkhōra to the north of Senna) on the frontier of the land of Ellipi. There are considerable differences in the identification of all these names proposed by Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania*, Leipzig 1898, p. 127, 133, 158; Justi, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii, p. 404; de Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, iv, p. 404; Streck, *Z. A.*, xiv. 138—139; xv. 349, 379; Thureau-Dangin, *La huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912, map; Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung d. assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1921, p. 90, 92—93, 95, 102, 120. The identification of Ṣiṣirtu with the capital of the Manneans Izirtu (Streck, xiv, p. 139) is still only a hypothesis. In principle there is no difficulty in the equation Ṣiṣirtu—Sisar, which would give Assyriologists a fixed point in a region, where all is still uncertain.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SİSTÂN, or SINDISTÂN (from Sakastāna, land of the Sakae, cf. its classical name Sakastāne), also called Nimrūz ["midday" = south-land, scil. south of Khurāsān; this name occurs often in the *Shāhnāma*, and also on the coins of the Kayāni chiefs (*malik*) of Sistān, cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 669], border district between Persia and Afghānistān. Its area covers ± 7,006 square miles, 2,847 of them being Persian, and 4,159 Afghān territory; its population being about 205,000 persons (for 1906, cf. MacMahon in *Geogr. Journal*, xviii. 213).

The land is divided between the two countries by the (theoretical) boundary-line fixed by the Sistān Mission of 1872; this line runs "from the Band-i Sistān on the Helmand to the Kūh-i Malik Siyāh, a hill to the West of the Gawd-i Zariḥ" (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 92). F. J. Goldsmid, the head of the Mission, distinguished "Sistān Proper" from "Outer Sistān"; the first may be said to correspond to the part, belonging to Persia. It is the more important portion of Sistān; its boundaries are according to Goldsmid: on the North and the West the Naizār and the Hāmūn; on the East, the old course of the Helmand, and on the South a line which includes the portion watered by the main Sistān canal. So, this country is enclosed by water on three sides, and can, to a certain extent, be called a

peninsula. The depressions (Hāmūn) in which the rivers discharge themselves, may be described as follows: there are two lagoons, formed respectively by the Harūd Rūd and the Farāh Rūd (both coming from the North) and by the Hēlmand and the *Khāshrūd* (coming resp. from the South and the East). To the South of these lakes extends the Naizār, a tract of country, covered with reeds. At the time when the Hēlmand is in flood, the two lagoons become united, and the inundation covers the Naizār also. A tract, stretching from North to South, reckoned from the Western of the two lagoons (the Hāmūn-i Farāh), then also becomes overflowed, so that a great lake is formed, which, lastly, discharges its redundant water through a course, called the *Shēla*, in a third depression, the Gawd-i Zariḥ [the vocalisation of *Zariḥ* is not altogether sure, modern travellers write also *Zirah*. In the *Shāhnāma* (ed. Vullers-Landauer, 1373, 1971) the name rhymes with *giriḥ*]. Cf. the articles *AFGHĀNISTĀN* (i. 156a), *HĀMŪN* and *HĒLMAND*, and specially Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 364 etc.

The water-supply, and, in consequence, the cultivation of Sistān, depends chiefly on the Hēlmand. Therefore, the distribution of its water has been, from ancient times, regulated by a system of dams and canals. The river has altered its course several times: this, and the fact that during Tīmūr's invasion of Sistān many dams and canals must have been ruined (e.g. the Band-i Rustam is reported to have been destroyed by him), explain the reason why there are found in Sistān so many ruined localities, towns and villages, now deserted because cultivation has ceased in their environs. The principal hydraulic work of later times is the great Band-i Sistān (or Band-i Amīr), a permanent construction, near Kūhak. The amir of Kā'in, under whose authority the governor of Persian Sistān stood, had ordered this dam to be built, some six or seven eyars before the time when Goldsmid was in Sistān. A description of this dam is given in *Eastern Persia*, i. 281 sq.

The soil of Sistān is alluvial, and consists chiefly of sand, mixed with clay. A part of the surface shows moving sands; the land is flat, but there are some low hills. The highest elevation of the soil is the Kūh-i *Khwādja* (\pm 400 feet high), which lies in the tract between the Hāmūn-i Farāh and the Gawd-i Zariḥ; at times of complete inundation the hill lies in the midst of the water. It bears this name because the sanctuary of a local saint is situated at the Northern end of its flat surface. At the vernal equinox (*Nawrūz*) the population celebrates a primitive feast, to the honour, as it seems, of this *Khwādja*; Sykes thinks, that in its ceremonies there are preserved pre-Muḥammadan rites. The Kūh-i *Khwādja* is fortified.

Sistān is fertilized by the deposit, left by the inundations of the Hēlmand and the canal system. The most important production of the land is grain, but also beans, cotton, oil-seeds and melons grow there. There is plenty of fodder for the cattle; in Sistān cows are bred in large numbers as well as horses, though the country is notorious for horse-diseases and poisonous flies. Of wild-growing plants, the tamarisk is to be mentioned: the banks of one of the canals, the Mādar-i Āb, are covered with it in abundance; Sykes says of it: "one of the few jungles I have seen in Persia".

There are not many trees in Sistān, except in

the Miyān Kangī, the district between the Rūd-i Pariyān (the main bed through which the Hēlmand discharges itself into the Hāmūn) and the Siksar (a tributary stream to the Rūd-i Pariyān; cf. the map of Sistān belonging to MacMahon's articles in the *Geogr. Journ.*, xxviii.).

In former times, the date-tree, which is no longer found, must have existed in Sistān (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 94). On the kinds of serpents (for the frequency of vipers in Sistān cf. also al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 400, 402) and birds to be met with in this country, cf. *Eastern Persia*, i. 273. Of the climate not much good has been said by European travellers. The winter is cold, but not unhealthy; then, between March and August, there blows a North-Western wind, the so-called *bād-i šad u bist rūz* (the wind of 120 days), which clears the air from the miasms, produced by the stagnating marsh-water, which in the other seasons cause fevers. Summer is hot and disagreeable. Rawlinson says, in respect to the climate, that "Sistān is, in its present aspect, a wretchedly unhealthy country, only habitable for a few months in the year".

The population of Sistān consists chiefly of Tādjiks; there are also Balōčis and Kā'inīs, who have established themselves in the land; moreover, Nādir Shāh forced some nomad tribes of Shīrāz to emigrate to Sistān. Genealogical data about some Sistāni families (e.g. the historical important Kayānis who claimed descent from the mythical Irānian kings), and some Balōči-clans resident in Sistān are to be found in *Eastern Persia*, i. 415 sqq.

The Saiyāds (fishermen and fowlers), who live to the South of the Hāmūn and the Naizār, and speak a language of their own, are considered, by some authors, to belong to the aborigines of the country. They earn their livelihood on the lake, by fishing during the summer, and by catching wild fowl during the winter. To each group of families of them (*maḥalla*), a piece of water is assigned (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 80). In their neighbourhood, but distinct from them, there is a class of men called *Gāwdār's* (cow-keepers). Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 367) supposes, that one Sistāni tribe, that of the Sarbandis is connected with the Brahōi, and therefore may be aboriginal; but, first, the question of the racial constitution of the Brahōi is a very complicated one (cf. the article *BALŌČISTĀN*, i. 655 sqq.), and, secondly, there is reason to assume, that the Sarbandis (as also the *Shahrakis*) are immigrants from Western Irān.

The language of Sistān is described as "a species of debased Persian, somewhat similar to that spoken in Khurāsān" (*Eastern Persia*, i. 259). On local names, important from a linguistic point of view cf. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 269 sq. The people lives in a state of economic misery, all land and water belonging to the Government; as regards trade, it is chiefly carried on by caravans, which are sent by the different villages in common to Quetta and Bender 'Abbās, and bring back in return articles lacking in Sistān, such as tea, indigo, sugar, etc. (cf. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 83 etc.).

The original chief town of Persian Sistān, Sihkūha, is cast into the shadow by Nuṣrat-ābād (built \pm 1870). Sihkūha is said to have contained (1872) \pm 1,200 mud huts, of which Curzon,

in the year 1892, found no more than half the number inhabited. The town of Nuṣratābād (which, in Goldsmid's time, was called Nāṣirābād) was founded by the amir of Kā'in, there being wanted a residence for the Persian Government in Sistān. The "new city" (*Shahr-i naw*) of the town, has gradually shut in the village of Husainābād, near which the building of Nāṣirābād begun. The "new town" is populated by Kā'inis and people from Khurāsān, but Husainābād retains its original Sistāni inhabitants. The fort of Nuṣratābād is called *Shahr-i qadīm* ("the old city"). The town has a garrison, and it is the administrative centre of Sistān. Another name for Nuṣratābād is *Shahr-i Sistān*; this name is used almost exclusively among the inhabitants themselves. The remaining villages of Sistān are of little importance. The land, in the second half of the 19th century, was governed by a deputy of the amir of Kā'in, the title of the governor of (Persian) Sistān being *Ḥaṣmat al-Mulk*. He was responsible to the Government for a payment of 12,000 *tūmān*'s, while the revenue of Sistān (mostly in kind) was fixed at 24,000 *ḥarwar*'s (à 649 lb.) of grain a year, in addition to which, 2,600 *tūmān*'s extra (in cash) were levied (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistān*, p. 83).

Afghān Sistān, with its capital Khākānsūr on the Khāshrūd, comprises the land on the right bank of the Hēlmand, and East to the more eastern of the two lagoons (Hāmūn-i Pūza) up to the district of Djuwain in the North. Also, the tract extending from the left bank of the Hēlmand to the boundary of Balōčistān belongs to Afghān Sistān. In this part of the country lies the Gawd-i Zariḥ. Cultivation is found in the district of Khākānsūr and along the banks of the Hēlmand. The population here is similar to that of Persian Sistān, except that there are here, of course, also Afghāns among them. In the tracts east of the Hēlmand, Mac Mahon found a great number of ruins, and also traces of ancient canal-systems and river-beds. He supposes, that "this must have been, not only a former delta of the Hēlmand, but the delta, used by the Hēlmand in, as far as existing ruins testify, one of the most prosperous times of Sistān history" (*Geogr. Journ.*, xxviii. 219). For all detail there should be made reference to Mac Mahon's paper itself.

Historical outline. In antiquity, the land at the lower course of the Hēlmand (Ētymandros) was known as Drangiana. This word has been compared with the old Irānian word for "lake, sea", Avestan *zrayah-*, old-Persian *d(a)rayah-*, but, as this etymology is not entirely certain, we can only say that the land has its name from the people of the Drangai [other forms: Zarangai, Zarangaioi, Sarangai; old-Persian: *Z(a)ra(n)ka-*]. The name Sakastane (or Paraitakene), belongs, according to Isidorus of Charax, to the borderland of the middle-course of the Hēlmand. It must be remembered, that the word Sakastane is not found before the time of Isidorus, and it is generally accepted, that this name has risen from the fact, that the Sakai conquered this land about 128 B. C. F. W. Thomas (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 181 *sqq.*) has attempted to show, that the Sakai were found in these tracts already in Achaemenian times, and that the late occurrence of the name Sakastane is to be explained by their becoming politically powerful not before the

Parthian epoch (cf. the articles DRANGAI, SAKAI, SAKASTANE, CARCOË in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2; Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *zra[n]ka*).

The Avesta knows the Hēlmand under the form *Haētumant-* ("abounding in dams"), and also the lake *Kaṣaoya-*, which is formed by that river. This lake, therefore, must be the Hāmūn-system. In it, according to Zoroastrian tradition, the seed of Zoroaster lies concealed, from which in the future three sons will be born, the third of whom will be the saviour (pahl. *sōshyāns*). It is also in the environs of this lake, that tradition places the origin of the mythical Kawa-dynasty (Kayānids). All this leads us to suppose, that Sistān, in antiquity, was a principal seat of the Zoroastrian religion. On its relation to Irānian epic tradition see below.

For the ancient history of the Sakai cf. the article AFGHĀNISTĀN (i. 168 *sqq.*) and the articles SAKAI and SAKASTANE in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenz.* 2.

The name Sakastane (Sakastān, Sidjistān), in ancient and mediaeval times, denoted a greater area than the modern districts of Persian and Afghān Sistān (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i. 2705: *fa-kānat Saḍjistān d'ḡam min Khurāsān*); this is already evident from the fact, that the name originally signifies the Saka-state on the middle-Hēlmand. It is not possible, to define exactly, which tracts at various times have been assigned to Sistān. It seems that a great area to the East, up to Kāndahār, was sometimes included under the name also.

Ardashir, the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, among his other conquests, subjugated Sakastān. The tie to the Persian empire cannot have been very firm, for the Sakai appear in the history of the Sāsānian epoch rather as allies as than subjects. We find, accordingly, a second conquest of the land by Bahrām II, who appointed his son, the future king Bahrām III, governor of the district with the royal title of *Sagānshāh*. But during the reign of Shāpūr II, the Sakai once more appear as allies, not as subjects. In the Sāsānian period Christianity, in its Nestorian form, had made progress in Sakastān, which even became the see of a bishop (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.* 2, i.A. 1812). At the time of the Muslim conquest of Persia, Yazdījird III, after having been driven away from Kirmān, turned to Sakastān, whose king at first according to him his protection, but the Sāsānian having tactlessly alluded to arrears of taxation, the king withdrew his protection from him (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 315). It is, however, not possible to find out whether the "king" of Sakastān at that time was a Sāsānian governor with the title *Shāh*, or a national ruler, who only owed tribute to the Persian government.

The Arab conquest of Sistān began in 23 (643/644), when 'Āṣim b. 'Amr and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar made an incursion into the land and besieged Zaranj (the old capital of Sistān, now ruined); finally the Sistānis concluded a treaty with the Arabs, to the effect that they should pay the *ḥharāj*. In the year 30 (650/651), the commander of a Muslim army, encamped in Kirmān, sent al-Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Ḥarithī to Sistān. Al-Rabi' traversed the desert between Kirmān and Sistān (the *Dasht-i Lūt*) and reached Zālik, which is described as a fortress, 5 *farsakh* distant from the frontiers of Sistān; the stronghold was taken,

and on his further march, al-Rabī' reduced two other localities, Karkūya and هيسون (or, acc. to Yāqūt: هيسوم — vocalisation uncertain), without bloodshed. After returning to Zālik, he set out anew to take Zarandj. Before reaching that town, some minor localities, Zūshī, Nāshrūdī and Sharwādh were taken with much fighting; the *marzbān* Aparwēz, who commanded at Zarandj, defended the town vigorously, but at last was obliged to surrender it to the Muslims. However, the city of Zarandj proved to be no secure possession to the conquerors, as two years after its capture, the inhabitants drove out the Arab garrison. The town was retaken by the new governor of Sistān, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura. This general also reduced Bust (which during the Middle Ages was included in Sistān), and Zābul. At the end of the *khalīfate* of 'Uthmān, when 'Abd al-Rahmān was replaced by another governor, a new rebellion of Zarandj took place. During the *khalīfate* of 'Alī, the condition of Sistān remained turbulent; thereupon, in the reign of Mu'āwīya, the governor of Baṣra sent 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura to Sistān once more. This energetic general subdued the land, and penetrated as far as Kābul; he subjugated also Zābulistān, which had revolted. This achievement caused the *khalīfa* to appoint 'Abd al-Rahmān as his immediate lieutenant in Sistān; he remained there, till Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān nominated al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Hārithī in his stead. 'Abd al-Rahmān died at al-Baṣra in 50 (670). After leaving Sistān, the king of Kābul drove the Muslims out of his land, and the new governor of Sistān had to make head against the Īrānīan prince Rutbil (this is no proper name, but a title, like *ikhshīd*, and the like) who conquered Zābulistān and Rukhkhadj (then included in Sistān), and penetrated as far as Bust; there he was defeated by al-Rabī'. This latter being also deposed by Ziyād b. Sufyān, the following governor of Sistān made peace with Rutbil. But this prince remained a turbulent element till his death, which occurred while 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir was *wālī* of Sistān. Another Rutbil (son of the former?) held his own against the Muslims in Sistān and Zābulistān, from the time of the *khalīfate* of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān till the reign of al-Manṣūr. Sometimes, however, the Īrānīan paid tribute, which payment he stopped altogether during the last years of the Umayyad rule. In the reign of al-Manṣūr the Muslim government adopted rigorous measures against him; but the princes of Sistān paid, as it seems, none the less, their tribute to the *'amīl*s of al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd, though rather irregularly.

Under al-Ma'mūn the tribute (*ṣīṭwa*) was doubled; during his *khalīfate* the king of Kābul embraced Islām, and, also in al-Ma'mūn's reign, Kābul (and of course also Sistān) obtained connection with the governmental post-routes. (For the history of the conquest, and the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd governors of Sistān cf. al-Ṭabarī, i. 2705 sq.; al-Balādhurī, p. 392 etc.).

In the Middle Ages, Sistān in a wider sense included also the districts of Zābulistān, Dāwar and Rukhkhadj. Among its cities were Farāh [q.v.], Djuwain [q.v.], Bust [q.v.], and Ghazna [q.v.]. The boundary to the East cannot be precisely defined; to the North it bordered on Khurāsān, to the West on Kūhīstān and the great desert of Kirmān, to the South on Makrān. But the name does not always

imply this greater area: al-Muḥaddasī, e.g. says that some authorities include Bust and Ghazna under the name Kābulistān, not assigning them to Sistān. Amongst the localities of Sistān, al-Muḥaddasī cites Zarandj, Kuwain, Zānbūk, Kārnīn, Karwādikan, etc. The capital was Zarandj, near the Sanārūd canal, an important city, containing not only buildings of the two first Ṣaffārid princes, Ya'qūb and 'Amr, but also of the Sāsānians Ardashīr and Khusraw I (al-Muḥaddasī, p. 306). Zarandj was taken and destroyed by Timūr (785/1383), and has remained ruined ever since (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 335, note 1).

The only time Sistān has played an important part in medieval history has been during the reign of the Ṣaffārid dynasty, whose founder, Ya'qūb b. Laith was himself a Sistānī (born at Kārnīn). Sistān was, of course, the central land of this dynasty (cf. ṢAFFĀRIDS, 'AMR B. AL-LAITH). After the downfall of the Ṣaffārids, Sistān belonged successively to the empire of the Sāmānīds and the Ghaznawīds (coins of Subuktigin and Maḥmūd have been found in Sistān, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 681). The land had, however, its own native rulers (*malik*) under the suzerainty of the greater dynasties. By the Sāmānīd Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Ṣaffārid (?) Aḥmad was appointed governor of his native country, Sistān (309 = 921/922). Aḥmad was succeeded by his son Kḥalaf, who was dispossessed from Sistān by Maḥmūd the Ghaznawīd, who conferred the land on his (Maḥmūd's) brother Naṣr. Afterwards, during the Saldjūk epoch, a descendant of Kḥalaf, named Ṭāhir, obtained the rulership of Sistān from the Saldjūk government. It is this Ṭāhir, whom the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* seem to reckon as the first Kayānī *malik* of Sistān. For this text says: "These Malikis claimed descent from the race of Kai Kā'ūs".

It is, however, doubtful, whether they are from the same stock as the Kayānī-family which ruled in Sistān during the epoch of the Ṣafawīds, and later. The relation in which the Ṣaffārid family stands to these mediaeval Sistānī-kings is also very obscure: it is very doubtful whether if the line from which Ṭāhir descends, really originates from al-Lāith, the father of the great Ya'qūb. Ṭāhir died in 480 (1087). The following list of his successors, up to the time of the invasion of the hordes of Čingizkhān, is given after the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*. The chronology is very doubtful and rather improbable; for all detail reference should be made to the *Ṭabaḳāt* themselves:

Ṭādj al-Dīn I Abū 'l-Faṭḥ 480/1087 — 559/1163.
Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad 559/1163 — ?

Ṭādj al-Dīn II al-Malik al-Sa'īd ? —
612/1215 (cf. the article GHÖRIDS, ii. 171b).
Bahrām Shāh al-Malik al-Gḥāzī 612/1215 —
618/1221.

After Bahrām's death, his sons Rukn al-Dīn and Nuṣrat al-Dīn contended for the kingdom. At last, the former was victorious, but both brothers perished in the massacres wrought by the Mongols. It appears, then, that the *Tārīkh-i Djāhān Gushā* (i. 118), uses a less appropriate phraseology, when it seems to imply that the Mongol invasion did not afflict Sistān as much as other countries, but that the Mongol ravages reached only the frontiers of the land. Djuwain, which in the Middle Ages was included in Sistān, the author of the *Tārīkh-i*

Djahān Gushā explicitly states to have been taken by the Mongols (*loc. cit.*); the *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri* (transl. by Raverty, p. 198) say that Sistān was ravaged by them in a barbarous manner. This is not to be wondered at, as the Sistānī ruler Bahrām Shāh was an ally of the Khwārizm Shāh.

After the departure of the Mongols from Sistān, its history becomes confused. Several persons strove for the supremacy; finally we find the land included in the estates of the Harawī ruler Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kurt. But there have been, also in the later Middle Ages, native Sistānī princes (on their coins, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 669. There exists a genealogy of them in manuscript, the *Shadjarat al-Mulūk*).

After suffering from an invasion of the Čaghatai (700 = 1300/1301), Sistān once more sustained fearful damages at the hand of Timūr. It was this conqueror who ruined Zaranj and took prisoner the *malik* Kutb al-Dīn Kayānī (785/1383); he destroyed also the canal system of the country. But up to the epoch of the Šafawīs Sistān had its indigenous rulers, and also a turbulent nobility; the *malik* Mu'izz al-Dīn Husain, for instance, was murdered by the aristocracy (859/1455).

The Šafawid Shāh Ismā'īl conquered Sistān in the year 914 (1508/1509), and the princes of Sistān remained vassals to the Persian empire, till the Afghān invasion of Mir Maḥmūd, about 1134 (1722). The Kayānī Muḥammad, by means of an disloyal treaty with the Afghān, secured for himself the possession of Sistān and part of Khurāsān, and in consequence thereof dethroned the reigning king, his kinsman Asad Allāh Kayānī. Nādir Kulī Khān, the general of Shāh Tahmāsp, put to death Muḥammad, but permitted the succession of the former king, Asad Allāh, to the throne of Sistān. This *malik* however died very soon, and was succeeded by his son Husain. This latter revolted against Nādir, whose forces besieged him and his brothers Faṭḥ 'Alī and Luṭf 'Alī for several years in the fortress of the Kūh-i Khwādja. After their submission, they remained vassals to Nādir. This last, still being in the service of Shāh Tahmāsp, was by that monarch formally placed in the possession of Sistān, together with Khurāsān, Mazandarān and Kirmān (1143/1730). After the death of Nādir (since 1148/1736 Shāh of Persia), Sistān came under the suzerainty of Aḥmad Shāh, the Durrānī ruler of Afghānistān. This prince married the daughter of the then reigning Sistānī *malik* Sulaimān Kayānī, son and successor of Husain. Sulaimān's successor, Bahrām, vexed by the Sarbandī and Shahrakī-tribes, which Nādir had imported from Persia in Sistān as colonists, called to his aid a Balōči chieftain; these doings caused Timūr Shāh, the successor of Aḥmad Shāh, to depose the Kayānī, and to appoint a Shahrakī chieftain as ruler in Sistān. This man being killed (about 1191/1777), Bahrām was restored to the government, but under the control of the Afghān governor of Lāsh. Troubles went on in Sistān without ceasing. The last Kayānī who had some power was Bahrām's successor Djalāl al-Dīn. This latter was expelled by the Sarbandīs (1838). The authority in Sistān since then was exercised by the local chiefs, and the land became a bone of contention between Herāt and Kandahār, until the Sarbandī chief 'Alī Khān allied himself with the Persian government, hoisted the Persian flag on the fortress of Sihkūha and sent his sons as hostages to Mashhad (1853).

'Alī became in fact a Persian governor in Sistān; his rule was, however, disliked by the Sistānīs who revolted. 'Alī Khān perished on the occasion of a night attack on Sihkūha, and was succeeded by his nephew Tādj Muḥammad, who ruled at first independently of Persia (1858). Soon, however, he made overtures to the Persian government, and 1862 he declared himself a Persian subject, being in fear of the progress of the amīr of Afghānistān, Dōst Muḥammad Khān, in the direction of Herāt. Dōst Muḥammad Khān died 1863 and was succeeded by Sher 'Alī Khān. With the beginning of this reign coincides a disagreement between Tādj Muḥammad the Sistānī and the officers, the Persian government had sent from Ṭahrān; this caused the Sistānī nobles to incline towards Afghānistān. But as Sher 'Alī had enough to do with his own affairs, and could not lend effectual aid to the people of Sistān, Tādj Muḥammad again applied to Persia. Finally, the Shāh's army took possession of Sistān (1865); two years later, Tādj Muḥammad was deposed, and Sistān was placed under the authority of a Persian governor with the title of *Hashmat al-Mulk*. These complications between Persia and Afghānistān finally led to the British arbitration and the delimitation of the border by the Sistān-Commission of 1872, which was conducted by Sir Frederick J. Goldsmid. The Persian forces, in consequence of this regulation, evacuated the part of Sistān they had occupied on the right bank of the Helmand, and the borders were fixed, leaving what was called "Sistān Proper" to Persia. As the whole border was not marked off entirely, the border-work had to be completed by the MacMahon Mission (1903—1905).

Sistān in Irānian epic tradition. Sistān is the home of the greatest Irānian epic hero, Rustam, and of his family. Originally, Rustam does not belong to the cycle of Avestan heroic legend; but he is connected with it by an artificially composed genealogy, which makes his father Zāl descend, through the medium of Avestan heroes, from Djamshīd (Yima). This theory, put forth by Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos* 2, p. 9 sqq. is more probable, than the opposite view, which identifies Rustam with the Avestan hero Kərəsāspa (cf. G. Hüsing, *Kṛsaaspa im Schlangenleibe*, p. 2, and the authorities cited there), and would accordingly include him in the Avestan cycle. The legend of Rustam might belong to the old inhabitants of Drangiana, not to the Sakae (if, indeed, that people did not appear in the Hāmūn-country before 128 B. C.); cf. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* The *Shāhnāma* (ed. Vullers-Landauer, p. 1637, 2495) represents Rustam as reigning in Zabulistān, Bust, Ghazna and Kābulistān, i. e. in Sistān in its widest sense. He refuses obedience to the Irānian king Gushtāsp, whom he regards as an upstart (*Shāhnāma*, p. 1637, 2496 etc.). But he is not, in Firdawsī's epic, represented as being an infidel, this idea only occurring in al-Dīnawarī, and seemingly representing a rationalistic view of the old tradition, which only knows of a contest between Rustam and the special champion or Zoroastrian faith, Isfandiyār.

Already in early times, we find names and facts of the Rustam legend localised in Sistān. The Arab conquerors found in the locality al-Qaryatān the stable of the horse of Rustam (al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 394); in Karkūya, north of Zaranj,

in medieval times there was a fire temple, whose cupola's were said to have been built by Rustam (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*², s. v. CARCŌE). Such data are of more value for the history of epic tradition, than those of the same kind, noted by modern travellers, as these latter suppose a tradition among the people, in most cases not differing from the actual one extant in the *Shāhnāma*; indeed, these localizations are very likely to have been borrowed from the *Shāhnāma* itself. Among these are, e. g., the fact, that the Sīstānis call the Kūh-i Khwādja by another name Kūh-i Rustam, and identify its fortress with the stronghold of the robber-knight Kuk-i Kūhād, which castle, according to a spurious episode of the *Shāhnāma*, was taken by Rustam (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 86; Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 378 sq.). This would even suppose a tradition borrowed from an interpolated recension of the *Shāhnāma*. A ruined fortress Kal'a-i Sām exists between Dawlatābād and Sihkūha (Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 380): Sām is the grandfather of Rustam, but belongs to the artificial genealogy of this latter, which the *Shāhnāma* traces. There was also a dam made by Garshāsp, and later on destroyed by the order of Shāhrukh, the son of Timūr (*Eastern Persia*, i. 286). Garshāsp (the Avestan Kērēšāspa) is also a forefather of Rustam, but, again, belonging to the artificial genealogy. Localizations of this kind, therefore, can tell us nothing of an earlier form of the legend than that which is known by literary tradition. The following case, however, seems to be an exception: the locality Hawd-i dār "is said to be the spot, where the dead body of Firāmurz, the son of Rustam, was impaled upon a stake by his enemy Bahrām (read: Bahman), the son of Isfandiār" (*Eastern Persia*, i. 256). Here is a difference with the tradition preserved in the *Shāhnāma*, for according to that text, Firāmurz was taken prisoner, hung upside down and killed with arrows (1753, 93 etc.), but later on, the king (Bahman) permitted his body to be buried (1755, 118).

Finally, regarding topographical matters in general, there may be noted, that the *Shāhnāma* seems to know the Gawd-i Zariḥ: Kai Khusrāw crosses the *Āb-i Zariḥ*, when pursuing Afrāsiyāb, but it appears, that Firdawsī, or rather his source, had no notion whatever of the real state of things, as Khusrāw, according to the text, has to sail on it for several months (1373, 1971 etc.). For the rest, the *Shāhnāma* also knows the Hēlmand (under the form *Hirmand*: 1750, 36).

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SITT AL-MULK or SAYYIDAT AL-MULK, "Lady of the Empire", the Princess Royal, sister of al-Hākim bi-Amrī-llāh, viith Fātimid Caliph. Historians also refer to her as Sitt al-Mulūk and Sitt al-Nasr. She was a very clever woman and an exceedingly capable ruler as was seen during the short period of her regency. Slanderous tongues have attacked her honour and even imputed to her the assassination of her brother the Caliph. According to the popular account, al-Hākim was in the habit, during his journeys throughout his kingdom, of receiving from his subjects written petitions which he afterwards considered at his leisure. The Egyptians were not slow to take advantage of this in order to send him secretly scurrilous verses and slanderous accusations. Thus, on one occasion in Miṣr, he received a paper containing a shameful denunciation of his unmarried sister Sitt al-Mulk and her alleged gallantries. On reading this the Caliph became enraged, laid siege to the city, and went to the extent of threatening his sister with death unless definite proof were forthcoming that she was *virgo intacta*. In this extremity Sitt al-Mulk is said to have conspired with one of the chiefs of the Kitāma Berbers, Yūsuf Saif al-Dawla b. Dawwās, whom she visited one evening alone and disguised. She pointed out their common danger; her brother's insane conduct; his impiety and tyranny. Their only hope of safety lay in getting rid of him and placing his son on the throne. She is said to have promised him that if their scheme succeeded he would be made commander-in-chief of the Army with complete control over the young Caliph. He consented. Two men were hired to do the deed. One night (27th Shawwāl, 411 = Feb. 13, 1021) when al-Hākim retired on his grey ass with a servant lad to the Djabal Muḳattam in order to worship Saturn and hold intercourse with Satan, he was set upon by these hirelings and murdered. Thereafter his mutilated remains were secretly brought to Sitt al-Mulk and buried in her palace grounds. When the hue and cry arose, she then denounced Ibn Dawwās and the two hirelings as the guilty ones, and they were promptly put to death (de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, i., p. ccccxiii., note).

This, at any rate, is the popular account of the crime, but the true story seems to be the one told by Maḳrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, i. 354) that in the month of Muḥarram, 415 A. H. a man was apprehended who confessed that he alone was guilty, and as a proof produced a portion of al-Hākim's head and a fragment of the mad Caliph's headdress. He declared that he had killed him "out of zeal for God and Religion", and when asked in what manner he did it, he drew a poignard and stabbed himself to the heart, saying, "I killed him thus". Al-Hākim's son who succeeded him, al-Ẓāhir, was a youth of sixteen. His aunt, Sitt al-Mulk, accordingly became regent. During her four years' regency

she brought back stability and order to the state, filled the treasury and organised the army. Her rule was severe but salutary, and she won the respect of her subjects. Unscrupulous state officials were impartially punished and she was swift to quench any outbursts of sedition in Egypt or in the provinces. By intrigue she captured 'Abd al-Rahmān, the rebellious governor of Damascus, whom al-Hākim had appointed as his successor (*Wali 'l-'Ahd*). She had him imprisoned in Cairo. Then when she became ill and knew there was no hope of recovery she ordered him to be slain. Three days later she died (415 A. H.).

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SIWA, a group of oases in the north of the desert of Libya. From its situation at the intersection of the two great western roads of the Libyan desert, Siwa is the key to Egypt. To the south the line of oases Bahariya, Farāfra, Dākhlā, Khārga, connects it with the ancient Thebes. To the north, a track now taken by automobiles puts it in rapid communication with the Mediterranean coast, at Marsā Maṭrūh, the *Paroethonium* of the ancients. It is the central stage in the desert route from Awodjila to Egypt via Jalo, Djaghbūb on the one side, Maghāra and Kerdāsa on the other. It is 200 miles from the sea, 260 from Awjila, 80 from Djaghbūb, 270 from the Delta and 200 from Bahariya. Siwa marks the limit of Egypt on the west and the beginning of Barbary.

Siwa and the various oases grouped together under this name occupy the bottom of a depression running from west to east 60 feet above sea level, 35 miles in the length from Maghāra to Zaytūn, its bounds are not well defined except on the south where the Marmaric cliff marks the geological boundary. The sand invades it on the south, below it begins the Libyan Erg, the largest of the known *ergs*. The bottom of the basin is not uniformly level; *gūrs* like islands rise out from among the palm groves. Two of them shelter the *qṣūr*'s at present inhabited, Siwa and Aghurmī, which lie two miles apart.

Barely a quarter of the depression is cultivated. The remainder is desert or occupied by salt lakes. The two largest lie, one to the west of Siwa and the other to the east of Aghurmī. Magnesian or sulphurous water, perfectly limpid is abundantly supplied by numerous springs fed by a deep subterranean pool. The most important, *ṭīf n-ṭmussī*, which seems to have been dug by the Romans still shows beautifully worked stones around it. The soil, strongly impregnated with salt, nourishes a prickly plant, *afsur*; the *alfa* grows in the sands.

The total number of inhabitants scattered among

the oases or collected in the *qṣūr* of Siwa and Aghurmī is estimated at about 4,000. This includes the people of Gara, *Umm al-ṣaghā'ir*, the "Mother of the Little Ones", the name of a wretched village which is regularly included in the Siwa group although it lies some 65 miles to the east. Siwa itself has over 3,000 including the many Sūdānese, who are mainly occupied in agriculture.

The town of Siwa, for the most part in ruins, is built on a long and narrow *gāra* lying along the line of the Marmaric. The walls of its houses, built along the cliff, make a rampart of red earth, which has a very picturesque effect, rising to a height of 200 feet at the east end and partly demolished on the northern front. The interior is a labyrinth of narrow tortuous dark streets often covered by a roof of palm tree trunks, which is used as a foundation for erections above them. Almost entirely abandoned by the present Qṣūrians who are building other more accessible dwellings at the foot of the cliff and near the gardens, the high town recalls the not very remote period when the prime consideration of building was defensibility.

Aghurmī, closely built on a rocky plateau, dominates the palms on all sides. The little village has retained its Berber name: *aghrem* or *ighrem* means a *qṣar*, a town and the diminutive *tighremt* common among Moroccan Berbers, means a stronghold, a fortress, a country-house defended by towers at the corners, with walls pierced with loopholes. Aghurmī contains all that is left of a temple of Jupiter-Ammon, a few pieces of walls of huge stones incorporated in the miserable native houses.

The Qṣūrians of Siwa, who are settled and are gardeners, live in houses, as a rule roomy with flat roofs and made of the salt clay, rarely of stone. There are several types, from the cave made habitable to the modern country house and the oldest houses, several stories high. The ground floor is used as a stable, the first a granary and the second contains the living rooms. The feature of the architecture is the pyramidal appearance of all the buildings, broad at the base and narrower at the top.

The chief object of cultivation is the date-palm. There are over 160,000 of them. The dates are harvested in October and they are spread out in a kind of granary in the open air, called *ḥawsh*, of which each farmer has a share in proportion to the importance of his crop. The ground is tilled with the hoe. The Qṣūrians are not acquainted with the use of the spade; they use the ass which is of a fine breed and not the camel, which is rare in the country.

The date is the basis of their food supply together with bread made of barley-flower. They also eat rice, *cuscus* on feast days, camel-meat, and exceptionally mutton. Tea which they call *shāhin* is their favourite beverage and palm-wine of which they drink a great deal on days of festivals and cleaning of wells. Barley is subject to a kind of tabu. Every year in October they spend a week in the gardens; during the first few days, they live almost entirely on garlic but they do not eat it for the rest of the year.

Industry is of the most rudimentary nature. The men make baskets, mats, other woven articles of alfa and palm leaves with designs in colour. The negroes make a valued oil with the help of mills and crushers. A woman at Aghurmī makes

pottery and decorates it in black and red by the archaic process still in use in the Berber world as far as Tangier. The women weave, but little, a few blouses with designs in colour, coloured *djubbé*, which form the essential part of the native dress.

The other parts of the dress the *ḥā'ik*, *aḥaram* and the double white and red shirts come from Tripoli; the trousers and shoes from Alexandria. The women also wear trousers, a black blouse (*akbar*) trimmed with coloured embroidery and a long veil of cotton, in which they wrap themselves up completely when they go out. The most curious of their silver jewellery is a heavy collar (*aghrao*) which young women wear up to their marriage day and to which there used formerly to be attached a little round ornament called "the disc of virginity". The women are not tattooed, they do not load themselves with anklets — these are worn only by little girls — nor do they hang a ring or button on the nose like the Nubians and the Beduins of the coast. They use *hennā* less than the Maghribis but, use a great deal of *kuhl* and *suāk* to brighten their lips and vermilion to colour their cheeks.

The Islām of the people of Sīwa seems somewhat barbarous and sectarian. Some are attached to the Sanūsiya and others to the Medāni sect. They hold their local saints in great esteem; they celebrate them every year in the course of ceremonies called *mōled*, the most important of which is that of Sidi Slimān the patron saint of the town. This individual is said to have lived at Sīwa in the xvth century but was originally a member of the tribe of the Banū Sālim of the Hīdžāz. The importance of the ceremony is shown by the belief that the worst calamities would fall upon the country if it were not celebrated every year with great splendour. It is of an undoubtedly agrarian and even in origin at least of a licentious character. It is celebrated at the end of the harvest, lasts three days and takes place partly beside the tomb of Sidi Slimān. The fellāḥs eat on the treshing floors of the gardens a sheep, whose throat has been cut the night before in the *ḡsar* and intoxicate themselves on palm-wine. They go there in groups to the sound of flutes escorting a young boy dressed as a girl. They return in the evening by torchlight after submitting to ritual aspersions at the spring of Tmūssī.

The two canonical feasts are celebrated at Sīwa as throughout the whole of Islām. The rich alone kill on their roof the sheep of 'Īd Kabir, the skin of which they eat chopped into minute pieces. Following a custom observed everywhere in Barbary they retain — contrary to orthodox rites — a part of the victim which they eat at 'Ashūrā. The last festival, the most popular of the year perpetuates the ancient festival of the summer solstice. On this day the houses are covered with long palms. The children go about singing all the night with lighted torches and little erections (*beṣbaṣa*) ornamented with rags soaked in oil.

The different events in family life, birth, circumcision, marriage, and funeral, are accompanied by rites which are magical in their origin. The third and seventh days after the birth of a child are marked by important ceremonies. The seventh in particular is the day of purification and for giving a name. The hair is cut for the first time immediately if the child is the first born.

The girls are married, before they reach the age of puberty, at 8 or 9 years of age. The amount of the dowry in no case exceeds 120 Egyptian piastres but the fiancé is bound to give to his future wife, jewels and clothes, the number and value of which are the subject of bargaining during the preliminaries of marriage. On the marriage day at sunset the bride is led in great pomp to the Tmūssī spring, into which formerly she threw the disk of virginity which hung on her heavy silver collar. She is then taken back to her home where a professional hairdresser attends to her nuptial toilet. Next morning at dawn the women friends and relatives of the bride come for her and pretend to fight with the members of her family after which she is taken to her new home carried on the shoulder of a negress. Polygamy is nominally unknown but the men divorce their wives with such ease and so frequently in the course of their lives that there is not a clearly marked line between marriage and prostitution.

It is the custom for all the men to have to attend the funeral of every dead man. While they are at the cemetery, the women take the widow to the spring of the Tmūssī where they wash her and clothe her in mourning dress. They then shut her up in her house. She is then regarded a *ghūla* or ogress. No one except her nearest relatives can go near her during the legal period of her retirement. On the evening of the last day, the public crier announces the *ghūla* intends to go out. He also indicates the route she will take to go to the spring which is the goal of her first visit. For fear of meeting her, the men go to the gardens and do not come back till the evening. Cleansed by her bath of all the evils that attached to her, she resumes her place in society and may re-marry at once, if the opportunity occurs.

The Kṣūrians have beliefs about treasures hidden in the caves and in towns buried in the lakes or sand of the desert. They people the subterranean world with *djinn*, with *'afrits*, who sometimes assume the forms of men or animals or disappear in whirlwinds of dust. They attribute to the evil eye all the ills that befall them, their cattle and their crops. They preserve themselves from it by covering themselves with amulets and hanging asses' bones or pots blackened in the fire to the walls of their houses and to the trunks of their palm-trees. They say that the ostrich understands human speech. They also think that when a dog howls at the moon or the owl hoots it means that a death is imminent.

Language: Like their brethren the Tuāreg, Kabyls or Berāber, the popular literature consisting of stories, legends and songs written in Berber is so far only known from very few specimens. Arabic is in practice the language spoken and understood in the oasis along with Berber which is still the native tongue. Berber is spoken not only at Sīwa, Aghurmī and Gāra but also at Manshiyat al-'Agūza, in the oasis of Baḥariya, which marks the extreme eastern limit of Berber territory.

The words and the few phrases recorded by travellers who have visited Sīwa in the last century are not sufficient to enable us to characterise the dialect of Sīwa.

The Orientalists, Hanoteau, Stumme and notably R. Basset who have studied them have been able to connect a certain number with Berber roots

still in use. Horneman was the first European to identify them with the language of the Tuāreg and of the people of Twāt, i. e. Berber. But the Arab writers, al-Maḡrīzī first of all, had already remarked the Berber origin of the people of Sentiariya and even connected their dialect with the Zenete group.

The arabicisation of the dialect, unknown to an equal degree in any other Berber dialect, constitutes the most marked characteristic of the dialect. The vocabulary is very much affected. It would be difficult to quote several hundred Berber words from it. Even the morphology seems in some cases to have been affected. The phonetics on the other hand, have remained Berber in their essential features and offer points of resemblance to the dialects of Tripolitania and Southern Tunisia.

Certain grammatical forms and syntactical peculiarities regarded as common to most dialects can no longer be found in Siwa. There is no longer any trace of the participial form or of the passive in *z*, nor of the particles *d* and *n*. The feminine forms of the imperative and aorist, except that of the third person singular, have also disappeared. Negation does not effect any vocalic modification in certain verbal roots conjugated in the preterite and does not attract the pronouns direct and indirect. The latter retain in all cases a definite place following the verb. The initial vowel of the noun undergoes no modification whether the noun be governed by a preposition or be the subject of a verb and placed after it.

The study of the dialect of Siwa on account of its so marked arabicisation is of obvious interest; but it is clear that it can only be made by a comparison with the dialects which offered a stronger resistance to the Arabic invasion. One can foresee its disappearance at no remote period. The establishment of a school where the teaching is given in Arabic by Egyptian masters on modern methods can only precipitate its extinction.

History: Siwa is the historical centre of the Eastern Ṣaḡarā'. The Egyptians called it *Seḡet-imūt*, "the camp of the palm-trees", the Greek and Romans, *Ammonium*, the early Arab writers *Sentiariya*. The present name seems to correspond to the *Sua* of al-Ya'qūbī and the *Tiswa* of Ibn Khaldūn, both derived from the name of the Berber tribe of Banu 'l-Waswa, who according to al-Maḡrīzī were Luwāta of the province of Manūf.

The ancient Siwa owed its extraordinary prosperity to a ram-headed deity Ammon, whom the Egyptians identified with their great Theban deity Ammon-Ra, when at a comparatively late date in the middle of the sixth century B. C. they effectively occupied the Libyan oases. By this time the fame of the Libyan Ammon was solidly established. For nearly a thousand years, people of note came from all parts of the ancient world to consult him. He was an oracular deity who unveiled the future. In 331 B. C. Alexander the Great landing at Paraethonium with an army, which was saved from thirst by a shower that fell unexpectedly in the desert, thus learned with satisfaction that he was really the son of Zeus. The colonists of Cyrene and the Greeks of Athens held him in great veneration. They assimilated him to Zeus just as they had assimilated the king of gods, the Theban Ammon, to their great divinity. The Phoenician and Carthaginian colonies also gave him a place in their Pantheon, very soon identi-

fying him with their own Ba'al Hammon as a result of a quite fortuitous resemblance of name, according to M. Gsell. It is to the oracular god of the Great Oasis that the Romans refer, when they speak of Jupiter Ammon.

As to the original nature of the Libyan Ammon we are reduced to conjectures. Oric Bates thinks that the primitive oracle was an oracle of the dead. It is however almost certain that the ram was in ancient times a deity protecting the Libyan herds, whose character may have developed in course of time. He had solar attributes at the period when he first appears in history. The cult with which he was honoured and the manner in which he uttered the oracles were at this time essentially Egyptian.

Relics of these days still exist; besides the ruins of Aghurmī, there are the remains of another little temple situated a few hundred yards from the modern village and called by the natives *Onim al-bida*; they consist of a piece of wall standing in the midst of an area covered with large stones, completely covered with cartouches, hieroglyphs and figures of the gods of Egypt. As far as one can judge the monument belongs to the Ptolemaic-Roman period. Farther south the hills of Takrūr are riddled with tombs regularly cut out of the chalk; some still have the fine framework of stone of the same period which marked the entrance. The adjoining gūrs and the flanks of the Marmaric also contain such tombs by hundreds. Siwa was a vast necropolis. One of its gūrs even has a half-Arabic half-Berber name of *ādrār Imutā*, "the hill of the dead", and thousands of bones still litter the soil there.

The Romans occupied the Great Oasis. Under Augustus they made it a place of banishment for political prisoners. About the fourth century, Christianity reached the oasis. A little later, no doubt, its inhabitants joined with the Mazikes of the coast (Imāzighen) in attacking the Byzantine world which was everywhere threatened. When about 640, Egypt was invaded by the Muslim armies, the people of Siwa seem to have been free and independent.

It is not known how the Muslims conquered the Libyan oases. The Arab historians and geographers on this subject only record stories or legends of no great interest. Siwa was too remote from the main route of invasion which led the conquering armies and migrating tribes to Maghrib al-Aḡṣā. We may suppose that small bodies of Arabs came and settled in the oasis and then became mixed with the population, which has remained Berber to our day.

In the beginning of the xviiith century civil war broke out between the Ḡharbiyūn or "people of the west" and the Ṣharḡiyyūn or "people of the east". These feuds which are barely settled to-day led in 1820 to the occupation of the country by the Turks.

European travellers began to visit Siwa at the end of the xviiith century and especially at the beginning of the xixth. The first was Brown in 1792; Horneman followed six years later, Caillaud in 1829, Bricchetti-Robecchi, Baron de Minutoli, in 1820—1821, then Scholz, Bayle St. John, Pacho, Hamilton in 1852 etc. All or almost all complain of the hostile attitude of the people towards them.

About 1838 Muḥammad al-Sanūsī made a stay

of several months at Siwa. He preached his doctrine there and made several converts. The cave which he used as an oratory is still shown at Kšar al-Ḥasūna.

In the course of the Great War, Siwa and the line of oases regained their strategic importance. The chief of the Sanūsīs, Saiyid Aḥmad, went to war with the Anglo-Egyptian forces. In 1915 he occupied Sellūm which the English had evacuated, but defeated before Maṭrūḥ he took refuge in Siwa, from which he organised a new line of attack on Egypt, at Dakhla and Kharga. He returned to Siwa in the early days of 1917. His last forces were surprised at Girba by English troops brought up in motor cars. He was then forced to take to flight. He reached the coast with difficulty whence a submarine took him to Constantinople. His cousin Sidi Muḥammad Idris, grandson of the great Sanūsī succeeded him and with his accession peace reigned once more in the Libyan Desert.

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SIWĀS, Turkish wilāyet, was, up to the new administrative partition of Turkey, the largest wilāyet of Anatolia (Sāmī Bey Frāsheri, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿĀlām*, iv. 2794). Situated between 38° 30' and 41° N., 35° 30' and 39° E., it corresponds to part of ancient Cappadocia; on the N. its boundaries are the wilāyets of Kaṣtamūni and Trebizond, on the E. those of Erzerūm and Ma'mūret al-ʿAziz, on the S. those of Aleppo and Adana, on the W. those of Angora and Kaṣtamūni.

Its entire surface covered about 30,600 square miles, its population, at the end of the xixth century, 11,086,015, divided as follows: 839,514 Muslims, 279,834 of whom were Shīrīs, especially Kizil-bash; 129,523 Gregorian Armenians; 30,433 Protestant Armenians; 10,477 Catholics; 76,068 Orthodox Greeks.

The wilāyet was divided in 4 sandjaks: Siwās, Tokad [q. v.], Amāsia [q. v.], Kara Hışār Sharkī, subdivided into *kasas* and *nāhiyas*; its capital was the town of Siwās (Sebaste).

The territory of the old Siwās wilāyet is crossed by chains of mountains; that of the Anti-Taurus penetrates it from the S. in a N.E. direction with one of its branches; another chain embraces the wilāyet to the N. in an E.-NW. direction, towards Trebizond. Amongst the highest peaks are the Kara Bel, which reaches 10,910 feet, the Yildiz Dagħ 8,300 feet.

The region is rich in rivers; among the most important is the Kizil Irmaḳ (q. v.; Iris of the ancients), which has its source in the Kizil Dagħ in the Siwās sandjak, and flows into the Black Sea N. of Bafra; its chief tributary, the Yildiz Irmaḳ, originates from the Yildiz Dagħ mountain. The Yeshil Irmaḳ (Halys of the ancients) has its source near Erzindjan, passes through Keldik, after which it assumes the name of Keldik Irmaḳ, flows through the Siwās and Trebizond wilāyets, and into the Black Sea E. of Samsun; it receives the Çekerek Irmaḳ, swollen by the waters of the Tozanlı Su.

This wilāyet, poor as to communications, is however fertile; its chief crops being wheat and barley. Tokad has a flourishing carpet industry, and copper from the Arghana mines is worked. The climate is exceedingly warm in summer, especially in Amāsia, and cold in winter in the northern mountain region.

The present Siwās wilāyet corresponds to the old sandjak of the same name, comprising the following nine *kaza*: Hafiḳ (Koç Hışār, q. v.), Zāra, Diwrighi, Gherun, Darende, Kaṅkal, Şehir Kishla (Temim), Yenī Khān (Yildiz Eli), Aḏiḏiye. It is rich in mines: copper at Hafiḳ, antimony, copper and argentiferous lead at Zāra; 16 salt mines, with an annual output of 410,300 Turkish pounds.

The new reduced wilāyet has now (1925) 377,570 inhabitants on 13,000 square miles; 60,043 inhabit the capital, Siwās. There are 100 public schools with 6,790 regular pupils (*Türk Düm-hürriyeti Salmāmesi*, 1925—1926, Constantinople 1926, p. 654).

The region was islāmized under the Sel-djūks, when Siwās reached its greatest splendour, its population increasing to 200,000. It passed subsequently in the hands of Turkoman dynasts, and for a certain time under the domination of Kādī Burhān al-Dīn, from whom it was taken by Yildirim Bāyazid I (the year is not certain; from 794 to 799 according to different historians, from 'Ashiḳ Pasha Zāde, Constantinople edition and *Tawāriḳh-i ʿAlī ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese, p. 47, to Khōdja Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 133 sqq.; Münadjjim Bashi, iii. 308; Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 189 says 1392, Yorga, i. 308, about 1398).

Taken and sacked by Tamerlane (Ertoghrol son of Bāyazid fell in the defence of Siwās in 1401), it was recaptured by the Ottomans, but never regained its former splendour, albeit Ewliyā Çelebi, who travelled through the region in 1060 (beg. January 4, 1650) celebrates the country's prosperity. The Siwās *ayāla* was then governed by a pasha, who lived in the fortress of the city of Siwās, and comprised 48 *zi'amas* and 928 timars; it was divided into 7 sandjaks: Amāsia, Çorum, Boz Ok, Diwrighi, Djanik, Arabghir, Siwās.

The region was often laid waste in the warfare against rebel chieftains, and again at the end of the xixth century, during the campaigns against Çapan Oghli.

A new epoch of progress will dawn with the construction of the Angora-Siwas and Şamsun-Siwas railways, already progressing thanks to the Kemalist Republic's government.

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SIWRI HİŞĀR, also written SIFRI HİŞĀR, i.e. strong castle (cf. Aḥmed Wefīk, *Lehce-i 'Othmāni*, p. 459), the name of two places in Asia Minor.

1. A little town lying in the centre of the plateau bounded on south and east by the upper course of the Şakariya and in the north by the Pursāk, c. 85 miles southwest of Angora. Siwri Hîşār is on the northern slope of the Güneş Dağ; the citadel of the town was built on this mountain. The town does not date beyond the Saldjūk period and has no remains of archaeological interest. But it was already known as a strong place to Kaẓwīnī (*Geography*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 359) and to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (ed. Le Strange, p. 99). In the xivth century it formed part of the possessions of the Karamān-oghlu, who occupied it again after Timur's conquest. The latter had his headquarters there for a time. But under Muḥammad I, Siwri Hîşār was annexed to the Ottoman dominions (cf. e.g. 'Ashīk Pasha Zāde, *Tawārīkh-i 'Alī 'Othmān*, ed. Giese and 'Alī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 177). In the xviith century the town belonged to the sandjak of Khudāwendigār (Hājdjī Khalifa, *Djihan-numā*, p. 656) but in the new system of administrative division, it became the capital of a kaḍā in the sandjak of Angora. Towards the end of the xixth century it had about 11,000 inhabitants of whom 4,000 were Armenians (Sāmi). There is a mosque there attributed to the Saldjūk vizier Amin al-Dīn Mikā'il, with a library of 1,500 volumes. The principal industries are goldsmith's work and weaving.

Siwri Hîşār does not lie on any of the main routes of Anatolia — but since the construction of the railway to Angora which runs along the Pursāk, the north part of the kaḍā has received a new economic stimulus — but near it there are relics of important centres of classical and Byzantine times. These are the ruins of Pessinus, near the village of Bālā Hîşār, four hours S.E. of Siwri Hîşār (Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, ii., pl. lxii.); and towards the south, on the other bank of the Şakariya, near Hājdjī Ḥamza, the remains of the Byzantine town of Amorium, known to Orientals as 'Ammūriya (cf. AMORIUM).

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2. A little town on the shore of the Gulf of Kūsh Adasf (Scalanova), South of Vurla. It is now the capital of a kaḍā in the sandjak of Izmir. Under Bayazid II, it was the refuge of the pirate Kara Ṭurūmsh (von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 346). Ewliyā Celebi passed through it in 1670 (according to Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, ii. 39). Sāmi (*Kāmūs al-A'lām*, iv. 2582) gives the population as 3,640. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SIYĀLKŪT, officially spelt Siālkot, is a town in the Paṇdjāb situated in 32° 30' N. and 74° 32' E., the foundation of which is attributed by legend to Rādjā Salā, the uncle of the Pāndawas, and its restoration to Rādjā Saliwāhan, in the time of Wikramāditya. Saliwāhan had two sons, Pūran, killed by the instrumentality of a wicked step-mother, and thrown into a well, still the resort of pilgrims, near the town, and Rasālu, the mythical hero of Paṇdjāb folk-tales, who is said to have reigned at Siyālkūt. In A. D. 790 the fort and city were destroyed by Rādjā Narawt with the help of the Ghandaurs of the Yūsufzāi country, and the fort was not restored until it was rebuilt by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām to overawe the turbulent Khokars, who preferred the feeble rule of the later Ghaznawids to the more energetic domination of their conqueror. Under Akbar Siyālkūt became the headquarters of a sarkār, or fiscal district, and in the middle of the seventeenth century it fell into the hands of the Rādjput princes of Djammū. The mound in the centre of the town, crowned with the ruins of a fort, is popularly supposed to mark the site of Saliwāhan's stronghold, but it is in fact all that is left of the fort of Muḥammad b. Sām. Siyālkūt also contains the shrine of Bābā Nānak, the first Sikh guru, where an annual fair is held. In 1849 the district passed, with the rest of the Paṇdjāb, into the hands of the British, and the old fort, now dismantled, was gallantly defended by a handful of Europeans in the Munity of 1857.

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SKANDERBEG is the name by which the national hero of Albania is generally known in Europe. It is based on an Italianised or Latinised form of the name Iskandar Beg, which was given him in his youth when he was serving at the Ottoman court; the name contains an allusion to that of Alexander the Great. His real name was George Kastrioti, of the family of the Kastriotas of Serbian origin, who had once ruled Epirus and Southern Albania. Born about 1404, he and his three elder brothers were given as hostages to Sulṭān Murād II, so that he was brought up in the Muslim religion as *iç oghlan*. His ability won him the office of *sandjak beg* at quite an early age. He played no part in the campaigns of 1435 and 1436 when the Ottoman generals 'Alī and Turākhān effected a partial submission of the Albanians. From this time Skanderbeg lived at Dibra in Central Albania and showed himself a more or less faithful vassal of the Turks, although he was already negotiating with the Venetians and Hungarians. His first rebellion against Turkish rule took place in 1443 after the defeat suffered by the Turks at the hands of the Hungarians at Nish; he captured Kroya (Turkish Aḳča Hîşār) by a ruse; it is in the mountains not far from the coast between Durazzo and Alessio. It was here that the Albanian chiefs of clans came to join him and he made it the centre of his power. He had by now returned to

Christianity and this marked a very definite change of attitude to the Turks. A Turkish army under Isā Beg failed to take the town. Skanderbeg also attacked the Venetian possessions on the coast but in 1448 a peace was concluded between him, the Sultān and Venice but it did not last long. Murād II commanded in person the expeditions against Albania in 1449 and 1450. The Turks took Dibra and Setigrad among other places. Skanderbeg was able to hold out, however, thanks to the mountainous nature of the country and in spite of the temporary desertion of his nephew Ĥamza who had joined the Turks during this period. He made an alliance with the king of Naples whose suzerainty he recognised. He was also supported by the Pope and by the Hungarians so that when hostilities again broke out in 1455, he was usually able to resist the Turkish generals. In 1460 however, Muḥammad II forced Skanderbeg to conclude a truce by which he agreed to pay a tribute. The Albanian chief then went to Italy where he fought for the King of Naples. Soon afterwards he returned to his native land where, supported by Venice and other Christian powers, he resumed a guerilla warfare against the Turks. At last in 1466 Muḥammad II began his second Albanian campaign. He succeeded in subduing the country and built in its centre the fortified town of Ilbaṣan (*il baṣan*, i.e. "dominating the country"). Next year Skanderbeg died at Alessio (Jan. 18, 1467).

The history of Skanderbeg has been much studied in Europe since the very circumstantial but not always reliable biography written by Barlesio of Scodra in the second half of the xvth century. Other sources are the Byzantine historians Chalcondylas, Phrantzes and Critoboulos, and Venetian documents (publ. by Ljubič in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* at Zagreb). The Turkish sources on the other hand, the chroniclers of the early period (e.g. 'Ashīk Paṣha Zāde, p. 124, 133, 169 and the *Tawārīkh Al-i 'Oṣmān*, ed. Giese, p. 66, 70, 73, 113) and the later historians (e.g. Mūnadjdīm Baṣhī, iii. 352, 361, 383) are not at all explicit and, as to dates, they do not agree with the western sources. The Turkish histories only mention the first revolt of the *Khā'in* Iskandar in 846 (1442/1443), the campaign of Sultan Murād in 851 (1447/1448) and the last campaign of Muḥammad II in 871 (1466/1467).

Within ten years of the death of Skanderbeg, all Albania was subjected to Muḥammad II. Nevertheless the memory of the greatest national hero of the Albanians has remained alive among Turks as well as Albanians. It is after him that the Turks called Scodra Iskenderiyya. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Albanian Muslim Na'im Beg Frāsheri (brother of Sāmī Beg, q. v.) devoted a great Albanian epic to him entitled *Skander Beg*, publ. at Bucharest in 1898.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

SKUTARĪ. [See ŪSKŪDĀR].

SLAVS. The Arabic word for "Slav", *Ṣaḡlab*, more rarely *Ṣaḡlāb* (also *Ṣaḡlāb*) or *Ṣiḡlāb*, pl. *Ṣaḡlāliba* is probably taken from the Greek (Σκλαβινοί, Σκλάβοι). Slav mercenaries had been settled in the eastern frontier provinces of the Byzantine empire in the seventh century A. D., so that the Arabs must have made the acquaintance of the Slavs in their very earliest battles with the Byzantines. During his campaign against Constantinople (715—717) Maslama is said to have taken a "town of the Slavs" (*madīnat al-Ṣaḡlāliba*) immediately after crossing the Byzantine border (*Fragm. hist. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, i. 25, 4). The Arabs found other Slavs settled in the kingdom of the *Khazars* (between the Caucasus and the lower course of the Volga). During the reign of the Caliph Hishām (724—743) Marwān b. Muḥammad (afterwards the Caliph Marwān II) is said to have transported 20,000 Slavs from the land of the *Khazars* and settled them in *Kakhētia* (*Khākhit*); there "they killed their emir and fled, whereupon he (Marwān) pursued and slew them" (*Balādhuri*, p. 208 at the top); but these Slavs are still mentioned under the Caliph Maṣṣūr (754—775) among the colonists settled on the Byzantine frontier in Cilicia (*ibid.*, p. 166). The red (or reddish) hair and complexion of the Slavs is always emphasised, for example as early as the first century A. H. in the *Divān* of Akḥṭal [q. v.], ed. Ṣāḡhānī, Bairūt 1891, p. 18, 5. In spite of this physical characteristic, the Slavs were classed with the Turks as descendants of Japhet (Arab: *Yāfath*). Each of the three sons of Noah is said to have had three sons in their turn; Wāḥb b. Munabbih (in Ṭabarī, i. 211, 13) gives as the sons of Japhet, Türk, Gog and Magog, while soon afterwards, Sa'īd b. Musaiyib (d. 95 = 713/714) gives the descendants of Japhet as the Turks and Slavs and Gog and Magog united into one people (al-Bakrī in Kunik and Rosen, i. 18), as do Ibn Ishāq (Ṭabarī, i. 211 sq.) and Gardīzī (in Barthold, *Oṭlet*, etc., p. 80) on the authority of Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q. v.]. Sa'īd b. Musaiyib adds that all three sons of Shem (the ancestors of the Arabs, Persians and Greeks) were well brought up while those of Japhet and of Ham were good for nothing. The anonymous author of the *Mudjīm al-Tawārīkh*, who wrote under Turkish rule in the viith (xiith) century (text in Barthold, *Turkestan*, etc., i. 19) makes an exception for Türk and *Khazar* among the sons of Japhet. They were intelligent but there was nothing good about their brothers. According to a story told by Ibn al-Muḳaffa', Japhet's son Ṣaḡlāb was brought up on bitch's milk; this is connected with a Persian etymology *sek*, dog, *leb*, lip (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Oṭlet*, p. 85). In the same source (*ibid.*, p. 86) the Kirgiz are described as descendants of the Slavs on account of their "red hair and white skin". The ruler of the Bulghār on the Volga is called "King of the Slavs" by Ibn Faḍlān [q. v.] not

only in Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, i. 723, 11), but, as is now certain, also in the original *Risāla* (*Bulletin de l'Acad.* etc., 1924, p. 244); the story of the raids of the Khwārizmians on Bulghārs and Slavs in Ibn Ḥawkal (*B.G.A.*, ii. 281, 13) is to be similarly explained. It is also probable that these Slavs were subjects of the king of the Bulghārs. It is perhaps to the same ruler that Ya'kūbī's (ed. Houtsma, p. 598) story of the "lord" (*ṣāhib*) of the Slavs refers, for whose assistance a Caucasian people appealed against the Arabs about 240 (854/855) at the same time asking for the help of the "ruler of the Greeks" and the "ruler of the Khazars" (another explanation in J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 200). On the other hand Ṭabarī's story (iii. 2152) under 283 (896) of the campaign of the "King of the Slavs" against Constantinople refers to the war between the Czar of the Danube Bulghārs Simeon (890—927) and the Emperor Leo VI in 893. The name "Slavs" for the people of the modern Southern Russia has been gradually ousted by that of "Russians". The Don, the course of which was thought to be an arm of the Volga was first called "River of the Slavs" (*Nahr al-Ṣaḡāliba*, *B.G.A.*, v. 271, 3; vi. 154, 12) and later "River of the Russians" (*Nahr al-Rūs*) (*ibid.*, ii., p. 276, 16, and also by the anonymous author of the Persian *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, cf. *Zap.*, x. 137).

The connection between the Slavs and the peoples of the west seems to have been first noticed by Ibn al-Kalbī (Hishām b. Muḥammad, cf. ii., p. 689). According to Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, iii. 405, 8) he describes the Slavs as brothers of the Armenians, Greeks and Franks and descendants of Yūnān b. Yāfath, giving his father as his authority. More accurate information regarding the Slavs as neighbours of the Greeks seems to have been contained in the works of Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Djarmī who was released in 845 after being eight years a prisoner among the Byzantines; on the authority of Muslim, Ibn Khordādhbeh (*B.G.A.*, vi. 105, 15) mentions a "land of the Slavs" (*Bilād al-Ṣaḡāliba*) west of Macedonia. In Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iii. 66) the Franks, Slavs, Longobards, Spaniards, Gog, Magog, Turks, Khazars, Burdjān [q.v.], Alans and the (Spanish) Djalālīka (Galizians) appear as descendants of Yāfath. In another passage (iv. 38 sq.) the lands of these peoples are dealt with in geographical succession from east to west; the land (*amāl*) of the Slavs is placed between that of the Burdjān and the land of the Greeks. A reddish colour (*shukra*) is mentioned as the characteristic feature of the Slavs and Greeks (iii. 133). The Bulghārs and Slavs for the most part adopted Christianity and submitted to the lord (*ṣāhib*) of Rome, the capital of the Franks (*B.G.A.*, viii. 181 sq.). The banks of the Danube are mentioned as the abode of a large section of these peoples (*ibid.*, p. 183 infra: cf. the still more obscure passages in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*; in the manuscript we have *Dūnā* for *Dūnā* nor *Rūtā* as in *Zap.*, x. 133 sq.). The Greeks, Romans, Slavs, Franks and their neighbours on the north spoke a common language and formed a joint empire (*B.G.A.*, viii. 83, 9). The fullest notices of the Slavs in Europe are found in the travels of the Spanish Jew Ibrāhīm b. Ya'kūb in 965, transcribed by al-Bakrī (cf. i., p. 606 sq.); in it Slavs are mentioned on the Adriatic Sea, as well as in the frontierland of the Slavs, in the northeast, the

land of the Polish prince Mieszko (*Mshkh*) about 960—992, the neighbour of the Russians and Prussians. On the other hand, Idrīsī only mentions a land of the Slavs (*Biād al-Ṣaḡāliba*) on the Balkan Peninsula in connection with Venice (*Géographie d'Edrisi*, transl. A. Jaubert, Paris 1836—1840, ii. 286); in the description of the Slav lands from Bohemia to Poland (*op. cit.*, ii., p. 375 sqq.) no reference is made to the common Slav origin of the population of these lands. From that date the words *Ṣaḡlab* and *Ṣaḡāliba* gradually disappear from Muslim literature and are used only in quotations from older works. The word "Slavs" for example never occurs in Djuwainī's (*G.M.S.*, xvi. 224 sq.) and Rashīd al-Dīn's (*ibid.*, xviii. 43 sqq.) accounts of the European campaigns of the Mongols. The modern Turkish *Islāw* is borrowed from modern European scientific usage, probably from the French.

Like the Turks, the Slavs were sometimes introduced into Muslim lands as slaves, especially as white eunuchs (cf. *B.G.A.*, iii. 242, 5; v. 84, 1; vi. 92, 5). Special regiments were formed of Slav troops, as of Turks, and their leaders were sometimes able under favourable circumstances to rise to found dynasties. On Slavs in the service of the Fātimids in Egypt cf. e.g. K. Inostrancev in *Zap.*, xvii. 29 and 86; on Slavs in Spain, e.g. Dozy, *Recherches*³, etc., Paris—Leiden 1881, i. 227 sq. (Prince Khairān of Almería, cf. i., p. 313 sq.) and 235 sq. (the Slavs as allies of the Arabs against the Berbers).

Bibliography: A. Garkavi (Harkavy), *Skazaniya musulmanskiikh pisatelei o slavyanakh i russkiikh*, Petersburg 1870; thereon "Dopolneniya", 1871; A. Kunik and V. Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanakh*, Čast i., Petersburg 1878, Čast ii., *ibid.*, 1903; Fr. Westberg, *Ibrahim Ibn-Ya'kub's Reisebericht über die Slawenlande aus dem Jahre 965*, Petersburg 1898, *Mém. de l'Acad.* etc., Serie 8, iii., No. 4; do., *Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa*, *Bull. de l'Acad.* etc., 1899, p. 211 sqq., 275 sqq.; do., *K analizu vostočnikh istočnikov o vostočnoj Evrope*, *Ž. M. N. Pr.*, New Series, xiii. 364 sqq.; xiv. 1 sqq.; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903. (W. BARTHOLD)

AL-SLĀWĪ (or AL-SALĀWĪ), SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD b. KHĀLID b. ḤAMMĀD AL-NĀSIRĪ, a Moroccan historian born at Salé (Slā) on 22nd Dhū 'l-Hijda 1250 (April 20, 1835), died in the same town on 16th Djumādā I, 1315 (October 13, 1897). The genealogy of this writer can be traced in a direct line to the founder of the Moroccan brotherhood of the Nāsirīya, Aḥmad b. Nāsir, who was buried in his *zāwiya* at Tāmgrūt in the valley of the Wādī Dar'a (Drā). He studied in his native town, which had in those days some reputation as a centre of learning, and was a minor rival of Fās, the intellectual capital of the country. His principal teachers were Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz Maḥbūba and the kaḍī Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Awwād; without neglecting theological and legal studies, he acquired a profound knowledge of profane Arab literature. At the age of about 40, Aḥmad al-Nāsirī al-Slāwī entered the legal branch of the Sharīfī government's service as a notary or superintendent of the State domains. He held more or less important posts from time to time in this service. He was

stationed at first at al-Dār al-baiḥā' (Casablanca) from 1292—1293 (1875—1876) and made two stays at Marrākush, where he was employed in the financial administration of the imperial household. He then lived some time at al-Djadida (Mazagan) where he was attached to the customs service. He next spent some time in Tangier and Fās and towards the end of his life returned to his native town where he devoted himself to teaching. On his death he was buried in the cemetery at Salé outside of the Bāb Ma'allika Gate. Al-Nāṣiri al-Slāwī was a minor civil servant who was also a man of letters and a historian. In addition to his historical work, which gained him a certain reputation even outside of Morocco, he left other works which would alone have sufficed to attract attention to him and secure him an honourable position among modern Maghribī men of letters. These are, in addition to the six little books detailed in my *Historiens des Chorfa* (p. 353, note 1): 1. A commentary on the *Shamaḥ-maḥiya*, a poem by Ibn al-Wannān which he called *Zahr al-Afnān min Ḥadiḩat Ibn al-Wannān* (lith. at Fās in 1314 A.H., vols. 2); 2. A survey of the heresies and schisms in Islām entitled *Ta'ṣīm al-Minna bi-Nuṣrat al-Sunna* (Rabat MSS., No. 66; cf. my *Catalogue*, i, p. 23); 3. A monograph on the family of the Nāṣiriya to which he himself belonged: *Ta'at al-nuṣṩari fi 'l-Nasab al-djā'fari* (lith. at Fās, 2 vols., a French synopsis has been given by M. Bodin, *La Zaouia de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, 1918). This work, which the author finished in 1309 (1881), is a good history of the Zāwiya of Tāmgrūt, with much interesting information, which compensates for all the discursions in which the historian tries to prove the authenticity of his family genealogy with the help of somewhat unconvincing arguments.

Aḥmad al-Nāṣiri al-Slāwī's great work is the *Kitāb al-Istiḩṣā li-Aḩḩbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-aḩṩā*. Its publication was an event unparalleled in Maghribī historiography. The author produced not a limited chronicle but a general history of his country. Welcomed by European orientalists on its publication, it was not long in attracting the attention of the historians of North Africa, for whose work it became a much consulted document, especially as a French translation in the *Archives Marocaines* soon made the last quarter — the history of the 'Alawid dynasty — accessible even to non-Arabists.

It was soon recognised that this chronicle was like all the other products of western Arab historiography: it was only a compilation, the most appreciable merit of which was to have collected in a continuous narrative, items of political history scattered about the chronicles or biographical collections written in the country. But it must be confessed that al-Slāwī was the first of his compatriots to attempt to exhaust a subject of which his predecessors had only dealt with parts. But this was not his primary object: I have shown elsewhere (*op. cit.*, p. 357—360) that the starting point in the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Istiḩṣā* was a work of some length on the Marinid dynasty of Morocco, based mainly on the historical works of Ibn Abī Zar' and Ibn Ḫaldūn, to which he had given the title of *Kaṣḩf al-'Arin fi Luyūth Banī Marīn*. His residences in the different capitals of Morocco, having enabled him to get access to

sources for other dynasties also, he had the idea of composing a complete history of Morocco. He finished his work on 15th Djumādā II, 1298 (May, 15, 1881) before the end of the reign of the 'Alawid Sulṩān Mawlāy al-ḩasan to whom he dedicated it. But he was poorly recompensed for this act. On the death of this ruler, the author decided to have his chronicle printed in Cairo, after continuing it down to the year of accession of Sulṩān Mawlāy 'Abd al-Azīz. The *Istiḩṣā* thus appeared in Cairo in 4 volumes in 1312 (1894).

The reader may be referred to the work quoted above for an examination of the Arabic sources of the history of al-Nāṣiri al-Slāwī, and for a list of works from which he adopted or quoted textually passages. Here we shall simply point out that the chronicler was the first Moroccan writer to use European as well as Arabic sources; he only learned of them by chance; these were the history of Mazagan (Ar. al-Djadida) under Portuguese rule entitled *Memorias para historia da praça de Mazagao*, by Luis Maria do Couto da Albuquerque da Cunha, Lisbon 1864; and the *Descripción historica de Marruecos y breve reseña de sus dinastias*, by Manuel P. Castellanos, Santiago 1878; Orihuela 1884; Tangier 1898.

In the arrangement of his chronicle al-Slāwī does not differ from the other historians of his country. But he sometimes gives evidence of a critical sense; we have a feeling that he is a historian by accident and a literary man by vocation. He sometimes gives evidence of considerable independence of spirit and of some breadth of view. As to his style, it is clear and chastened and only rarely resorts to metaphors and rhymed prose. The writer seems to be the modern Moroccan historian who writes with most facility and elegance.

Vol. iv. of the Arabic edition of the *Istiḩṣā* was translated by E. Fumey under the title *Chronique de la dynastie 'alaouie au Maroc* in *Archives Marocaines*, Paris 1906—1907, vol. ix. and x. Vol. i. has just been translated in the same journal, vols. xxx. and xxxi., Paris 1923 and 1925 by A. Graulle and G. S. Colin.

Bibliography: A full study of the life and work of al-Nāṣiri al-Slāwī has been made by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa: essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIème au XXème siècle*, Paris 1923, pp. 350—368. The full bibliography of this author is given in the notes.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SMALA, 1. French form for *zmāla*, in the Algerian dialect of Arabic, "camp of a tribe or of an important personage, containing his family and his servants, as well as the beasts of burden". The word passed into the French language as a result of the fame of the *smala* of 'Abd al-Ḫādir b. Muḩyi 'l-Dīn [q. v.] the capture of which made a great stir in 1843.

2. In Algeria under Turkish rule, the name *zmāla* (plur. *zmāl*) was given to some tribes forming a kind of mounted police (cf. the articles DWĀ'IR and ZMĀLA).

(G. S. COLIN)

SMYRNA. [See IZMİR.]

SOFĀLA, a district and town in East Africa in the southern part of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. — The name *Sofāla* is generally connected with the Arabic root *safala* "to be low-lying" and in support of this etymology the pas-

sage in Mas'ūdī (*Murūdī*, i. 331—332) is quoted, where it is stated that "wherever a mountain stretches for some distance below the sea, it is given in the Mediterranean the name *al-sofāla*". Apart from the question of a submarine mountain this interpretation is not untenable; the district of Sofāla as a matter of fact consists of low-lying ground. But it should not be forgotten that the name of the ancient Indian port of Surparaka, near Bombay, has likewise become *Sofāla* in Arabic and that there is no question of low-lying ground here. It is therefore not impossible that Sofāla may represent an original Bantu place-name, which however has not been recorded in Oriental texts or in western travellers. As the Arab geographers know two ports of Sofāla both situated in the Indian Ocean and relatively close to one another, according to the Ptolemaic conception of the Indian Ocean which they had adopted, they were differentiated as Sofāla of India, the ancient Surparaka and Sofāla of Zeng (Zendj) or "golden" Sofāla, its homonym on the east coast of Africa.

Mas'ūdī (943) tells us in the *Murūdī*, i. 233, that the land of Sofāla lies at the utmost end of the land of Zeng (cf. ZENPJ) and in the lowest (i. e. most southerly) parts of the sea of Zeng. It adjoins the country of Wakwāk. In vol. iii. of the same work (p. 6) we are told that the Zengs were settled in Eastern Africa as far as Sofāla, which is the extreme limit of the territory they inhabit and the limit of navigation for ships from 'Omān and Sirāf. The sea of Zeng ends at the land of Sofāla and of Wakwāk. It is a land which produces gold in abundance and other marvels. The climate is warm and the soil fertile. It was there that the Zengs built their capital; then they chose a king whom they called *waḥlimī* [read "whose name is in their language *wafaleme*, "kings", in the singular *mfaleme*"] — the text has wrongly وقليمى

for وقليمى or rather مقليمى — which shows that in the tenth century the eastern coast of Africa south of the equator was already inhabited by Bantu negroes].

In his *Book of the Wonders of India*, the sea-captain Buzurg b. Shariyār of Rām-Hurmuz tells how a captain of 'Omān called Ismā'ilawaih was twice driven by the tempest to Sofāla of Zeng (the first occasion in 310 = 922; the second a few years later), which was inhabited by cannibal negroes (p. 51 sq., 177). There are in this land birds which seize beasts in their beaks, or claws, carry them off in the air and then let them fall to kill and crush them (p. 64, evidently an allusion to the gigantic bird, the *rokkhkh*); one man said he had seen there an animal in the shape of a lizard the male of which had two penes and the female two vaginae; its bite was incurable; snakes and vipers swarm there (p. 173). In 334 (945) the Wakwāk (sic) plundered many towns and villages of Sofāla of Zeng (p. 175). A bird of the country the name of which Buzurg's informant could not remember captured and tore to pieces an elephant which he was busy devouring when captured (p. 178). The story also recalls the legend of the *rokkhkh*.

"I thought" says al-Birūnī (c. 1030 A.D.) in his *India* (ed. and transl. Sachau p. 100 of the text and vol. i., p. 204 of the transl.) "that the *ganḍa* was the same animal as the *karkadaun* (rhinoceros, from the Sanskrit *khaḍgadanta*, "sword-

toothed") until some one who had visited Sofāla of Zeng told me that the *kark* (or *karkadaun*), the horn of which is used to make knife-handles better answers the description. In the language of Zeng (i. e. Bantu) the *karkadaun* is called *impela* (more accurate *mpela*; cf. Suahili *pera*, Makua *pela*)".

On p. 135 of the text (i. 270 of the transl.) we are told that one cannot sail on the sea which is beyond Sofāla of Zeng. No one that ever tried this foolish venture has ever returned to tell what he had seen. Farther on (p. 253 of the text ii. 104 of the transl.), al-Birūnī says that if Somanāth in Kathiawar has become so celebrated it is because it is much frequented by sailors and is the starting-point for those who make frequent voyages between Sofāla of Zeng and China.

According to Idrīsī (1154) there are in the land of Sofāla famous iron mines, and gold is found in abundance there (transl. Jaubert, i. 65, 66, 78 and 79). Among the towns of this region the Sicilian geographer mentions those of Djabasta and Daghūta but the readings are not certain and they have not been identified.

According to Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, iii. 96) Sofāla is the last known town of the Zeng. The same stories are told of it as of the land of gold of the southern Maghrib. Merchants bring their goods there and leave them. They then go away a short distance, wait a certain time and come back. The natives have in the meanwhile put beside each article its equivalent in the products of the country (this is the practice known as secret trading, which is known among many peoples). The gold of Sofāla is known to the merchants who trade to Zeng.

Manuscript 2234 of the Arabic collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is entitled: "The Book collected and arranged by 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Maghribī al-Andalusī of the Book of the Geography (of Ptolemy), in seven climes and he has added the exact latitudes and longitudes from the Book of Ibn Faṭīma". Ibn Sa'īd (xiiith century) says that the names of the towns of Sofāla are not known. The capital is Ṣayina (it is undoubtedly the *Chiona* of Barros, Dec. ii., Bk. i., Ch. ii., p. 22 [1777] which the Portuguese historian locates between Malindi and Monbasa), which is 99° Long. and 2° 30' Lat. in the sixth section of the inhabited world, below the equator.

"In this town dwells the king of the Sofālīans. They and the Zengs worship idols and stones which they anoint with the fat of large fish. Their principal resources are gold and iron. They wear the skins of panthers. Horses do not live in their country. Their army consists of foot-soldiers". Farther on in the same section the writer says "at the foot of the mountain of Repentance (*Djabal al-Nadāma*) on the north coast and in the channel of Komr (Mozambique Straits) is the town of Daghūta. It is the last town of Sofāla and the last of the inhabited places in the lands adjacent to this Indian Sea. It is in 109° Long. and 12° Lat. (South) (cf. *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persanes et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, ii., Paris 1914, p. 325 and 327)".

In his *Kitāb Athār al-Bilād* (p. 29) Kazwīnī (1203—1283) records that Sofāla is the last known town of the land of Zeng, that there are mines of gold there and secret trading is practised. He mentioned a bird called the *hawāy*, which speaks

better than the parrot and does not live more than a year (on p. 20 of the same book at the end of the notice of Zābag [wrongly written Zānag] i.e. Sumatra there is a reference to the same bird on the authority of Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad b. Khākān, the name of which is written *ḥawārī*, "smaller than the pigeon, with a white belly, black wings, red claws, and a yellow beak, it speaks better than the parrot"). He also mentions white, red (or yellow) and green parrots. Muḥammad b. al-Djāhm says on the subject of Sofāla, "I have seen men eating flies, they believe that that prevents ophthalmia and as a matter of fact they are not at all affected by diseases of the eyes".

Abu 'l-Fidā' (1273—1331) only devotes a few lines to Sofāla. "According to the *Kānūn al-Mas'ūdī* of al-Birūnī", he says, "it lies in 50° Long. and 20° Lat. south of the equator. Sofāla is in the land of Zeng. According to the author of the *Kānūn*, the people, who inhabit it, are Muslims". Abu 'l-Fidā' also gives some information taken from Mas'ūdī and Ibn Sa'īd and ends by saying, "I may note that Sofāla is also a country in India" (*Geography of Abu 'l-Fidā'*, i/f. 222—223).

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Dimishkī (c. 1325) thrice mentions Sofāla. In chapter ii., sect. 4, which deals with precious stones, he gives the following, citing Aristotle as his authority, "The oil stone is red with a bluish light; touched by oil, it is changed for the worse, the oil going right to the centre. It comes from Sofāla of Zeng. When it is rubbed over a garment stained with oil, it completely removes all trace".

In his *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī records that there is in Sofāla of Zeng a cavern measuring nearly 500 parasangs in every direction. On account of the mass of shifting sands in this country and the heat and aridity, it is not thickly inhabited (Cl. Huart, *Documents persans sur l'Afrique in Recueil de mémoires orientaux publié par les professeurs de l'Ecole des langues orientales à l'occasion du XIV^e congrès international des orientalistes réuni à Alger*, Paris 1905, p. 95—95). This passage is not found in the edition and translation of this Persian text by Guy Le Strange, *G. M. S.*, vol. xxiii. 1 and 2).

"Golden Sofāla", says Ibn al-Wardī (c. 1340) (Cairo 1328, p. 51 *infra*), "adjoins the land of Zeng. It is a vast country with mountains containing deposits of iron which the people of the country work. The Indians come to them and buy the iron at a high price, although they have iron-mines in their own country; but the iron of the mines of Sofāla is better, purer and more malleable. The Indians smelt this iron and make steel of it (with which they make tools and weapons with fine cutting edges). It is in this country (India) that Indian swords and other things are made in abundance. One of the wonders of the land of Sofāla is that there are found under the soil, nuggets of gold in great numbers; the weight of each is 2 or 3 mithkāl or even more. In spite of this the people of the country only wear ornaments of copper which they esteem more highly than gold. The land of Sofāla adjoins that of Wakwāk". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (c. 1355, *Riḥla*, ii. 192) only says that the town of Sofāla is situated half a month's journey south of Kulwā (read Kilwā).

Ibn Khaldūn (c. 1375) in his *Prolegomena* (i. 119 of translation) is hardly more explicit: "Farther

to the east (= south) of Mokadishō (Mayadoxo) is the land of Sofāla which lies on the southern (western) shore of the sea of India, in the seventh section of the first clime. Then to the east (= south) of Sofāla on the same southern (= western) shore is the land of Wakwāk".

According to Bākuwī (beginning of the xvth century, in *N. E.*, 1789, ii., p. 401), Sofāla is a town of the land of Zeng, famous for its gold mines. The gold of this country is much sought after by merchants. There is a kind of bird that speaks better than a parrot (it is the *ḥawārī* mentioned above in the extract from Kaḏwini).

In his *al-Umdat al-mahriya fī Dabṭ al-'Ulūm al-bahriya* (Gabriel Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, vol. ii.: *Le pilote des mers de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Indonésie*, Paris 1925, f. 29 verso), the *mu'allim* or sailing-master Sulaimān al-Mahrī (first half of the xvth century) places the harbour of Sofāla, 6 *izba'* from the Great Bear or about 18° south — the exact latitude is 18° 13' — but, which is peculiar, the text says that Sofāla is opposite the Timor islands of Indonesia which are 10° further north.

About 1490 Sofāla was visited by Pedro da Covilhan. But he was not the first European traveller to visit south-eastern Africa, for the *mu'allim* Ibn Mādjīd definitely says in two verses of a nautical treatise dated 18th *Dhu 'l-Hijja* 866 = September 13, 1462, "It is said that in former days the ships of the Franks came to Madagascar and to the coast of Zeng and Western India, according to what the Franks say". These two verses seem to allude to the voyage of Pseudo-Brocardus (who is probably the Dominican William Adam) in the first half of the xvth century. It was actually recorded in this monk's narrative that at this time "mercatores vero et homines fide digni passim ultra versus meridiem procedebant, usque ad loca ubi asserebant polum antarticum quinquaginta [read: triginta] quatuor gradibus elevari". But the question will be treated in detail later (vide *infra* ZENGs).

On May 18, 1506, Pero d'Anhaya or da Nhaya left Lisbon with six ships to go and build a fortress at Sofāla. Castanheda (Bk. ii., Ch. x., p. 34 of the edition 1833) gives an account of the reception which was given him by the king Çufe (= Yūsuf). But this ruler belonged to the royal family of Kilwā and his entourage consisted of Moors, i.e. Muslims, which tells us nothing of the natives of the country.

Barros (Dec. i., Bk. x., Ch. i., p. 372—388) says that the great kingdom of Sofāla lies on an island between the two arms of the river Kuama and the sea and is over 650 leagues in circumference. It is so thickly populated that the elephants are leaving it. The natives say that every year 4 or 5,000 die, which explains why so great a quantity of ivory is sent to India. The nearest gold mines are at Manica which is about 50 leagues west of Sofāla. The gold which is gathered there is gold dust (or nuggets) which is found at 6 or 7 palms' depth (c. 5—6 feet). The most distant mines are 100—200 leagues from Sofāla. There are others also in the land of Toroa which is also called the kingdom of Butua. There is a fortress built of hewn stones, very well built of stones of astonishing size, joined without cement. The wall of the fortress is over 28 palms (23

feet) thick and its height is not proportionate to its width. On the gate of this building is an inscription which several educated Muslim merchants have seen, but they could not read it, nor say in what alphabet it was written (this is probably not accurate as no inscriptions have been discovered in this region). Around this building on eminences are others built in similar fashion; on one of them is a tower of over 12 stories. All these erections are called by the natives *symbaœ* (read *zimbabwe*) which they say means court (royal residence: *zimba-bwe* literally means stone house and in eastern Bantu this name is given to any house of the king or chief).

In the xvth century, Sofāla was the only port in this region that exported gold. Gradually the merchants began to go north to Quelimane, north of the Zambesi, and about the middle of the xvth century, the annual exports from Sofāla amounted to only 500 *pastas* (c. 350 lbs) while that of Quelimane was over 3,000 *pastas* (c. 2050 lbs). A century later Sofāla had practically ceased to exist.

The early Portuguese narratives and certain European scholars located at Sofāla the Biblical Ophir from which the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram brought back every three years cargoes of gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (I Kings, x. 22; II Chronicles, ix. 21). In a short but solid study, Sylvain Lévi (*Autour du Bäveru-jātaka*, in *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études*, Paris 1913—1914) has shown that Ophir is not to be sought in India. Nothing so far makes it likely that it can possibly be located at Sofāla.

The old town of Sofāla seems to have been very important, if we may judge by its ruins of commodious houses which are evidence of the wealth of its inhabitants in the xvth century. It was abandoned later and rebuilt in the vicinity. The new Sofāla was described as a little town in 1764. It lay in 20° 13' Lat. and 34° 45' Long. It was 252 fathoms long, 60 broad and included 35 houses, one of stone and lime and 2 of wood with tiled roofs and 32 of wood covered with thatched roofs. The famous mediaeval emporium lost its importance at the end of the xvth century. In 1883 João de Andrade Corvo speaks of the old kingdom of Sofāla which was so rich under Arab rule. In 1889 the authors of the *Elementos para um dicionário chorographico da provincia de Moçambique* write the melancholy words: "The district of Sofāla, so rich in historical memories, is now poverty-stricken and abandoned".

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(GABRIEL FERRAND)

SOFTA, a popular pronunciation of the perf. pass. *sūkhīte* from the Persian verb *sūkhten*, to burn, to set on fire; literally then one afire, in flames, i.e. consumed by the love of God or learning. *Softa* in Turkish is particularly applied to students (Ar. *ṭālib*), especially the beginner in the sciences or in theology. After his first courses, the student is usually called *dānīshmend*. Risings of the *Softa*'s, who used to rebel en masse have repeatedly played a dangerous part in Ottoman history.

Bibliography: The dictionaries and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 238; iv. 346; cf. also his *Des osmanischen reichs Staatsverfassung*, ii., Vienna 1815, p. 402; Murād Efendi (= Franz v. Werner), *Türkische Skizzen*, Leipzig 1877, vol. 2, p. 90 sqq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

SOĞHD, AL-SOĞHD or AL-SOĞHD, a district in Central Asia. The same name (Old. Pers. Suguda, late Avestan Sugdha, Greek Sogdioi or Sogdianoī [the people] and Sogdiane [the country]) was applied in ancient times to a people of Irānian origin subject to the Persians (at least from the time of Darius I, 522—486 B.C.) whose lands stretched from the Oxus (cf. AMŪ-DARYĀ) to the Yaxartes (cf. ŚIR-DARYĀ), according to the Greek sources. The language and especially the terms relating to the calendar and festivals of the Soghdian Zoroastrians are very fully dealt with in the Muslim period by al-Bīrūnī in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, cf. p. 46 sq., 233 sqq. and transl. London 1879, p. 56 sq., 220 sqq. From al-Bīrūnī's information, modern Irānists (notably F. C. Andreas and F. W. K. Müller) have been able to identify as Soghdian the language of numerous fragments of manuscripts found in Chinese Turkestan (commercial documents, Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian texts).

As in classical times the Soghdians still appear in al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*, p. 45, 21) along with the Khwārizmians as an indigenous people with a Zoroastrian civilisation in Mā Warā' al-Nahr. References to pre-Muhammadan Soghdian colonies in remote regions are found, not only in Chinese, but also in Muslim sources, cf. *Hudūd al-'Alam* (unique Tumanskiy MS. now in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad) in W. Barthold, *Die historische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 4, note 1, appendix to W. Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, New Series, St. Petersburg 1897, on the Soghdians in the land of the Tughuzghuz (cf. GHUZZ) and Maḥmūd Kāshghari (*Diwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333, i. 31 and 391 sq.) on the Soghdian settlers (Sughdāk, as in the Orkhon inscription) in Balāsāghūn [q.v.] who had adopted "Turkish dress and customs" and on the Soghdian and Turkish speaking peoples from Balāsāghūn to Isfīdjāb or Sairām (on the name of "white town" given to the latter, cf. *ibid.*, iii. 132 sq.). The fact proved by R. Gauthiot that the Uighurs borrowed their alphabet from the Soghdians seems to have been known in Muslim times, cf. Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (beginning of the viith/xiiith century) in E. D. Ross in *Adḡab Nāma, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 405. Turkish *Kent* meaning "village, town" is already described as a Soghdian loan-word in the *Kandīya* (text in W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, i., Petersburg 1898, p. 48).

As the name of a country Soghd had a much

narrower application in the Muslim period than in antiquity. According to Iṣṭakhri (*B. G. A.*, i. 316) Soghd proper comprised the lands east of Bukhārā from Dabusiya to Samarkand; he also says that others also included Bukhārā, Kishsh (Kash, q.v.) and Nesef in Soghd. Kash sometimes appears as the capital of Soghd, e.g. *B. G. A.*, vii., 299, 14 (Ya'kūbī); it is possible that the oldest Chinese name for the region of Kash, *Su-hiai* (old pronunciation *Su-git*) is a reproduction of the name Soghd; it is so taken by J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 57. In another passage (*B. G. A.*, vii. 293) Ya'kūbī describes Samarkand as the capital of Soghd; Kash and Nesef are included in Soghd but Bukhārā is separated. It is not known what geographical connotation Soghd had for al-Bīrūnī; whenever he associates a Soghdian festival with a particular district, it is always some village in the territory of Bukhārā. Nershakhi (ed. Schefer, p. 47) quotes a few expressions in the dialect of Bukhārā and these are explained as Soghdian by F. Rosenberg (*Praie Linguistyczne, opiarowanie f. Badowinowi de Courtenay*, Cracow 1921, p. 94 sqq.). According to Iṣṭakhri (p. 314) Soghdian was spoken in Bukhārā. According to Maḥmūd Kāshghari (i. 391 sq.), Soghd is the land between Bukhārā and Samarkand. In modern native topography Soghd is only a part of the territory of Samarkand and a distinction is made between "Half-Soghd" (Nim Sughud) on the island between the two arms of the Zarafshān (Aḵ Daryā and Karā Daryā), and "Great Sughd" (Sughud-i Kalān) north of the Aḵ Daryā. The language of the Soghdians seems to have disappeared earlier than that of the Khwārizmians, ousted like other Irānian dialects, partly by the Persian literary language and partly (especially in the colonies) by Turkish. The language called "Middle Soghdian" by F. C. Andreas still survives in a single modern Soghdian dialect, the isolated Yaghnōbī (cf. *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i., Pt. ii. p. 291).

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(W. BARTHOLD)

SÖĞÜD, a little town, capital of a kaḡa of the same name in the sandjak of Ertogrul, belonging to the wilāyet of Khudāwendigār in Asia Minor. It lies to the south of Saḡariya between Lefke and Eski Shehir and is a day's journey from each of these places (*Qjihan-numā*). Söğüd lies at the mouth of a mountain gorge, very deep and very narrow, and is built in an amphitheatre. The country round the town forms part of the fertile region which forms the transition between the Central Plain of Anatolia on the

south and the lands on either side of the lower course of the Sakariya to the north. It was the country of Sultān Öñü, and is famous in Ottoman history as having been the cradle of power of the Ottoman dynasty. According to the unanimous tradition of the Turkish historians, Ertogrul, father of 'Othmān received this district as a fief from the Saldjūk Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn; the mountains of Tūmānīdj and Ermeni were the *yailā* of the tribe of Ertogrul and Söğüd was their *yurt* ('Ashīk Pasha Zade, p. 4 and Urudj Bey, ed. Babinger, p. 7, 83). The *türbe* of Ertogrul is at Söğüd; this tomb has a little cupola and lies two leagues from the town, a little to the left of the road to Lefke. Tradition still tells that one of the brothers of 'Othmān, Sarfyati or Sawdji is buried beside his father; 'Othmān himself is also said to be buried in this *türbe* and not at Brussa (Ritter).

As regards the pre-Ottoman period we find in the *Taḳwīm al-Tawāriḫ* of Hādjdjī Khalifa the legend that the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd conquered Söğüd in 181 (797). The name Söğüd is pure Turkish and means "willow"; the oldest form seems to have been Söğüdjük or Söğütdjük (thus *Tawāriḫ* 'Al-i 'Othmān, ed. Giese, Urudj Bey, and as late as the xviiith century, Mehmed Edib, cf. also Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i. 101). The modern pronunciation is rather Söwüt.

One of the four *djāmi'* of Söğüd is attributed to Ertogrul and another to Sultān Muḥammad I. After the capture of Constantinople the town was situated on the main route of pilgrimage to Mecca. It was never large; in the xviiith century Ewliya counted 700 Turkish houses there and at the beginning of the xixth century the number had hardly risen (cf. the traveller's records in Ritter). Towards the end of this century Sāmī gives 5,000 as the population. The product for which the country round Söğüd has always been noted is a preserve made of grapes cut up and steeped in vinegar (*üzüm turşusu*). Silkworms are also grown and there is some weaving in the town.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

ŞOHĀR. [See ŞUĖĀR.]

ŞOKOLLI, MUḤAMMAD PASHA, surnamed "Ṭawil", "the Tall", one of the most famous of Turkish grand viziers. He was born in the early years of the xvth century in the village of Sokol in Bosnia. His family was called Sokolewitch, of which Şokolli is the Turkish form. According to a panegyric biography written about 1570 entitled *Djāwāhir al-Manāḫib* (cf. *T. O. E. M.*, No. 29, p. 257 sqq.), which is regarded as the best authority for the youth of Şokolli, Sokol means "falcon's nest". He was the eldest son and was taken from his parents under the *dewşirme* in the early years of Sulaimān I's reign. His remarkable abilities gained him important posts on the staff of the Serāy where he finally reached and held for a long time the responsible post of *Ḳapudjī Kiāyası*. At this period he brought his parents to Constantinople and his two brothers, who died soon afterwards, and also a cousin who later became Muṣṭafā Pasha, Beglerbeg of Budin.

In 953 (1546) Şokolli left the Serāy to become *Kapudān Pasha* in succession to Ḳhair al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa; which was an exceptional promotion. In this capacity he conducted expeditions into Tripolitania. Three years later he was appointed Beglerbeg of Rūm-ili. He there took part in several campaigns. In 959 (1552) he took Temeswār in Hungary. In 961 (1554) he accompanied Sultān Sulaimān in his campaign against Persia (capture of Nakhčewān) after which he obtained the rank of *wazīr-i thālith*. When the struggle began between the two princes, Selim and Bāyazid, in 1559, Şokolli was in command of the troops assisting Selim against his brother. Henceforth he was associated by close ties with Selim whose daughter Esmikhān he married in 969 (1562); she was 40 years his junior. After being *wazīr-i thānī*, he was finally appointed grand vizier in June 1568 on the death of Ahmad Pasha.

Şokolli held this office till his death in 1579 so that he was grand vizier for the last 15 months of Sulaimān's reign, the whole of that of Selim II, and the first four years of Murād III. For the greater part of this period Şokolli was the real ruler of the empire (*pādshāh-i ma'newī*, cf. Pečewi, i. 44) especially during the reign of Selim II [q.v.] who hardly took any interest in affairs of state. By his experience and sagacity, Şokolli was the obvious man to consolidate the glorious traditions of the time of Sulaimān. His efforts were mainly directed to the maintenance of peace abroad and order at home. Although we know of nothing very brilliant done by him, he was nevertheless the moving spirit in all the great events of his time. Very characteristic of him was the manner in which he kept secret the death of Sulaimān before Szigeth until the new sovereign had had time to reach the army, and again when Selim II refused to give the accession gifts, against Şokolli's advice, the latter only intervened at the last moment to pacify the mutinous Janissaries. After his return from the Szigeth campaign the grand vizier took no further part in military expeditions. The documents of his time however show that he was active in all branches of administration. During his grand vizierate the empire and especially the capital, passed through the richest and most glorious period in its history, while the old simple traditions were still strong enough to check the moral decadence, which was already beginning to appear. The only opposition that Şokolli encountered in his domestic and foreign policy was that of the coterie led by the Jew Yūsuf Nāsī, the favourite of Selim II and by the latter's Jewish favourite. The Jewish bankers had control of the customs and had a grip on the whole economic life of the state and Şokolli was not able completely to counteract their influence, which showed itself for example in the deterioration of the coinage.

In the foreign policy of Şokolli we have probably to recognize a pan-Islamic tendency. Up to the last year of his grand vizierate, the peace with Persia (concluded at Amasia in 961=1554) was not broken, while the empire endeavoured to assist Muslim rulers in India and Further India against Portuguese attacks (on the expedition to Atchek cf. *T. O. E. M.*, No. 10) and the Ḳhāns of Transoxiana against the Russians. Şokolli's European policy was likewise peaceful; he was con-

tinuously on his guard against Russia under Ivan the Terrible, against Austria and Spain, and he hoped to hold these powers in check with the support of the friendship of France and Poland. He was however unable to prevent the expedition against Cyprus and the naval war with Venice and the other powers which resulted from it. The occupation of Cyprus was mainly due to the influence of Yūsuf Nāsī and his friends with the Sultān. But once the decision had been taken, the grand vizier did his utmost to secure the success of the expedition. It was likewise entirely due to his energy that a new fleet was built in less than a year after the destruction of the Turkish fleet in the battle of Lepanto (Oct. 7, 1571). Şokolli was less fortunate in other more peaceful enterprises, like the digging of a canal between the Volga and Don and the piercing of the isthmus of Suez. He was further very skilled in the field of diplomatic negotiations, which he conducted with courtesy (he had his portrait painted for a Venetian ambassador, which later was in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand) and finesse but sometimes with harshness. The peace concluded with Venice (March 7, 1573) left the island of Cyprus to Turkey; it was as if the battle of Lepanto had never been fought.

The personal position of Şokolli was remarkable. He was neither unusually popular with the people, nor a particular favourite of the Sultān, but every one respected him. In keeping with his character, he was not a patron of literature and poetry (Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 7); nevertheless the poet Bākī celebrates him in his *kaşidas*. In his palace in Stambul (later bought by Aḥmad I to build a mosque on the site) Şokolli maintained a vast suite. Through his great influence he was able to rid himself of his enemies, without, however, having any real friends. He was able to prevent difficulties that might have arisen from other influential men of his time like Lala Muştafa Pasha and Sinān Pasha [q. v.]. His most intimate confidants were his secretary Feridūn Bey [q. v.], later *Re'is al-Kuttāb* and his *Kiāya* Dja'far Agha. Şokolli is further depicted as a religious and incorruptible man. The latter quality did not prevent him from accepting huge presents, which, added to his own income, made him one of the richest of men. Western sources accuse him of avarice, but he built many public buildings in the provinces, especially karwānserāys, besides two mosques in the capital, a mosque and *tekke* in the Kadırga quarter and a mosque and *medrese* at 'Azab Kapu (cf. *Hadikat al-Djāwāmi*, i. 193). He is also accused with some justice of having favoured too much his numerous relations and compatriots whom he brought from Bosnia, many of whom occupied important positions. The historian Pečewili Ibrāhīm was the son of a female cousin of Şokolli.

After the accession of Murād II, Şokolli's great influence began to diminish. The favourites of the new Sultān, like Şamsī Pasha obtained the offices from which Şokolli's proteges were dismissed. But before the dismissal of the grand vizier himself — which seemed to have become inevitable — Şokolli was murdered on Oct. 11, 1579. An individual, disguised as a beggar, came up to him as he was leaving the *diwān* and stabbed him. He was buried in a *türbe* which he had built at Aiyūb (cf. Ewliya Celebi, *Siyāhatnāme*, i. 408).

Bibliography. The principal sources for

the life of Şokolli are the *Ta'rikkh's* of Pečewi, Selānikī and of 'Alī (*Kunh al-Akhhbār*, part still unprinted) and the *Tuhfat al-Kibār* of Hādjdjī Khalīfa. There are other biographies of him in Mūnadjdjim Bāshī, *Şahā'if al-Akhhbār*, iii. 532 sqq.; 'Oḥmān Zāde, *Hadikat al-wuzerā*, Constantinople 1271, p. 32 sqq.; Thureiyā Efendi, *Sidjill-i 'Oḥmāni*, iv. 122; Hāfiz Ḥusain al-Aiwānserāyi, *Hadikat al-Djāwāmi*, Constantinople 1281, i. 193. Among western contemporary sources the most important are the *Tagebuch* of Gerlach, Frankfurt 1674, and the *Relazioni* of the Venetian Alberi. All these sources have been used by the modern historians like von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. and iv.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iii. (especially p. 165 sqq.); Brosch, *Geschichten aus den Leben dreier Grosswesiere*, Gotha 1899; Aḥmad Refik, *Şokolli*, Constantinople 1924 (an important appreciation of Şokolli and his period partly based on original documents, the provenance of which however is rarely mentioned). On the *pençe* of Şokolli, cf. von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst in *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, 1923–1926, ii., p. 261. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SOKOTO or **SAKATU** is the name of a town in the western part of the Hausa country, situated on a left bank tributary of the Niger called Gulbi-n-Sokoto, which means in Hausa the river of Sokoto. The town seems to have been of little importance before the sixteenth century; in any case it was much less known than the other towns of the Hausa, such as Zanfara, Gober or Tessawa, Katsena, Zinder, Kano and Zegzeg or Zaria. It formed part of the kingdom of Gober, which like the other Hausa states then contained very few Muḥammadans, almost all foreigners. There were a few colonies of Pul or Fulbe among the native population, which, as at the present day, lived mainly by agriculture and commerce. It was in 1801 or 1802 that Sokoto became the capital of a kind of empire founded by a Tuculor *shaikh* from Fūta-Tōro (Senegal) belonging to the Tōrodbe caste (singular Tōrodo). This conqueror was called Usmānu ('Uḥmān) and was the son of a certain Muḥammad surnamed Fodjo, i. e. "the wise, the jurist". The Shaikh 'Usmānu having left his native land to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca was in Gober, where he was preaching Islām in 1801 when he received a deputation from the Fulbe, seeking his protection against the king of Tessawa, against whom some shepherds had a complaint. Usmānu, who was only waiting a pretext to declare a holy war, took up the cause of these men, whom he regarded as compatriots because Fulbe and Tuculor, although of very different stocks, spoke the same language. Having collected an army of followers, he took the field against Yunfa, the king of Tessawa, and conquered him. Continuing his conquests, he was not long in becoming master of several other Hausa provinces (Liptako, Kebbi, Yauri, Nupe, Kororofa, Bautshī, Adamawa), imposing Islām on the inhabitants by force and placing at the head of each kingdom or province a kind of governor called *amiru*, chosen from the members of his family or caste. Thus there was created for the benefit of a small Tuculor aristocracy of the Tōrodo caste, an empire, military in character, including almost all the lands to the south of the Sahara between the eastern course of the Niger (which it reached in the west also in Liptako),

Benu, Logone, and Chad, with the exception however of Bornu, which, although invaded in its turn by Usmānu's bands, succeeded in recovering its independence in 1810. The general name of empire of Sokoto is given to these conquests because it was in the eastern quarter of Sokoto, at Wurno, that Shaikh Usmānu took up his permanent residence, and his successors lived.

But on the death of Usmānu (1816 or 1818) the empire broke up into three allied states: in the west that of Gando, including the Kebbi, the Yauri, the Nupe and Liptako; in the east that of Yola, comprising Kororofa and Adamawa and in the centre that of Sokoto including all the Hausa country and Bautshi. Abdullāhi, brother of Usmānu, became king of Gando, Modibba Adama of Yola, which he gave his name (Adamawa) and Muhammad Bello, son of Usmānu, succeeded his father at Sokoto where he reigned from 1816 or 1818 to 1837.

He had a difficult task to maintain his authority. The natives everywhere abjured Islām and rebelled, supported in their rebellion by the Tuāreg and the Sultān of Bornu. After suffering several reverses, Muḥammad Bello's troops finally established him in power. A rather poor soldier, reluctant to take part personally in battle, this prince was on the other hand a distinguished writer. In Arabic he composed a considerable number of works in prose and verse, one of them a history of the Sūdān which is not without value. He was the patron of men of letters, gave a good reception to the explorer Clapperton (1828) and exercised a strict control over the doings of his judges, who feared his enquiries and censure.

His brother and successor Atiku (1837—1847) claimed to be a reformer of morals and made himself very unpopular by prohibiting music and dancing. His puritanism did not prevent his governors committing all kinds of excesses and depredations, which resulted in the rebellion of the provinces of Gober and Katsena.

In the reign of Aliyu, son of Muḥammad Bello (1843—1860) who received the explorers Overweg (1851) and Barth (1852 and 1854) at Sokoto, civil troubles and risings increased in extent. Gradually the authority of the emperor was lost and usurped by various *amiru* of the provinces. The five last sovereigns of the Tōrodo dynasty — Aḥmadu, son of Atiku (1860—1866), 'Aliyun-Karami, son of Bello (1866—1867), Aḥmadu-Rafāye (1867—1872), Abubakari (1872—1877) and Moyasu (1877—1904) — showed themselves incapable of efficiently governing an empire, which was too large and too badly organised, and collapsed at once in 1904, simply on the entry of Sir Frederick Lugard's troops into Sokoto.

At the present day the town of Sokoto forms part of the British colony of Nigeria, while the rest of Gober and his capital Tessawa are included in the French colony of the Niger.

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SOKOTRĀ (Socotra), an island in the Indian Ocean on the east side of the Gulf of 'Aḍen, about 150 miles from Rās 'Asir (Cape Guardafui) forms with the smaller islands of the group, notably 'Abd al-Kūrī, the "brethren", Semḥa and Dersi, and Sambūya (Sambūniya; Saboyna of the older maps since Wellsted) and the Farūn rocks, the geographical and geological continuation of the coast of North Somāliland. It is 75 miles

long (from Rās Shoab in the west to Rās Redresse in the east), and has a maximum breadth of 20 miles and an area of 1,520 square miles. The elongated shape of its horizontal section gives it its characteristic configuration (the figure "about 240 miles" for the distance from Cape Guardafui in Theodore Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 345, who gives the length and breadth of the island correctly as 72 and 22 miles, is a misprint). Sokotrā was known in classical antiquity as the island of Dioscorides, *ἡ νῆσος ἡ Διοσκορίδου καλουμένη* in the *Periplus maris Erythraci*, 30 (the MS. has *Διοσκορίδα*; C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, i. 280 has in the text *Διοσκορίδου*, but see his note; Fabricius in his edition, Leipzig 1883, gives *Διοσκορίδου*) after the mention of the Sachalitic Sea (coast of Shehr, east of Rās al-Kelb) and of the promontory of Syagros (Rās al-Fartak), it is mentioned as a territory of the king of the land of frankincense, Eleazos, who lived in Σάββαβα (Shabwat) (27; on the genitive form of the name 'Ελεάζου, found in manuscripts, of the king known from inscriptions as Il'azz, which Fabricius, wrongly following C. Müller on § 26, altered to 'Ελισάρου, see the articles ELEAZOS and ELISAR in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopädie der klass. Altertumswiss.* [henceforth quoted as *R.E.*]), also *Διοσκορίδους νῆσος* in Ptolemaeus, viii. 22, 17 and *Διοσκοουρίδου ἡ πόλις*, vi. 7, 45 (var. *Διοσκορίδους πόλις*), the oldest and the only classical reference to the capital of Sokotrā, *ἡ νῆσος ἡ καλουμένη Διοσκορίδους* in *Cosmos Indopl.*, p. 178 (for the form of the name cf. *Διοσκοουριάς* in Stephanus Byzantinus).

The island is called by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 153: "clara (insula) in Azanio mari Dioscuridu" (similarly also Amm. Marc., xxiii. 6, 47) and is referred to by ecclesiastical historians (see below). Agatharchides (§ 103) (preserved in extracts in Diodoros and Photius; see the article SABA', p. 7) refers to the whole group; after describing the land of Saba' he remarks that near the coast lie the *νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες*, the earliest reference to Sokotrā and the adjoining islands, which he considers to belong to South Arabia. It may be assumed that Sokotrā is included among the frankincense islands of Arabia mentioned by Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 10. On the identity of the island of Dioscorides with Sokotrā cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1845, xii. 64, 336 (following Vincent, etc.); C. Müller, *op. cit.*, 190 etc. Bochart (*Geographia sacra*, Leiden 1692, i/i. 436) had already derived the name, which is found in the form Suḳutrā among the Arabs (Yāḳūt, *Mu'ājam*, quotes besides the regular form, iii. 101 also Suḳutrā', i. 543, also Suḳūtārā', Ibn Rosta, *B. G. A.*, vii. 82, Suḳut(a)ra; on the other form Uḳutrā, see *Kāmiūs*, i. 381 and *Tādī al-'Arūs*, iii. 273) from the Sanskrit *dvīpa sukhatara*, "fortunate isle" and this explanation of the name which agrees best with the name in Agatharchides (cf. *Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία*) has been adopted by Bohnen, *Das alte Indien*, Königsberg 1830, ii. 139; Benfey in Ersch-Gruber's *Enzyklopädie*, sect. ii., vol. vii., p. 30; C. Müller, *op. cit.*, i. 280 (cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*) and more recent writers (Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 391 was not acquainted with the literature before Schweinfurth). The Greek name arose, like many other Greek corruptions of Oriental names by a popular etymology, connecting the foreign name with some mythological figure familiar to the Greek circle of ideas. The

name Διοσκώρων λιμὴν (Ptolemy, iv. 7, 5) a harbour on the west coast of the Red Sea, is similar in origin. This corruption was all the easier in this case as it was facilitated by the Greek idea that the appearance of the constellation of the Dioscuri (Gemini) was a good omen for navigators. The Indian origin of the name is supported by the statement in the *Periplus* (30) that the island included Indians amongst its inhabitants (there are still Hindus on SoĶotrā), that sailors from India land there bringing rice, a cereal that does not grow on the islands, Indian cotton and slave-girls and receiving turtles (31) and by the note of Agatharchides (Diodoros, iii. 47) that Indian merchants traded with the νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες. In ancient times SoĶotrā, specially noted for its frankincense as of importance as a centre of sea commerce between India, Arabia and East Africa (Azania, the coast between Rās 'Asir and Zanzibar), as a result of its situation at the entrance to the Red Sea and in spite of its lack of proper harbours. Bent's idea (*op. cit.*, p. 391) that Sūk (the name still survives for the ruined site of the ancient capital) the Zoko of the xvth century Portuguese, is a survival of the original Sanskrit form of the name, has little to commend it. Sprenger's suggestion (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 88) that the name SoĶotrā is perhaps derived from *kāfir*, the popular name for the resin of the dragon-blood tree, is untenable on philological grounds. F. Hommel's assumption (*Grandriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, Munich 1904, p. 212, note 2), that SoĶotrā is in some way connected with Skudru = Thrace and that the island might have received its name from Graeco-Thracian colonists, cannot be defended at all.

W. Götensishef connected with SoĶotrā the magic island of A-a-penanka or Pa-anch (island of the genius) the abode of the king of the frankincense country, of which we are told in the old Egyptian fairy tale in a papyrus in St. Petersburg (French translation by Götensishef in the *Verhandlungen d. V. Orientalistenkongresses*, Berlin 1882) of the period of the middle kingdom (about the beginning of the second millennium B. C.). G. Schweinfurth agreed with this on the whole acceptable identification first in a lecture to the 56. Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher at Freiburg i. B. (*Ein Besuch auf Sokotra*, Freib. i. B. 1884), then in *Erinnerungen von einer Fahrt nach Sokotra* (s. Westermann's *Monatshefte*, 1891, xxxiv., p. 603 sqq., xxxv. 29 sqq.); cf. also E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii. 182 sq., and *Das Weihrauchland und Sokotra*, reprint from the addition to the *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, N^o. [1] 120 and 121, Munich 1899, p. 4, 11, Hommel [s. below]. Glaser (*Weihrauchland*, p. 4 and *Punt*, *M. V. A. G.*, iv, 1899, p. 43) said that the island of Πανχάλα (also called Ἰερὰ) described by Diodorus, v. 41 sq. (from Euhemerus) was identical with the frankincense island of Pa-anch, and therefore with SoĶotrā. Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 364 had previously discussed the possibility that the legendary frankincense island of Panchaia, mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Roman poets and others, should be located in the vicinity of SoĶotrā. The similarity of the names Panchaia and Pa-anch is certainly worthy of note; the plants mentioned in the fairy tale are in keeping with the flora of SoĶotrā (cf. Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 3 sq.). But Glaser's hypothesis

(*ibid.*, p. 20 sq., 23) that the old Egyptian name of SoĶotrā was really not Pa-anch but Panach or Pōnech, i. e. "the Punic island" and that this is the root meaning of Panchaia, is untenable, as is his effort to support by it his main thesis that the original inhabitants of South Arabia and SoĶotrā were Phoenicians and Habashis (*ibid.*, p. 12 sq.), the South Arabian and SoĶotran no less than the African were direct descendants of the Phoenicians or of the people of Punt (cf. his *Skizze*, ii., p. 250, 297 sq.; *Punt*, p. 1, 31, 65) and that the language of SoĶotrā was Habashī, a descendant of Phoenician. In spite of the fictitious character of the story of Euhemerus about Panchaia, there is no doubt that a definite island forms a real background for the scenery. Among the common features in the various descriptions of the islands is further the fact that Diodorus, v. 41, speaks of the wealth of Panchaia in frankincense, myrrh trees of excellent quality and all other kinds of spices, which agrees with modern reports on SoĶotrā. Diodorus, v. 43 (vi. 1) speaks highly of the rich vegetation of Panchaia (on the peculiar charms of the flora of SoĶotrā see Wellsted, *Report* [see below], p. 145 sq.; Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 614, 620 sqq., 38, 42 sqq.; Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 367 sqq.; on the multitude of palm-trees, Yākūt, *op. cit.*, iii. 102; quoting Hamdāni [*Ṣīfat*, p. 53, see below], *Tādī*, *loc. cit.*). Among the features common to the various ramifications of the traditions about the island, which, taken together, form an important factor in the varying identifications, is the fact that according to the *Periplus* 30 there are very many snakes on the island of Dioscorides and the Egyptian story makes the royal genius of the magic islands assume the form of a snake. Pliny, vi. 169 (also Mela, iii. 8) mentions among the people of Trogydytice the *Panchati*, quos *Ophiophagos vocant, serpentibus vesci adsueti*, a people who bore the same name as the inhabitants of Panchaia. In the legendary description of the two islands adjoining Panchaia (Diodorus, v. 41 sq.) the reference is to the islands near SoĶotrā, similar to Agatharchides' statement on the νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες. Hommel, who made use of the Greek idea of Panchaia for his *Die Insel der Seligen* (Munich 1901), which deals with the history of the idea of the island of the blessed in the different literatures of antiquity (p. 1, 14 sq., 32) identified (p. 15) "the small rocky island 150 feet high" described by Schweinfurth with the little island 7 stadia from Panchaia described by Diodorus. As Panchaia as a legendary duplicate of the island of Dioscorides gradually became separated from the latter in the geography of the ancients, it is no wonder that many writers like Diodorus and Pliny mention them as two separate islands. The identification recommended by Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 337, 432; *Weihrauchland*, p. 11 and Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 345 of SoĶotrā with the Izkuduru of the Naḳs-i Rustam inscription of Darius has nothing to recommend it, but a similarity of name. There is no real evidence that the *ἰντρ* (often read *to-Nuter* "land of the gods") of the ancient Egyptian monuments, a name of the land of Punt, rich in spices and usually referred to South Arabia, can refer to SoĶotrā, as Mariette Bey (in Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 343) thought, although it may be granted that the island was already known to the ancient Egyptians as a land of frankincense. The identification of SoĶotrā with Σαναία in

Pausanias, vi. 26, 9 (Hommel, *Grundriss [Ethnologie]*, Munich 1926, p. 650), lacks any sound foundation.

Among the names in literature for the legendary fortunate frankincense island, Hommel (*op. cit.*) included also the island of the Phaeaceans of the Odyssey and (p. 23 sq.) the land of the blessed in the x. and xi. book of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh. While very much in what he says about the part played by Soḳoṭrā as an island of Paradise in the very earliest mythology among Babylonians and Egyptians (see his *Glossen una Exkurse*, iv., *Neue kirchl. Ztschr.*, ii., 1892, p. 881 sqq., 899 sq.) can only be described as fanciful hypothesis, including his etymology identifying the Egyptian name of the "Island of the Spirits", ²*i pen-en-ke* with *φαιήνας*, from *pai-i-ka*?, his suggestion of the similarity of the real name of the island of the Phaeaceans *Σχερσία* to *Shihr* [q. v.] (Sāhil), the old name of the Ḥaḍramawt frankincense coast is worthy of serious consideration, especially as *Σχερσία* cannot be satisfactorily explained as regards form and meaning from the Greek. Continuing this line of research, I have sought in Pauly Wissowa, *R. E.*, s. v. SABA, col. 1405 sqq. by quoting the etymological meaning of the name Soḳoṭrā, which is in keeping with the fundamental idea of the poetical conception of the island of the Phaeaceans, and to the agreement in substance of almost every sentence of the Egyptian fairy story, of the sailor thrown upon the island of the spirits and the mythical matter of the adventure of Odysseus on the island of the Phaeaceans, to make it probable that Soḳoṭrā was the real prototype which supplied the local features of the epic idea of the island of the Phaeaceans, later developed by legend and poetry, which, as is well known, shows Oriental colouring.

Among Arab geographers, al-Ḥamdānī, *Ṣifat Džazirat al-ʿArab* (ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884, p. 53) gives brief notes on the nationality and religion of the people of Soḳoṭrā, saying that on the island there are representatives of all the Mahra tribes and the number of men able to bear arms is about 10,000; they were Christians; Kisrā (Khusraw) transplanted a number of Byzantines there; Mahra tribes then settled beside them, of whom some adopted Christianity. Yāḳūt, *Muḍjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 102, 3 gives a similar story (word for word the same as Ḥamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 17—53, 8; cf. al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, ii. 54), but, agreeing with the opinion held by the people of 'Aden, that no Byzantines came to the island, he considers the people of Soḳoṭrā to be Greeks of the time of Alexander the Great, who lived without marrying after the introduction of Christianity and died out, whereupon Mahra tribes took their places. With these statements on the origin of the people of the island may be compared the older story in the *Periplus* (30) that the few inhabitants of the island were immigrants, a mixture of Arabs, Indians and Greeks who came there to trade, the similar statement in Diodoros v. 42, that on the island of Panchaia there were Indians, Scythians and Cretans (Greeks) in addition to the natives and what Agatharchides (103) says about the sea-trade to the *νησοὶ εὐδαίμονες*, Persis, Caramania and the rest of the adjoining mainland. At the present day Soḳoṭrā still has a mixed population, which on the north coast includes besides native Arabs,

Somālī, Swāhili and Indian elements. According to the above mentioned passage in *Cosmos*, who rightly traces the Hellenism of Soḳoṭrā to colonisation by the Ptolemies, the Greeks had retained their language and were Christians, who got their priests from Persis. Glaser's suggestion, *Skizze*, p. 184 (158) that one or other of the three Greek cities of Arabia, Arethusa, Larisa, Chalkis, mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 159, should be sought on Soḳoṭrā is without foundation. Idrisi, who knew about the traffic by sea between Soḳoṭrā and the Mahra coast, connects (i. 48, Jaubert, Paris 1836) the story of Alexander's campaign into Arabia on account of its wealth of frankincense, with Soḳoṭrā, which was colonised with Greeks on the advice of Aristotle on account of the excellent aloes growing there (similarly in *Tādī al-ʿArūs*, *loc. cit.*). The Christianisation of the island may have been effected by the Abyssinian rulers who conquered Arabia for a time. On the notices of Christianity there in Africanus, Theodoret, al-Masʿūdī, Abu 'l-Fidā' and his contemporary Marco Polo, see Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 344. When Persian civilization gained the upper hand in Arabia and after it Islām, Christianity was gradually driven out of the island. The final disappearance of the church was comparatively late; the last traces are found in the beginning of the xviii century (according to the Carmelite monk Vincenzo; cf. Bent, p. 355).

It is significant for the conditions of navigation to Soḳoṭrā that al-Ḥamdānī, *op. cit.* (cf. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*), says that one who sails from 'Aden to the land of al-Zindj (opposite the Zanzibar coast, the land of the Sawāhili) first shapes his course for 'Omān and leaves the island of Soḳoṭrā on his right and then sails around it into the sea of al-Zindj, until he has the island behind him. Sprenger (p. 87) rightly observes that this circuit is caused by the prevalence of south winds on the East African coast, and not as al-Ḥamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 52, thought, by the fact that the Gulf of 'Aden is enclosed by a barrier of the seas of al-Zindj (on this see also Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*). According to the *Ḳāmūs* and the *Tādī*, *loc. cit.*, Soḳoṭrā is on the left on the voyage from al-Zindj. He who wishes to go to Soḳoṭrā from 'Aden sails to Rās al-Fartak along the Arabian coast (Sprenger, *op. cit.*). This may be the reason why, in ancient times, the position of the island was defined with respect to this cape, as in the *Periplus*, 30, according to which the island lay between Syagros and the African cape Aromata (Cape Guardafui) but nearer the former (in reality the contrary is true) and in Pliny, vi. 153, who gives the distance of Soḳoṭrā from the "promontorium Syagros" fairly correctly at 280 miles. The direction of the sailing route eastwards round the island may explain the fact that it seems to be placed in Ptolemy's map too far west of the promontory of Syagros. The calculation given in the *Tādī*, *loc. cit.*, is based on a direct voyage, according to which Soḳoṭrā is three days and nights distant from Mokhā. The length of the island is given too long in Ptolemy (cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*) and also in al-Ḥamdānī, at 80 parasangs; it is barely a third of that.

Among the statements in Greek literature about the island of Soḳoṭrā which have been confirmed and explained by modern research is that of the *Periplus* 30, that the few inhabitants of the island are to be found on the north side; even at the

present day, the largest and most numerous settlements, including the capital Tamarida ("date-town"; the native name is: Hadibo) are on the north coast; the west coast is less accessible and the other coasts are also thinly populated. The white cattle mentioned in Agatharchides (103) whose cows have no horns are explained as zebu (Ritter, *op. cit.*, xii., p. 249; cf. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 367 for humpless cows).

The first more accurate information about SoĶotrā was obtained on the voyage of the ship *Palinurus* from the South Arabian coast to the island in 1834 under Captain Haines, who was sent by the East Indian Company to survey the coast and collect material for a chart. Lt. J. R. Wellsted produced the first topographical account of the interior, which was naturally very incomplete. He published the geographical and scientific results of his exploration of the island in his *Report on the Island of Socotra*, *J. A. S. B.*, iv., 1835, p. 138 sqq., *Memoir on the Island of Socotra*, *J. R. G. S.*, v., London 1835, p. 129 sqq. and in shorter form in *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, ii., London 1840. The island, which as even this first report showed, seemed a promising field for the natural historian, was studied from the botanical, zoological, and geological point of view by J. B. Balfour (*On the Island of Socotra*, *Rept. Brit. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science*, 1881, p. 486 sqq.); and the petrographical material brought back by him was published by T. G. Bonney, *On a Collection of Rock Specimens from the Island of Socotra*, *Philos. Transactions of the Roy. Soc.*, clxxiv., London 1883, p. 273 sqq. In 1881 the Riebeck expedition, one of its members being G. Schweinfurth (see *Das Volk von Sokotra, Unsere Zeit*, 1813, his lecture of 1883 already mentioned and his *Erinnerungen* [cf. p. 477^a]), explored the country round Tamarida for about five weeks (cf. the picture in *Westerm. Monatsh.*, xxxv., p. 33, and p. 41 and 49) and the adjoining parts of the Hageher hills. Schweinfurth's botanical notes were worked up by Balfour (cf. his *Botany of Socotra, Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xxxi., 1888), and his geological by Sauer (cf. *Zeitschr. d. deutschen geolog. Gesellschaft.*, xl. 1888, p. 138 sqq.). In the winter of 1897 Th. Bent spent two months on the island with his wife, devoting his observations mainly to archaeology. His *Travels*, published by his wife after his death, includes a good map of SoĶotrā. His companion, the zoologist Bennett was, we believe, the first to ascend the summit of Hageher (being followed in 1899 by the two Viennese, O. Simony and F. Kossmat). In November 1898, the Vienna Academy of Sciences sent out an expedition on the Swedish steamer *Gottfried*, to investigate the archaeology, ethnology and natural history of South Arabia and SoĶotrā. The expedition (Landberg, D. H. Müller, Simony, Kossmat, Jahn and Paulay) were joined in 'Aden by W. A. Bury and H. O. Forbes and W. R. Ogilvie-Grant, who were to collect botanical and zoological specimens for the Liverpool and British Museum. After the unexpected break-down of the expedition in South Arabia, the majority of the Vienna explorers went to SoĶotrā in January 1899 where they spent two months, investigating the hitherto insufficiently known south and west of the island; in January they also went to SemĶa and 'Abd al-Kūri. The scientific results were published in vol. lxxi. of

the *Denkschriften der Akad. Wien, math.-naturwiss. Klasse*, 1907 (see *Bibliography*) and in H. O. Forbes, *The Natural History of Socotra and 'Abd el-Kūri*, Liverpool 1903. D. H. Müller published specimens of the language taken down from the lips of natives in *Die Mehri- und SoĶotri Sprache, Schriften der südarabischen Expedition, Ak. Wien*, vol. iv., vi., vii., 1902, 1905 and 1907. Bent gives a small vocabulary (*op. cit.*, p. 440 sqq.). These researches filled numerous gaps in our knowledge of SoĶotrā and corrected many old mistakes. For example, the old doubts about the occurrence of frankincense on SoĶotrā were removed and Ritter's statement (*op. cit.*, xii. 362) shown to be wrong, that Theophrastus' verdict on the high quality of the frankincense of this island is refuted by Juba who said that no frankincense is found on the island (Pliny, xii. 32). Theophrastus is thus confirmed (cf. previously Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 183), and Bent also speaks (*op. cit.*, 344) of three excellent kinds of frankincense, several varieties of myrrh etc., and (p. 380 sqq.) of valleys of frankincense, myrrh and other spices, while Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 4, had said "SoĶotrā has no myrrh". Ch. I. Crutenden's statement (*Narrative of a Journey from MokĶā to Šan'd*, *J. R. G. S.*, viii., 1838, p. 278 sq.) about the occurrence of the frankincense tree in SoĶotrā was obscure because he called it *sabbūr* or *sabbur* but this (*gābir* [q.v.], *šubr*) means "aloe". Diodorus' remark (see above, p. 477^b) about the quantity of frankincense on Panchaia thus becomes intelligible. According to the authorities, SoĶotrā has only two kinds of frankincense tree, *Boswellia Socotrana* and *Boswellia Ameyro Balfour fil.* (For details of the localities where they are found, see Vierhapper in the article quoted below in the *Bibliography*, p. 374 sq. of the collected volume already mentioned). The SoĶotrān name for frankincense is *šēre hom di-šāḥen*. Al-Hamdānī speaks (*op. cit.*, p. 51, 53) of the SoĶotrān species of myrrh as does MuĶaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 98 (cf. Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 380, 384). Al-Hamdānī reports that the aloe is plentiful (p. 53); the SoĶotrān kind is said to be the best of all and was a special article of commerce (cf. also *Kāmūs* and *Tāǧ*, s.v.; on similar testimony of al-Nuwairī, Ibn Sina, etc., cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge, S.B.P.M.S. Erl.*, 1916, xlviii., p. 20). The native name for the aloe *socotrina* according to Wellsted is *tayof*, more correctly *taif* in Bent, p. 381; *taif* in Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 4, i.e. *taif* according to D. H. Müller, the Arabic *subal*. Bent saw a very fine quality in great quantities (p. 344, 377; cf. Wellsted, *Report*, p. 143, etc.). On localities where the aloe *Perryi Bak.* grows, see Vierhapper, *op. cit.*, p. 336; on the method of getting the resin Bent, p. 381 (cf. Wiedemann from al-Nuwairī, *op. cit.*). Aloes are still exported from SoĶotrā, although not to so great an extent as before (Bent, *op. cit.*; cf. Wellsted, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 42; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, p. 163 sq.; cf. also C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 284). — The finding on SoĶotrā of the dragon-tree, *Draco Kinnabari*, from the resin of which dragon's blood is obtained, as is mentioned by Pliny (13, 7; 33, 115 sq.), recalls the testimony of the *Periplus*, p. 30, that on the island, the so-called Indian dragon's blood (κιννάβαρι το λεγόμενον Ἰνδικόν) flourishes, which is collected on the trees in the

form of tears. On the dragon's blood in Sokotrā, which is mentioned for example by al-Hamdānī, p. 53 (also the *Kāmūs* and *Tādī*), see Wellsted, *Report*, p. 144; Cruttenden, *op. cit.*; Schweinfurth, p. 624, 38; Bent, p. 344, 379, 384 (see the picture at p. 387); Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 4; especially accurate in Vierhapper, p. 336 *sqq.* with illustration. The Arabic name for the resin is *dam al-akhwain* (*akhawain*, see *Kāmūs*); we also have (vulgar, according to Sprenger, p. 88) *kāṭir* (*al-kāṭir al-makkī* is given in the *Tādī*), the Sokotrān *edah* (*aida*); Wellstedt, *loc. cit.* [who gives *dam khoheil* as the Arabic name]; Bent, p. 379; cf. al-Hamdānī, p. 53), i. e. *idiḥah* in Müller and al-Hamdānī, vi., p. 34 *sq.*; on further names in Nuwairi, see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The description "tear of an Indian tree" from Abū Hanifa al-Dinawari (*ibid.*) recalls the *δάκρυ* of the *Periplus* (see above) and the *δάκρυον* of the frankincense on Panchaia in Diodorus, v. 21 (cf. Dioscurides, i. 23). On the gathering of the resin, see Bent, p. 381 *sq.* The export of dragon's blood from Sokotrā (on which see also the *Kāmūs* and the *Tādī*) has decreased very much in modern times, as it is found also in India and Hadramawt (see the summary of the earlier notices in Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 121).

The population of Sokotrā is estimated at 13,000 Muḥammadans. The people along the coast on the north devote some attention to agriculture; the *Periplus*, 30, records that there is no corn and no wine-grapes on the island; Wellsted, *op. cit.*, p. 146 and Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 620 mention only wild grapes on Sokotrā. With Hamdānī's story (p. 53) that 'anbar is washed upon the coast of Sokotrā, may be compared the account of the gathering of 'anbar in al-Mas'ūdī and in Marco Polo (see Bent p. 344) (on amber on Sokotrā cf. Wellsted, *op. cit.*, p. 160; D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, vi., 109 *sq.*). Of the three towns mentioned in the *Tādī*, Minṣa (described as the residence of the king of al-Zindj) can be found on the maps (Minesha in Bent). Bent describes the customs of the natives (p. 347 *sqq.*). That trade relations existed in early times is evident from the scanty reference in classical authors (*Periplus* and Agatharchides; see above) and the references in the *Kāmūs* and *Tādī*. Bent (p. 346, 357) mentions that Sokotrān butter, now almost the only article of export, is esteemed in the markets of the Arabian coast (Maskat) and East Africa (Zanzibar). We have already mentioned that the export of spices has declined. One obstacle to traffic is the fact that the island, which is exposed to the monsoons, has no bay which would form a safe anchorage all the year round. For this reason and in consequence of its general situation, Sokotrā is shut off from the main traffic-routes of the world and is only used for provisioning by Indian traders and whale-fishers. Tamarida has still the best roadstead; east of it is Bender Deleşa. The east of the island is better watered and has a more vigorous vegetation. It is to this part that the statement refers in the *Periplus*, that the island is rich in water and has (perennial) rivers. In the *Tādī* also the existence of streams is mentioned. Ruins in the east, e. g. at Rās Momi show that there was once a higher culture here.

The Sokotrī language occupies a singular position, a result of the ethnological mixture in the population and is not easy to fit into a linguistic

genealogical table. The statement of Philostorgius (Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 25) that the people of Sokotrā speak Syriac is due to an intelligible misunderstanding, and has nothing to do with the fact that Sokotrī has phonetical analogies with Aramaic. It is connected on the one hand with the two other Mahra languages Mehri and Shḥauri and on the other with the Yemen Arabic but is also markedly different from both. Ibn al-Mudjāwir says that the Mahra used to live in Sokotrā and had a language of their own, which no foreigner would understand (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 91). The contacts with Ethiopic are noteworthy (cf. Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 153; Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 18). Glaser's suggestions, already mentioned (p. 477^b) according to which the language is "Ḥabashi" (*op. cit.*, p. 12), a hypothesis first put forward by him, which means to him sometimes a single language and sometimes a group of languages, are untenable. He even mentions the possibility (p. 24) that the Minaeans, Sabaeans and Katabānians may be descendants of the Phoenicians and explains the Ḥabashi language alleged to survive in Sokotrā as a direct descendant of Phoenician. The language of the Ḥabashat is quite unknown to us. D. H. Müller's explanation that Mehri and Sokotrī are descendants of the old Minaeo Sabaeen language, attacked by Glaser (p. 18) or that Sokotrī has evolved from Mehri (*op. cit.*, vi., p. 372) certainly requires modification. There is a wealth of linguistic material in M. Bittner's monographs: *Charakteristik der Sprache der Insel Sokotra*, in *Anz. Wien*, 1918, N^o. viii.; *Vorstudien zur Grammatik und zum Wörterbuche der Sokotrī-Sprache*, i., S. B. A. K., Wien, clxxiii. 4, 193; ii., *ibid.*, clxxxvi. 4, 1918; (also studies on Mehri and Shḥauri, *ibid.*, clxii., 1909 *sqq.* [in greater detail in his *Charakteristik*, p. 48, note 2]). He characterises Sokotrī as a sister of the two other Mahra languages (cf. D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, vi., p. x.). Sokotrī, as spoken by the Beduins, who have lived from the hills from early times, may be the form in which the dialect of the original inhabitants has survived, which, probably coming from South Arabia, was related to the contemporary forms of Mehri and Shḥauri and formed a linguistic group with these alongside of which may be placed the Minaeo-Sabaeen as a sister language in South Arabia. The combination of original elements, of the strictly Sokotrān with the Mahri and Arabic to form a single language, may also however be interpreted as an isolated trace of the migration of an old language of South Arabia to Abyssinia.

Small fragments of inscriptions had already been noticed by Wellsted; Riebeck and Schweinfurth (in his diary) had copied some (those of Eriosh) (see Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 184). A rock inscription at Ḳalansiya was said by Bent (p. 351) to be late Ḥimyar or Ethiopic; the reproduction of his copy (Pl. iv. of the "Appendices") clearly shows Sabaeen forms of letters. The script of the graffiti at Eriosh, which Riebeck had thought Greek is, according to Bent (p. 354), Ethiopic. The camel-brands which he copied (also reproduced in the Appendix) are obviously Sabaeen.

Geographically Sokotrā belongs to North East Africa, but politically it has always gone with Arabia. In this respect the island has changed little in the course of centuries (Bent, p. 345, 392). The linguistic conditions suggest close connections

with Mahra. In the time of the *Periplus* (see SABA², p. 9) it was dependent on the king of Ḥaḍramawt, the lord of the land of frankincense (see above, p. 496b). Sabbathā, his capital (= Shabwat) was wrongly explained by C. Landberg, *Arabica*, Leiden 1898, v., p. 239, as Sabta in the Wādī Djerdān; M. Hartmann's assertion (*Die arabische Frage*, in *Der islamische Orient*, ii., Berlin 1900, p. 434): "The statement in § 31 of the *Periplus* that Soğotrā, like Azania, is subject to Charibaēl is significant", is incorrect as the unambiguous language of the *Periplus* shows in what respect the dependence of Azania on Charibaēl is compared with the dependence of Soğotrā on Eleazos. C. Müller was also wrong in his note on Soğotrā (map xi. and xiii. of his Atlas to the *Geographi Graeci Minores*): "Charibaēli subjecta". On the relation of Eleazos to the Sabaeo-Himyār kingdom, it may be deduced from the *Periplus* that Eleazos reigned independently in Ḥaḍramawt, the kingdom adjoining Saba². In modern times it has again been erroneously deduced from the statements of Pliny, vi. 154; xii. 52, supported by an erroneous textual emendation, Sara for Saba in Pliny (cf. SABA², p. 6) that Ḥaḍramawt, which according to the inscriptions of Saba² was independent, soon lost its independence; for in Pliny the Atramiatae (i. e. Ḥaḍramōitae) are described as a province of the Sabaeans. The truth is just the reverse. From the time of Juba, Ḥaḍramawt was liberated from Sabaeen suzerainty and in the *Periplus* Ḥaḍramawt is under its own king, who acted independently, on equality with the king of the Himyārs (cf. the article SABA² in *R. E.*, col. 1475). Eleazos had, according to *Periplus* 31, farmed out the revenues of the island and placed a garrison on it, perhaps against the Himyārs (Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 186).

Arab merchants are still, as in the days of the *Periplus*, busy on Soğotrā and also in Zanzibar. Yaḳūt like the *Periplus*, talks of Arab predominance in the island, and we can say the island was under the influence of Arabian culture down to the sixteenth century. The island was little known down to modern times on account of its position and lack of harbours. In the middle ages, it was notorious as a nest of pirates (cf. also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa quoted in Bent, p. 344). The first contact with Europe was the Portuguese occupation in 1507 but this was not permanent. The Imām of Maṣṣāṭ for a long period extended his suzerainty over the island and later the Sultān of Ḳiṣhm. In the xviii century Christian missionaries were working there. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Wahhābī movement swept over the peaceful island also. As late as 1834, E. Roberts (*Embassy to the Eastern Courts* etc., New York, 1837, p. 361) agreeing with Wellsted, *Travels*, i., p. 51, testifies to the political and economic dependence of Soğotrā on the Imām of 'Omān. In 1835 English influence was felt for a short period when the East India Company erected a coaling-station here. This was abandoned when the English occupied 'Aden in 1838. In 1876 for political reasons, English interest in the island was revived and the British government made a treaty with the suzerain of the island, the Sultān of Ḳiṣhm, securing it as a sphere of influence. The Sultān living on the island was a relative of the Sultān of Ḳiṣhm. In 1886, Soğotrā became an English protectorate as a dependency of 'Aden and belongs to the Indian province of Bombay.

Bibliography: The names of the principal books and pamphlets (Wellsted, Bent, Schweinfurth, D. H. Müller, Glaser, Bittner, Kossmat, Forbes) are, along with the scattered references in the Arabic geographers and lexicons, given with detailed references in the text of the article. There is also for the earliest information: Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1903, p. 406 sqq.; for the Portuguese period *Commentarios do grande Afonso d'Albuquerque* [1557], (*Commentaries ... translated* by) W. de G. Birch, London 1875—1884, passim; for the period at the beginning of the xviii century, the account of the French expedition to Yemen in 1708 in *Viaggio nell' Arabia Felice*, Venice 1721 (J. de la Rocque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse*, Paris 1716, p. 222 sqq.). A good bibliography down to his day is given by J. Jackson, *Socotra, Notes bibliographiques*, Paris 1892. We may also mention the section Νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες of the article SABA² in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, s. v., col. 1402 sqq., and in addition to the purely geological literature: F. Kossmat, *Vorläufiger Bericht der geologischen Untersuchungen in Socotra*, S. B. Ak. Wien, *mathem.-naturw. Kl.*, clxxxix. 9, 1894, p. 73 sqq.; H. O. Forbes, *The English Expedition to Socotra*, in *The Geogr. Journal*, London 1899, xiii. 6, p. 633 sq.; I. W. Gregory, *A Note on the Geology of Socotra*, in *Geolog. Magazine*, London 1899, vol. vi., p. 529 sq. — Of the already mentioned collected volume lxxi. of the *Denkschriften Ak. Wien* (presented 1901—1906) the following articles deal with Soğotrā, F. Kossmat, *Geologie der Insel Socotra*, p. 1 sqq. (with map, the topography of which is based on the Admiralty chart founded on Haines' and Wellsted's observations and Balfour's map, but the orography of which is based on the author's own observations); A. Pelikan, *Petrographische Untersuchungen*, p. 63 sqq.; I. Steiner, *Bearbeitung der .. auf Socotra ... gefundenen Flechten*, p. 93 sqq.; F. Kohl, *Hymenopteren auf Socotra*, p. 123 sqq.; F. Vierhapper, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Flora Südarabiens und der Inseln Socotra, Semha und 'Abd el-Kūri*, p. 321 sqq. In this connection may be mentioned Wettstein in *Vegetationsbilder*, ser. 3, part v., Jena 1906. The article SOĞOTRĀ in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. II, 1911, with special reference to physical, geological, climatological, zoological and botanical conditions is based for the most part on Forbes. — *The Pilot of the Gulf of Aden* contains accurate geographical details (on it and on A. Jahn's, *Itinerar*, see Kossmat, *op. cit.*, p. 9). Finally see also the article MAHRA.

(J. TKATSCHE)

ŞOLAK was the name, in the old military organisation of the Ottoman Empire, of the archers of the Sultān's bodyguard. The word şolak is an old Turkish word meaning "left-handed". The relation of this meaning to that of archer is not quite clear. The şolaks belonged to the Janissaries, of which they formed four orta's (60th-63rd), each of 100 men under the command of a Şolak Başlı, and two lieutenants (*rekiab şolaghı*). They were, however, used exclusively as bodyguards, a duty they shared with the *peik's* [q. v.]. They had the same uniform as the Janissaries, except that they wore a cap (*uskiuf*) with a long plume on the top. The şolaks always went on foot and surrounded the sovereign whom they also accompanied to war.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1820, iii., p. 90, 291; von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 50, 210; Ricaut, *Histoire de l'Etat de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 345; Ahmad Djawād, *Ta'rikh-i 'Askar-i 'Othmānī*, Constantinople 1897; A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1913, p. 129.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

ŞOLAKZĀDE, an Ottoman historian. His real name was Mehmed and his *makhlas* Hemdemî. He seems to have been the son of a *şolak* and was born in Stambul. Not much is known of his life. He probably adopted an official career. He is said to have died in 1068 (1657/1658). On account of his musical abilities he was called *mişkālî* (also *mithkālî*) from *mişkāl*, *mithkāl* (a kind of shepherd's pipe); cf. Ewliyā, *Siyāhetnāma*, i. 446, 509, 636 (passages, of which the second at least must refer to the historian).

Mehmed Şolakzāde was the author of a condensed history of the Ottoman empire, which he wrote during the reign of Sulţān Mehmed IV. The existing manuscripts as a rule come down to 1054. The work was originally called *Fihrist-i Şāhān*. It had a wide circulation on account of its succinct and very lucid style and is still a popular book. It cannot however claim to be valuable as an independent historical source, except for the reign of Murād IV. Continuations were made by Sirrî Efendî (d. 1142 = 1729) and by Munif Pasha. The book was printed at Stambul in 1297 (1880), 6 + 12 + 773 p., 8°. An earlier lithographed edition (1271 = 1854) was never completed. On the manuscripts of the work see F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* (Leipzig 1927), p. 203 sq.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 424 (Hemdemî); Djemāl al-Dīn, *Ainā-i Zurefā*, p. 35 sq.; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv. 171; Brusālî Mehmed Tahîr, *Othmanî Mî'ellîfîlerî*, iii. 80; F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 203 sq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

SOLIMAN. [See SULAIMĀN.]

ŞÖMĀI, a Kurdish district in Persia near the Turkish frontier. In Kurdish, *şömāi* means "view" (cf. in Persian *sūma*, "terminus, finis, scopus", Vullers, ii. 352). To the north Şömāi is separated from the basin of the Zola-çai (Shepirān, Salmās, q. v.) by the mountains of Bere-dî, Undjalîk and Aghwān; on the east the canton of Anzal separates it from Lake Urmia; to the south-east lies the Shaikh-Bāzîd range, to the south the canton of Brādöst; to the S.W. the peak of Kotûl; towards the west the ravine of Bānegā runs into the interior of Turkish territory (the Turkish cantons of Bāzîrgā and Gewer). Şömāi is sometimes used to include the cantons of Shepirān and Anzal-i Bālā.

Şömāi is watered by the northern tributaries of the Nāzlu-çai, several of which drain the main valley and one (Hasanî, Berdük) comes from the ravine of Bānegā. They unite east of Berdük, flow towards Brādöst, where they are joined by the tributary from the valley of Bāzîrgā and then, joining the Nāzlu-çai, enter the lake north-east of the plain of Urmia [q. v.].

According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, Şömāi and Brādöst were at first governed by scions of the Kurd

Hasanōya dynasty (Hasanwaihids) who had taken refuge in the north after the defeat which the Būyîd Şhams al-Dawla had inflicted in 405 (1014) on Hilāl b. Badr [q. v.]. At the beginning of the xvth century, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions a member of the family, Ghāzî-kīrān b. Sulţān Aḥmad, who for his exploits was granted by Shāh Ismā'îl the cantons of Şömāi, Tergever and Döl but later went over to Sulţān Selim. His descendants, who were under the wālî of Wān, broke up into various branches. The last mir of Şömāi mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma* is Awliyā Beg (from 985 = 1577).

When in 1065 (1654) Ewliyā Çelebi [q. v.] visited the country between Wān and Urmia, the strong castle of Ghāzî-kīrān still stood on a cliff commanding the plain of Urmia, while the western part of Şömāi was occupied by the Pinyānîsh tribe (which now lives in Turkish territory in the kâdās of Gewer and Albak). The lord of Berdük was called Çolak ("the one-armed") Mir 'Azîz; the strong castle stood some distance below (*ash-gha*) Kāl'a-i Pinyānîsh, which may be identified with Bānegā (3—4 miles above Berdük).

It is not very clear whether the mirs of Şömāi who, shortly after the visit of Ewliyā Çelebi, erected several curious monuments were of the same tribe of Pinyānîsh. At Berdük is a mosque of white and black stone and a cemetery with the tomb of Nazar Beg, son of Ghāzî Beg (d. 1071 = 1660). His son Sulţān Taķî Sulţān, whose title shows that he had consolidated the power — for *sulţānîk* means a fief for which one has received investiture — built the very imposing and picturesque castle near Bānegā. A reconstruction of the old Kāl'a-i Pinyānîsh probably also dates from his time (1078 = 1667). On a rock at the entrance to the tower can still be seen the remains of a rudely carved inscription *şāhib mālîk — Sulţān Murād bin Sulţān* — (?). Below the fort is an 'ibādāt-khāna built by a certain Zāl-i 'Adil (1103 = 1691?) and a mosque. The style of these buildings recalls that of the castle of Maḥmūdî (Khoshāb) east of Wān (cf. Binder, p. 126—128). — In 1136 (1736) the hereditary chief of the sandjak of Şömāi, Khātîm Khān, as a reward for his services, received from the Ottoman government the adjacent cantons of Salmās [q. v.], Kerdkāzān (?), Karabāgh and Anzal (cf. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.* 2, iv. 211).

In the sixth century the Shakāk [q. v.], encouraged by the Persians gradually occupied Şömāi. According to Darwish Pasha, Bānegā was destroyed by 'Alî Āghā Shakāk (about 1257 = 1841).

In 1851 Cirikow was still able to speak of a "hereditary ruler of Şömāi", Parrow Khān, who had also seized Brādöst. In 1893 the Shakāk killed at Gunbad the last representative of the family of mirs, a certain Kīlîdj-Khān.

Among the antiquities of Şömāi may be mentioned: 1. the citadel of Zandjir-kāl'a (between Şömāi and Salmās, q. v.) which must correspond to the "Shaddādî" building of Karnî-yarîk, mentioned by Ewliyā Çelebi (iv. 281) the name of which (*alias* Farḥād-kaḥu) is found in Blau, *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1863, p. 201—210; 2. a chamber carved out of the rock on Mount Kotûl; 3. similar chambers where the Nāzlu-çai enters the plain of Urmia. All these monuments must date from the Vannic period (cf. Minorovsky, *Kelashin*, in the *Zapiski*, 1917, xxiv., p. 190).

Bibliography: Sharaf-nāma, i. 296—300; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyāhet-nāmesi*, Stambul 1315, iv. 277—283; Derwish Pāshā, *Rapport officiel du commissaire pour la délimitation turco-persane en 1269/1852*, publ. without title, Stambul, Matba'a-i 'āmiri, 1286, reprint, Stambul 1321; Ćirikow, *Putewoy journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 573—575; H. Binder, *Aus Kurdistan*, Paris 1887, p. 108—112; V. Minor sky, *Material' po Wostoku*, ii. 477. (V. MINORSKY)

SOMALILAND, a large country in East Africa inhabited by the Somalis.

a) Geographical outline. Somaliland comprises the borders of the Ethiopian plateau declining eastward to the Gulf of 'Aden and southward to the Indian Ocean.

In the basin of the Gulf of 'Aden in front of the eastern edge of the plateau at a short distance from the shore there is a range of rocky and barren hills (the highest elevation of the range seems to be about 6,000 feet); among them the characteristic Būr Naso Hablōd "girl's breasts hills" and the Hadaftimo. This range running in a line almost parallel to the coast of the Gulf of 'Aden drops into the Indian Ocean at the promontories of Guardafui (Ra's 'Asīr) and Hāfūn. Beyond this range of hills it rises gradually to the Ethiopian plateau, which further is in its southern portion furrowed by the upper valleys of the Shabēlla and Djub rivers. The country, owing to its features, is divided by the natives into three regions: the *gūban* (literally: burnt land) that is the region of the sand-banks and dunes on the coast with a torrid climate, only fit for pasturage for a few months during and after the rains; the *ōgo* (literally: upper land) that is the region of the aforesaid hills with a more temperate climate, but still of little value for agricultural purposes; the region of the *tog* ("torrents") that is the valley between the hills and the plateau, into which flow the streams springing from both sides of the depression and form thus northward the Tog Dēr "the deep torrent" and southwards the Tog Nūgāl. This is the best zone of Northern Somaliland particularly fit for cattle and horse-rearing. Even more to the interior, westwards of the *tog* zone, the Somali portion of the Ethiopian plateau is inhabited by the Ogadēn, a tribe whose name probably means etymologically "those of the plateau". On the side of the Indian Ocean, however, the country is very different from the northern regions; the plateau in its southern portion does not fall rapidly towards the sea but slopes gradually and its furthest spurs are 200—300 miles from the coast; then its waters do not form short torrents but great rivers which flow, not only in some seasons, but throughout the whole year although with a variable level.

The Somali natives distinguish here four regions, which are found in the following order by the traveller going from the coast of the Ocean to the interior: firstly the movable sandbanks (Somali: *ba'ad*) on the shore; then the hills or short plains of white and hardly consolidated sand (Somali: '*arra* 'ad "white land"); next the flinty red sand covered with jungle, in the most part of acacia-trees (Somali: '*arra* *gudud* "red land"); then along the rivers the strip of alluvial ground (Somali: '*arra* *madō* "black land"), comparatively rich in fertile humus, a country particularly suitable for agriculture.

In the region between the Djub and the great lower bend of the Shabēlla there is, after the aforesaid "black land", another vast zone of "red land", called by the natives *dōy*, which is the most rich in pasturages in Southern Somaliland. Across the *dōy* from North East to South West runs a range of granitic hills which from the borders of the Shabēlla's basin reaches at Būr Mēldāk to the borders of Djub's valley. Beyond the *dōy*, even more in the inland, are found the "black land" regions of Būr Hakkaba and the Baiḍowa plateau (1,100 feet). Thence the ground rises gradually as far as the zone of Bokkol wells near the boundaries of Ogadēn.

River system. The high flood of both Somali great rivers and the average volume of their waters depend closely on the rains falling on Ethiopian plateau and are only very slightly influenced by local rains of Somaliland. High floods take place twice in the year according to the light and heavy rainy seasons in southern Abyssinia. This is a favourable circumstance to agriculture, because Abyssinian heavy rains fall during the months June 15—September 15, which are on the contrary the most severe dry seasons in Somaliland; and in this way the high flood and sometimes the overflowing of the rivers can be considered, at least by some tribes, as a compensation for the damages of the Somali summer.

The river known as Juba in European maps and as Djub by the Arabs is called by the Somali Wēbi Ganāna, which is really a double name, as *ganān* or *ganāl* means precisely river in Galla Borana dialects and in some Sidama languages (the name is grammatically a plural according to the common rule of Kūshitic languages that all the names of liquid substances may be used only as plural).

The other Somali river, called Shebeli in European maps, is known by the neighbouring natives as Wēbi-ga "the river". The name Shebeli was given to this river probably because the Ogadēn natives designated it to the first travellers coming from the coast of the Gulf of 'Aden as Wēbi Shabēlla "the river of the Shabēlla region" that is the river passing through Shabēlla, the most wealthy and best known country crossed by this river in its upper valley. Then the usual translation of the name "the river of the leopards" must be corrected to "the river of the leopards' country" (Shabēlla means literally "where there are leopards").

The most common kind of vegetation is the jungle of thorny acacias, less dense in white lands than in red lands; high trees, especially sycamores, are found on the rivers and form sometimes little forests in a stretch of about one mile on both sides of the rivers. Sorghum *dura* (Somali: *misingo*) and Indian corn (*gallay*) are cultivated in black lands; *dura*, millet (*wāmba*) in red and white lands; sesame and in a few districts sweet (American) potatoes (Somali: *batāto*) and manioc (Somali: *makhōg*); cotton and sugar-cane in European settlements (the most important of those are the S.A.I.S. settlements founded by H. R. H. the Duke of the Abruzzi, Luigi of Savoy and the Djināla settlements established by Count De Vecchi). The general physical formation of Somaliland described above has been in past times very useful to defend the natives against foreign invaders, because one must pass, before reaching the only zone economically

valuable, that is the black lands, through the sandy desert of the coast and then the jungle of the red lands, where the characteristic Bedouin skirmishing by ambush and ruse is strongly helped by the same natural feature of the ground.

b) Political divisions. Somaliland is now divided into:

I. French Somaliland, officially known as Côte Française des Somalis (5,790 square miles; 65,000 inhabitants), is administered by a civil governor. Its boundaries are determined: with Italian Eritrea under the Franco-Italian protocols of January 24, 1900 and July 10, 1901; with British Somaliland by the Anglo-French agreement of February 2 and 9, 1888; with Abyssinia by the Franco-Abyssinian convention of March 20, 1897. In spite of its name only the southern portion of the Colony is inhabited by Somali, the northern regions being inhabited by Danakil. The capital is Djibuti (8,500 inhabitants), a port of considerable traffic, especially on account of the French railway Djibuti-Addis-Ababa.

II. British Somaliland Protectorate (68,000 square miles; 300,000 inhabitants) administered by a civil Governor. Its boundaries are determined: with French Somaliland by the aforesaid agreement; with Abyssinia by the British-Abyssinian protocols of May 14 and June 4, 1897; with Italian Somaliland by the Anglo-Italian arrangement of May 5, 1894. The capital is Berbera (30,000 inhabitants).

III. Italian Somaliland (140,000 square miles; 650,000 inhabitants). The Colony, administered by a civil Governor, is divided into: Northern Italian Somaliland, viz. the protectorates of the two Somali sultanates of the Madjertēn and Hobya, and southern Somaliland, formerly known as Banādir. The boundaries with British Somaliland are determined by the aforesaid agreement; with Abyssinia by the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of May 16, 1908; with Italian Oltre-Giuba by the river Djub. The capital is Maqdishū (21,000 inhabitants).

IV. Italian Oltre-Giuba, "Beyond the Djub" (25,000 square miles; 90,000 inhabitants). This is the territory granted by Great Britain to Italy under the treaty of July 15, 1924. The capital is Kismāyū (12,000 inhabitants). But this territory has now been annexed wholly to the Colony of Italian Somaliland and has been administered by the same governor since June 30, 1926.

V. Abyssinian Somaliland, that is Ogadēn. It is divided in two fiefs: the former comprises the upper valley of the Shabēlla and depends on the feudatory of Harar (who is actually Rās Tafari, the Heir Apparent of the Abyssinian throne); the latter comprises the basin of the Djub and depends on the feudatory of Konsō territory, who actually is Fitāwārī Habta Giyorgis.

VI. Kenya Colony: The districts of Tanaland and Northern Frontier and that portion of the late Jubaland that has not been granted to Italy have a Somali nomadic population of shepherds.

c) Ethnography. The Somali may be divided in three groups: Northern Somali, who are called by the others Edji; Hawiya; Sab.

The northern Somali, the greatest group, are divided in: Isāk, Dir, Dārōd. The Dir, who according to some tradition should be the first Northern Somali group immigrated in the region actually called Somaliland, are now dispersed in the whole Somali territory, probably as they were driven out by subsequent invaders. The Dir

have sent forth to the following tribes: the Isā in French Somaliland, the Bimāl in Italian Somaliland, the Faḳī Muḥammad in the middle valley of the Shabēlla near the boundaries between Italian Somaliland and Ogadēn. Besides those tribes, little groups of Dir families living with more numerous tribes of other origin are found in Ogadēn, in Italian Northern Somaliland, in Oltre-Giuba.

The Isāk inhabit the western portion of British Somaliland and the market-places on that coast: Zeila (Arabic: Zailā; Somali: Awdal; Galla: Afdali), Berbera and Bulahār. Their principal tribes are the Habar Auwal, Habar Yūnis, Habar Dja'lo, Habar Garhadjis. Isāk groups live also in Oltre-Giuba, especially retired clerks of the British colonial Administration with their families; another larger Isāk group is in 'Aden, where they are for the most part workmen or boatmen in the port.

The Dārōd, traditionally enemies of the Isāk, are the most numerous Somali group. They inhabit the eastern portion of British Somaliland; northern Italian Somaliland; "Oltre-Giuba"; the Somali districts in Kenya Colony, and almost the whole Somali zone of the Ethiopic plateau. The principal Dārōd groups are: 1) the Kablallah, who are divided into Komba and Kūmada. The Komba comprise the Geri Komba tribe, living in the neighbourhood of Harar, and the ancient federation of the Harti tribes that is: the Madjertēn, who inhabit the whole Northern Italian Somaliland; the Warsangali, and the Dūlbahanta, who occupy the eastern portion of British Somaliland, and the Dishisha, who live with the Madjertēn. The Kūmada comprise, besides the little groups Galimēs, Waitēn, Bal'ad and Djidwāk, the great tribe of Ogadēn, and then occupy the most part of Abyssinian Somaliland and the central regions of Oltre-Giuba. 2) Another Dārōd group is the Sadda, whose principal tribe is the Marrehān inhabiting a portion of Northern Italian Somaliland and the northern regions of Oltre-Giuba. Dārōd families (Madjertēn) have occupied the little islands of Bakā and Abbā Gubbā in Italian Dankalia (Eritrea).

The Hawiya inhabit the whole valley of the Shabēlla, in Italian and Abyssinian Somaliland. According to the local tradition, the Hawiya were preceded in their present territory by the Adjurān, a tribe of kindred origin, who probably were the first group to migrate towards the river. The Adjurān are now dispersed and divided into four principal groups: the first living with their freedmen at the boundaries between Italian and Abyssinian Somaliland; the second in the low valley of the Shabēlla, South of Afgōy; the third near the Djub in the territory of Bārḍera; the fourth in Kenya Colony, Northern Frontier district. The region inhabited by the first group is called Shabēlla (see above); as the Adjurān are there proportionately few in number the most part of the tribe being former slaves or freedmen, the Ogadēn often call this group the Addōn, viz. the slaves, who have been incorrectly considered by some ethnologists as a Bantu tribe or a Bantu-speaking people. The other principal Hawiya groups are: the Guggundabe, who comprise the tribes Djidla, Djadjēle, Bādi, 'Adda, Gāldja'el, who inhabit South of Shabēlla region as far as Mahaddāy in Italian Southern Somaliland; the Gurgate, who comprise the tribes Habar Gidir, Abgāl (a very numerous group of tribes, as the Wa'esla, the Dā'ūd, the 'Eli, the Maniān, the

Yūsuf, the Agon-yar, the Warsangali Abgāl, the Mōbiḥān, the Wa'dān, the Hillibi; they occupy the zone from the southern boundaries of Guggundābe as far as the Ocean and the Sab territory.

The Sab who inhabit the territory between Hawiyya territory and the Djub are divided into Rahanwēn and another group which took the name of Digil, who was probably the common ancestor of both. The Digil comprise the following principal tribes: Djiddu, Tunni, 'Irola, Dabarra. The Rahanwēn comprise two groups of tribes: the Siyyēd ("the eight") and the Sagāl ("the nine"); the principal tribes are the Elāy, the Lisān, the Haryēn, the Hadāmo, the Lubāy, the Galadi, the Gēlida. While the other Somali tribes are formed on the principle of a common origin from the same ancestor, whose name is generally the name of the tribe, the Rahanwēn tribes are formed, besides a very small group of descendants of Rahanwēn, by families or sections of different origin federated under a common name. Besides those great groups and some tribes of uncertain origin, viz.: Garra, living separately in Southern Somaliland, in Kenya Colony (Northern Frontier district) and in Abyssinian Somaliland (it is to be noted that the two last groups at quite a recent date spoke both Somali and Galla), we must mention: the freedmen, the outcast groups and the population of the towns on the coast. The slaves, for the most part of Bantu origin but now entirely somalized, delivered or escaped from their masters, have formed in some regions tribes like the Shidla in the middle valley of Shabēlla; the Elāy freedmen on the plateau of Baiḍowa, independent from their late masters living in the black lands of Būr Hakkaba; and the so-called Wagōsha in the low valley of the Djub. The outcast groups, that is the groups considered as impure on account of their trades, live with the high caste tribes to whom they are subjected. In Northern Somaliland the low castes have the general name of Sab, which, as we have seen above, is on the contrary in Southern Somaliland the name of a group of tribes. They comprise: the Yibir, magicians; the Midgan, hunters; the Tumal, smiths. Among the Hawiyya the low castes have the general name of Bon, which is really the name of a Bantu population in Kenya Colony; and comprise: the Eila, hunters; the Madarrāla and the Gaggāb, tanners; the Dardow, weavers; the Yaḥar, magicians; the Tumāl and Ḳalmashuba, smiths. By the Sab the low castes are: the Ribī, hunters; the Warabay, smiths.

The towns on the coast are inhabited by groups of the Somali tribes of the inland and by families now somalized but of the most varied origin, for the most part Arab immigrants to Somaliland or Bantu; some families would claim Persian origin and there are traditions on the origin from Madagascar of other few families.

d) Language. Somali is a language belonging, to the Kushiitic family, to the group called by Reinisch "low Kushiitic" and thus akin to Saho-Afar, Beḍawiye and Galla languages. Somali, which during its history has been less influenced than Galla by non-Kushiitic languages, has not received in its phonetic system the typical consonantic sounds followed by glottal occlusion, the true consonantic diphthongs which are common to Galla, to some Sidāma dialects and have been admitted — although in a different measure — in the modern

Semitic languages of Abyssinia. *Ḳ* is therefore in Somali a velar explosive pronounced as in Arabic; *ḡ* is praecacuminalis and is dialectically liable to be changed into *r* *ʔ*. It is also to be remarked that there is in Somali a very wide tendency to palatalisation from the influence not only of the vowels *e* *i* but also of the liquid *l* as in the case of the feminine article *-la* and the suffix of the reflexive form *-l*, which are palatalised in *-sha* *-sh*, when preceded by *l* final of the nouns or verbs (*lsha*, *lsh* being successively changed in *sha*, *sh* by assimilation). While other Somali dialects have kept the laryngals *h* *ʕ*, the Sab dialect has changed *h* in *h* and *ʕ* in *ʔ*. As to morphology there are found in Somali both kinds of conjugations used in Kushiitic, viz. by praefixes and suffixes or by suffixes only, while on the contrary Galla has kept only the second kind. But on the other side it appears by comparing Somali and Afar-Saho that in the latter language the conjugation by prefixes and suffixes is more frequent than the other (perhaps on account of the strong influence of the neighbouring Semitic languages), while Somali has kept typically the aforesaid conjugation by prefixes and suffixes only in five verbs (which, however, express the most common ideas) that is: to be, to be there, to know, to come, to say. It is noteworthy that already in Hawiyya and Sab dialects two of those verbs are found used in both kinds of conjugation. Somali syntax (as there is not a declension of the nouns and especially on account of the use of the prepositions which are not placed before or after the noun, but are all put before the verb at the end of the phrase) gives to the language peculiar characters and causes it to be in some degree difficult to foreigners. For instance our phrase: "the camel and the horse were bound with this rope" is translated: *hareggan rattiga iyyo faraska ā lo gu ka la heray*, that is literally: "this rope the camel and the horse they were with-from-by bound" (the group from-by expressing the idea that the two animals were not bound together, but every one with a bit of the rope in question). The genitive case, which is translated in Saho-Afar by placing the word meaning the possessed thing before the word meaning the possessor and in Galla, on the contrary, by placing the word meaning the possessor before that meaning the possessed thing, is translated in Somali by the same way as in Galla or more frequently by placing before firstly the name of the thing followed by the master's name with the possessive adjective; for instance: "Umar's house" may be translated literally: "the house 'Umar" or "Umar his house".

The Somali dialects are distinguished, according to the ethnic divisions, in the groups Isāk, Dārōd, Hawiyya, Sab. Isāk dialects have kept the originary *ḡ* praecacuminalis; they form the durative verbs with the suffix *-ay*; they distinguish in the pronouns two first plural persons: "we" inclusive (that is: who speaks and who hears) and "we" exclusive (that is: who speaks and another person). Dārōd dialects change *ḡ* praecacuminalis when placed between two vowels in *r* (Ogadēn dialect) or *r* (Madjertēn dialect); their durative verbs are formed with the suffix *-hay*; they have also kept the aforesaid two "we". Hawiyya dialects change *ḡ* intervocalic in *r*; they form their durative verbs with the infinitive mood followed by the verb *hay*; they have not

the double "we". Sab dialects have changed, as we have said above, *h* into *h* and 'in'; they have kept the *modus relativus* in *-aw*, which has been changed in the *jussivus* in *-o* in other Somali dialects; the negative imperative is formed by the prefix *-in-* followed by the verb with the suffix *-oy* (in the other dialects it is used in this case the prefix *ha-* followed by the verb with the suffix *-in*).

As to vocabulary, Somali has been very little influenced by Arabic, and even Arabic loan-words, when received, have been wholly assimilated according to Somali phonetical rules; neither had Galla, if we consider the common origin, a great influence on Somali, except perhaps Sab dialects; we may, however, find in the Somali lexicon some evidence that the Somali and the Sidāmā were neighbours before the great Galla invasion.

c) History. Although the native legends may have islāmicized Somali history by tracing their origin from 'Aḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib, cousin of the Prophet, and whatever may be thought — on the other side — about the question whether Hamitic populations may have come in Africa from Asia, there is however no doubt that the Somali occupied their present territory by various and subsequent invasions of groups following and pushing on one each other, but all starting from the African coast of the Gulf of 'Aden. Thence came the Dir, expelled by other Somali invaders, and a portion of them through Ogadēn and the region between Djub and Shabēlla reached the low valley of the latter river giving origin to the Bimāl tribe. From the Gulf of 'Aden came the Sab, who went first to the valley of the Djūb and going down from the plateau along the valley of the Wēb advanced abruptly to East from the neighbourhood of Mārilla and invaded their present countries, fighting against the Wardāy that is a Galla tribe. From the aforesaid Northern coast departed Isāk and Dārōd to conquer their seats by driving away the Dir and the Galla. From northern regions came the Hawiya, who at first stopped North of Marēg; while their brothers Adjūrān subdued the Shabēlla's valley against Galla and Djiddu; but then the same Hawiya advanced to the river and scattered the Adjūrān. Therefore we may distinguish in the history of the occupation of the Somali territory two periods: the wars against the Galla, and then the wars among the Somali groups themselves fighting one other to conquer the best lands. But a most interesting written tradition (of which I have been able to get a MS. in Arabic) tells of the war that was fought before those told in Somali legends; that is the war between the Galla invaders and the Zandj (viz: the Bantu populations) inhabiting the basin of the Djub. The series of the occupiers of Somaliland may be, of course, thus traced: Negroes (Bantu) then Kushites Galla; then Kushites Somali.

While these tribes successively occupied the interior, the zone along the seashore has been many centuries in close commercial relations with Arabia; this trade, which had already begun with the commercial colonies of the South Arabic kingdom (see HIMYAR) became even more intensive in the Muslim period. Results of this Arabic colonisation were the two little states of Zaila^c and Maḳdishū, formed and ruled generally by local dynasties of somalized Arabs or Somali strongly influenced by Arabic culture. The kingdom

of Zaila^c which was prospering from the xivth century A.D. could live and thrive on account of the trade of the inland, where it was supported by the many Muslim states of the Southern Abyssinia, till its strength was exhausted during the great war fought against Abyssinia under the command of Grāñ (q.v.; cf. also ABYSSINIA; HARAR; ZAILA^c). Maḳdishū, however, had only a short period of prosperity in the xivth century A.D.; then almost rapidly began its decline, as its population was not able to overcome the resistance of the Somali Bedouins inhabiting the interior. Through various vicissitudes Maḳdishū continued to be independent under the dynasty of the Muḡhaffar till the xvth century; in the xviith century it was occupied by the Imām of 'Omān, who after few years left the whole coast called Banādir with Maḳdishū to its inhabitants, insisting only that they recognize him as their sovereign. When the state of Maḳṣat was divided into the Sultanate of 'Omān and the Sultanate of Zanzibār (that is at the beginnings of the xixth century), Maḳdishū was allotted to Zanzibār, and then the Sulṭāns tried to get a more real dominion there by establishing a wālī with garrisons of soldiers in Maḳdishū, Marka, Brāwā, but after a short period of rule (sixty years about) Zanzibār sold those towns to Italy.

Nevertheless in the interior the Somali tribes had during many centuries enjoyed a full independence. Somali traditions have not kept any remembrance of the great Galla invasion in Abyssinia, which divided in the xvth century the Somali from the Sidāmā and separated them from those little centres of culture. There is however to be considered the hypothesis that vestiges of a culture superior to the present Somali culture which are found in some inland regions and are referred by the natives to the Adjūrān or the Madinle, may have been rather the work of Somali already in close touch with the Arabs of the Southern coast rather than of natives influenced by the culture of the Sidāmā states of the North.

The interior of Somaliland remained thus independent till the end of the xixth century, when France (in 1884), Britain (in 1884), and Italy (in 1889) occupied their present Colonies.

f) Islām. The Somali are all Muslims and follow the *madhhab* of Shāfi'ī. Neither the Imām of Maḳṣat nor the Sulṭāns of Zanzibār during their short rule on the Somali coast had in any way propagated their Ibāḳite views among Somali peoples; therefore since the Sulṭān's wālī retired from Somaliland there has not been any vestige of Ibāḳism. Among the Arabs recently migrated to Somaliland as soldiers (*askarī*) or workmen in European settlements there may be found a few Zaidites, who, however, generally do not publicly profess their faith.

The diversity of formation and historical vicissitudes between the populations of the seashore and those of the interior has caused also a different influence of Islām on them. The towns on the coast many centuries in touch with the Arabian centres of Muslim culture and organised as communities of tradesmen, bound together by ties of citizenship and not by tribal relations, have been naturally more easily islāmised than the tribes of the interior independent, hostile and distrustful of the populations of the seashore, and firmly united in their large territory with the bond of the common origin; Islāmic propaganda has been

obliged to struggle there against the ancient paganism and the customary law of the tribes. In this state of affairs the principal support of the diffusion of Islām in the inland has been the organisation of religious brotherhoods. We must then give some information about those three elements of the Somali religious culture: the remains of ancient paganism in the inland, the Islāmic culture on the coast, the religious brotherhoods.

As a remainder of paganism may be regarded the ceremony of the *sār*, perhaps an ancient sacred dance. Natives crowd in a circle and the chorus begins to sing on a special rhythm. One or many among the singers fall fainting away to the ground. The others "beat the *sār*" by singing and striking the hands or clattering with the feet or striking drums and kettle drums. Then the person who has fainted rises little by little from the ground, takes in his hands a dagger, and dances in the circle with the dagger drawn out, till he falls again in a faint; but immediately rises fully recovered. The *sār* is danced also with a burning brand instead of the dagger; among the Sab the dancer goes out of the circle, runs in the jungle near and then comes back showing with loud cries his dagger sprinkled with blood, which is said to be the blood of the genius he has killed. See also the article *zār*.

Another heathen ceremony is the Somali feast of the New Year's day. The Somali have a solar year of 365 days; 7 years form a cycle; every year has the name of a day of the week; every cycle has the name of the most important event happened during it: thus the Hawiya quote *isninta orraḥi madō* the year Monday of the Black Sun (certainly thus named on account of an eclipse); the Sab mention *sabdi farandji* the year Saturday of the European, alluding to the travels of Captain Bottego in their territory. Then the first day of the New Year is celebrated with the *dubshid* a familiar and very popular festival. Every family kindles a bonfire near their hut and the paterfamilias crosses the fire by jumping from one side to another, or hurls his spear through it. Then follow public dances and processions of singing young men and sacrifices.

We must mention here the popular belief in continuation of the material life after death and the necessity of providing food and clothes for the dead by making sacrifices of cattle near the tomb and distributing meat and calicoes to the poor who are said "to cause the food to reach" the dead. Thence arises the custom of fixing in testaments a large share of the inheritance to celebrate those ceremonies ("what one is buried with"); and the affectionate care of the sons and relatives "to sweep the tomb" that is to make those sacrifices from time to time. Other traces of heathen ideas are found in the magical powers of the tribe's hereditary chief, whose eye is to him what the sun was to the ancient Heaven-God of the heathen Kushites. The "hot eye" of the chief gives or takes away cattle's fecundity, causes dearth, cures or causes sickness. Ancient heathen magicians have been replaced by Muslim scholars, although they have kept their name *wadād* and may be also applied to magical practices. Propitiatory blessing is given as in paganism by spitting. The head, the belly and the paws of slaughtered animals are regarded in Somali Islām as impure meat according to heathen Kushitic beliefs.

The Somali names of the Heaven-God (*Ebba* and *Wāk*) are now applied to Allāh; even the heathen genius' name (*gūl*; Galla: *kollō*; Amharic: *kollē*) is used in modern dialects to mean "fortune".

An even more strong resistance has been opposed to Islām by Somali customary law, which is based on a social stage very similar to pre-Islāmic Arabian life and is therefore often in evident contrast to the Muslim law. We may quote here the characteristic precepts about the levirate and the price to be paid by the widow to the late husband's relatives if she desires to marry again with a man other than the brothers of the dead (it is, however, to be remarked that, by the Somali, the sons of the second husband, brother of the dead, are not considered as sons of the first and continuation of his progeny as is the case with the Semites; but on the contrary the first husband's offspring is regarded as sons of the second); the marriage by rape; the blood-money conceived in the Somali mind as a price of redemption of the killer from a right that the crime causes the killed man's relatives to have on the killer's person *ex delicto*; the women excluded from hereditary rights; the outcast groups into which one cannot marry or come in any way in contact with, as they are said to be in a perpetual condition of ritual impurity (*niḡjāsa*) (note the skilful Islāmisation of the ancient custom); exogamy, which may be still found in Northern tribes and the remarkable traces of marriages concluded between two tribes rather than single persons.

On the coast, however, in the centres of Muslim culture, particularly after the recent increase of trade in the second half of the sixteenth century, Muslim scholars' works formed a little local literature written in Arabic specially on mystic subjects. The principal printed works are: *al-Madīmū'a al-Mubāraka* by *Shaiḡh* 'Abdullāh b. Yūsuf, a native of the *Sheḡhāl* group, who has had his work printed in Cairo; and the *Madīmū'at al-Ḳaṣā'id* by *Shaiḡh* Ḳāsim b. Muḡyi 'l-Dīn, a native of Brava (Barāwā). The latter work is only a collection of poems of many Somali authors; *al-Madīmū'a al-Mubāraka* however is formed by five treatises by *Shaiḡh* 'Abdullāh about the *taḡawwuf*; but its real interest is placed in the third and fourth treatise entitled the former *al-Sikkīn al-dhābiḡa 'ala 'l-Kilāb al-nābiḡa*, "the knife that slaughters the barking dogs", and the latter *Naṣr al-Mu'minīn 'ala 'l-Marada al-Mulḡidīn*, "Victory of the believers on the rebellion of the heretics", which contain violent polemics against the *Tāriḡa Ṣāliḡhiya*. Another distinguished Somali scholar was *Shaiḡh* Awēs [Uways] Muḡammad al-Barāwī, who besides two poems published in the aforesaid *Madīmū'at al-Ḳaṣā'id* composed five poems in Somali language which he was the only one to write in the Arabic alphabet; one of those poems is directed against the Mad Mulla's followers. We must also mention *Shaiḡh* 'Abd al-Raḡmān al-Zailā'i, who wrote many mystic poems in Arabic (the most diffuse is the *Sirādji al-'Uḡūl wa 'l-Sarā'ir fi 'l-Tawassul bi-Shaiḡh* 'Abd al-Ḳādir, "Lamp of the minds and the secrets in mystic progress through *Shayḡh* 'Abd al-Ḳādir [al-Gilānī]"). Another Somali scholar is *Shaiḡh* 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. 'Abdallāh a native of the *Shānshia* group in Maḡdishū and commonly known as *Shaiḡh* Ṣūfi; he is the author of the *Shādjarat al-Yaḡīn*, "the tree of the certitude" or *al-Nubḡha*

al-yaqīna fī Mu'jizat al-kābir al-Barīya, "the certain portion of the miracles of the Best among the creatures", published in *al-Madīnāt al-Mubāraka* and very popular in Somali schools of mysticism.

A MS. found in Brawa contains a translation of the *Ḥamziya* by al-Būṣīrī in Suahili verses. It is very probable that further researches may cause other more ancient MS. or Arabo-Somali documents to be found.

Four Muslim brotherhoods are found in Somaliland: the *Ḳādiriya* (see 'ABD AL-ḲĀDIR AL-DJILĪ or GILĀNĪ); the *Aḥmadiya*, that is the followers of the mystic rule of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, died in the first half of the sixteenth century at Ṣabya in 'Asir; the *Ṣālihiya*, which is a more recent branch of the *Aḥmadiya* (its founder and leader was Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who had his seat in Makka and had been a disciple of the Sudanese mystic Ibrāhīm al-Raṣīdī, disciple of Aḥmad b. Idrīs); the *Rifa'iya* following the precepts of Sayid Aḥmad al-Rifa'i. The *Ḳādiriya*, which has among its adherents almost all the scholars mentioned above as authors of mystic works, is the most learned and modernized Somali brotherhood; it has only few settlements and has no economic organisation, but it is more devoted to teaching than to agriculture. The *Ḳādiriya* in Somaliland have been for many years separated from the *Ṣālihiya* by a schism; firstly the polemics had been directed by the *Ḳādiriya* against the Mad Mulla, who had begun his campaigns by proclaiming himself to be a true follower of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (see the art. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABDALLĀH ḤASSĀN); and caused *Shaiḫ* Awēs b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī to be killed by the Mulla's followers in 1327 (1909). The polemics began again, although in a less rough way, after the publication of *Shaiḫ* 'Abdullāh's book (*al-Madīnāt al-Mubāraka*) and of a poem by *Shaiḫ* Ḳāsim Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Barāwī, where the *Ṣālihiya* were offended by the refrain *lakum dīnukum wa-lī dīnī*. The *Ṣālihiya*, on the contrary, have been particularly occupied with obtaining political influence over the tribes and forming, specially on the banks of the rivers, an organisation of agricultural communities. The Mulla's movement, the rebellion of Saiyid Muḥammad Yūsuf against Abyssinia in Wēb's valley in 1917 were led by *Ṣālihiya* leaders. On the other side the "black lands" along the *Shabēlla*'s valley, the best for agriculture but formerly undervalued by Somali Bedouins only applied to cattle rearing, were in many territories the goal of the *Ṣālihiya*'s aim and they were skilful enough to take advantage of contests between the tribes or other political circumstances and thus they have tried to get granted to them by the tribes the best zones for agriculture. The *Aḥmadiya* are less numerous and have been directed like the *Ṣālihiya* to acquire lands, although they generally take more interest in teaching than the *Ṣālihiya*. While the *Ḳādiriya* and the *Aḥmadiya* have not a true hierarchical organisation, the *Ṣālihiya* are in Italian Somaliland led by the chief of the "Zāwiya Miṣra" (in the middle of *Shabēlla*'s valley), who is the vicar of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in the whole region.

Native justice is administered in Italian Somaliland by a Muslim *Ḳādi*, except in the case of certain crimes and cases of political interest. The sentences of the *Ḳādi* begin with this formula: *bismi 'llāhi 'l-raḥmān al-raḥīm innanī aḥkumu bi-shar'at al-Islām bi-istikhlāf al-malik al-ma'azẓam malik*

al-Isṭiṭya etc. "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate. I judge according to the Law of Islām by appointment of the great King, King of Italy etc."

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SONGHOY. The name Songhoi (Songoi) or Songhay was probably applied at first to the part of the valley of the Niger between Bourem and Say, to the people inhabiting this area, and to the kingdom which they formed. At a later date, this state having extended its boundaries upwards to Lake Debo and downwards to the northern boundary of the present French colony of Dahomey,

the same name was retained to describe the kingdom thus enlarged and all its inhabitants, as well as the language spoken by the majority of them, the language of Dyenne, of Timbuktu, of Gāo, of Dendi and of the land of the Zerma or Djerna.

The state of Songhoy is said to have been founded in the viiith century A. D. by an individual of Berber origin, whose dynasty ruled at first at Gungiya or Kukiya in the island of Bentia, 100 miles below Gāo until about the year 1000, then at Gāo itself or Gāogāo. The princes of the dynasty bore the title *dja* or *za* until 1335, and then that of *sonni*, *sun*, *san* or *shi*. It is said that the founder of the dynasty, called Alyaman, was a Christian. The first of his successors to adopt Islām was the *dja* Kosoy or Kosay, who reigned in the xith century, about the time when the capital was transferred to Gāo.

In 1325 Songhoy was annexed to the Mandingo or Mali empire, the ruler of which at that time was the celebrated Gongon Mūsā or Kankan Mūsā. The latter, returning in this year from his pilgrimage to Mecca, went to Gāo and there received the homage of his new vassal, the *dja* Asiboy or Asibay, whose two sons he brought back to his court as hostages. One of the latter, 'Alī-Kolon, later escaped from the Mali capital and returning to Gāo had himself proclaimed king there with the title of *sonni* (1335).

In 1464 (or 1465) there came to the throne another *sonni* 'Alī, called 'Alī-Ber ('Alī the Great), who delivered Songhoy from Mandingo suzerainty and considerably extended its boundaries below and especially above Gāo, capturing Timbuktu in 1468 and Dyenne in 1473. We may regard him as the original founder of the enlarged Songhoy which through him rose from a little vassal kingdom to a powerful empire. But he did not leave a good reputation behind him in the country; the chroniclers of Timbuktu accuse him of having been cruel, impious and a libertine, and of having persecuted men of learning and religion, although, nominally at least, a Muslim himself. He died in 1492, being accidentally drowned in a torrent. With his son and successor Bakari or Bari, who only reigned a few months, the line of al-Yaman died out in 1493, after having been on the throne for about nine centuries.

'Alī Ber's best general, a Sarakolle of the Silla faction named Muḥammadū Tūre, seized the throne in 1493 and founded a new dynasty, that of the *askiya*. It was in his reign, a particularly brilliant one, that Songhoy attained its apogee. Superficially a convert to Islām but tolerant to those who were still pagans, the *askiya* Muḥammadū made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1496/1497; in the course of his journey he made the acquaintance of people of eminence like al-Suyūṭī, whose advice he sought and in the holy city, on the proposal of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph of Egypt al-Mutawakkil received at the hands of the Grand Sharīf Mulay al-'Abbās investiture as *ḫalīfa* for the lands of Takrūr (i. e. of the Sūdān). The Grand Sharīf even sent to Gāo one of his nephews named Aḥmed al-Saklī. The celebrated reformer of Tlemcen, al-Meghīlī, was in constant correspondence with the *askiya* Muḥammadū, whom he even went to visit at Gāo in 1502. This prince by a series of successful expeditions extended his conquests to the lower Senegal, in the west to Air, and to the

frontiers of Bornu in the east, and to Segu in the south; Songhoy assumed the place previously occupied in the western Sūdān by the Mali empire. At the same time he organised his country in a remarkable way, creating a permanent army, a flotilla of supply-ships on the Niger, a system of taxation and payments in kind to fill the public treasury, and instituting military, political and administrative offices with well defined spheres of activity, provincial governments, magistrates and a police. With all his power and by every means, he protected scholars and learned men, heaping favours and honours upon them and encouraged the opening of schools in Timbuktu, which became a real intellectual centre and a noted home of Muslim culture.

Unfortunately this able sovereign's successors were mediocre and sometimes detestable. Becoming blind, he was dethroned in 1528 or 1529 by his own son Mūsā, later interned by his nephew Bengan-Korey in 1831 on an island in the Niger, and died miserably in 1538. Eight rulers occupied the throne of Gāo from 1528 or 1529 to 1591. They were for the most part cruel, selfish and debauched, occupied in murdering one another or in satisfying their cupidity and passions; they soon allowed the great work accomplished by the founder of their dynasty to fall to pieces. Only one, the *askiya* Dā'ūd (1549—1583) one of the sons of Muḥammadū, tried to stop the decline begun by his brothers and cousins. It only became more rapid after him.

On this, the Sultān of Morocco, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī, desirous of gaining possession of the salt-mines of Teghazza, then the property of Songhoy, and of gaining the gold of the Sūdān for his treasury, sent against Gāo in 1590 an expedition of 3,000 men, mostly Spanish renegades, under the Pasha Djūder. This expedition lost on the way from hunger, thirst and exhaustion two thirds of its effectives; but with the thousand soldiers that remained, who had the advantage of fire-arms, Djūder defeated without difficulty on March 12, 1591 at Tondibi, a little north of Gāo some 40,000 infantry and foot-soldiers, armed only with javelins, arrows, sword and lances, who formed the army of the last *askiya*, Ishāk. Djūder then entered Gāo without striking a blow, made his headquarters at Timbuktu where he installed an *askiya*, chosen by himself who was a mere puppet in his hands. The region below Gāo, which the Moroccan troops could not subdue, remained independent and formed a little kingdom called Dendi, governed by *askiya*'s of the line of Muḥammadū. But the state of Songhoy had ceased to exist. If we reckon its definite foundation to date from the *sonni* 'Alī-Ber, it had lasted 127 years (1465—1591).

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SÖSÖ — or Sūsū according to the Malinke pronunciation — is the name of a place in the French Sūdān, 125 miles N. N. E. of Bamako, once the capital of a kingdom inhabited and ruled by Sarakolle. The kingdom of Sösö was originally a dependency of the famous Ghāna empire. It became independent, when, towards the end of the xith century, this empire broke up after its capital had been taken by the Almoravids (1076). The dynasty, then ruling at Sösö, belonged to a Sarakolle Muslim family, that of the Djariso. It was overthrown about 1180 by a soldier, also a Sarakolle but a pagan, a member of the caste

of smiths called Djara Kante. His successor, called Sumanguru (Sumahoro) Kante, considerably increased the hitherto slight prestige of the kingdom of Sösö, by adding to it several provinces, north and south of its old frontiers, notably Waghadu and Baghana, which contained Kumbi, the capital of the old Ghāna empire and Manding or Mali, lying on either side of the Upper Niger above Bamako. It was in 1203, according to Ibn Khaldūn, that the Sösö army took the capital of Ghāna. An erroneous interpretation of the text of Ibn Khaldūn, has sometimes attributed this conquest to the people of Sūsū or Sösö, who have always lived in Futā-Djallon [q.v.] or on its western slopes, at least 350 miles S.W. of Sösö and who have nothing in common with this town except a quite fortuitous similarity of name. The king of Sösö, who was a pagan, persecuted the Muslims of Ghāna; the latter to escape his exactions migrated about 1224 to Biru or Wālatā, which they made a centre of Muslim life.

It was after taking Kumbi that Sumanguru Kante undertook and achieved the conquest of Manding. A tradition records that he put to death, almost as soon as they succeeded to the throne, eleven kings of Manding from 1224 to about 1230. But he met with fierce opposition, from the twelfth, called Māri-Djata by Ibn Khaldūn and known throughout the western Sūdān under the name of Sun-Djata or Son-Djata, who belonged to the family of the Keyta. This prince succeeded in raising numerous followers not only in Manding, but also in the adjoining provinces, which like his own country, were eager to escape the sanguinary tyranny of the king of Sösö and he marched against the latter. The two armies met near the Niger at Kirina not far from Kulikoro, about 1235. According to the story, Sun-Djata disposed of his adversary by shooting him with an arrow pointed with the spur of a white cock, the *tana* (tabu) of Sumanguru. The latter, pierced by the arrow, vanished from sight or was turned into a rock, which is still pointed out, commanding the village of Kulikoro. In any case, Sun-Djata liberated the Manding from the bondage of Sösö, conquered the town, and all the country of which it was the capital, and extended his conquests northwards, as far as the ancient capital of Ghāna, which he captured about 1240 and destroyed completely; he thus substituted the hegemony of Manding or Mali for the ephemeral hegemony of the state of Sösö.

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SPAHI. [See SEPOY.]

SPARTEL, a cape forming the extreme N.W. point of Morocco and of Africa, 7 or 8 miles west of Tangier. Al-Idrisi does not mention it; al-Bakrī knows of it as a hill jutting out into the sea, 30 miles from Arzila and 4 from Tangier, which has springs of fresh water and a mosque used as a *ribāṭ*. Opposite it on the coast of Andalusia is the mountain of al-Agharr (= Tarf al-Agharr > Trafalgar). The name Ishbartāl (probably connected with the Latin *spartaria* = places overgrown with esparto) given it by al-Bakrī is not known to the natives.

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ŠRI WIDJAYA. [See ZĀBAG.]

ŠU (T.), water; fluid; a decoction, e.g. of aloes.

SUAHILI. [See ZANZIBAR.]

ŠUBĀ is an Arabic substantive from the verbal root *šuba*, *yašubu* ("it poured forth") meaning primarily a collection, or heap of wheat, dates, earth, etc. In the reign of Akbar it was adopted as the official description of the great provinces of India, to which historians had previously applied such words as *shikk*, *khitta*, etc. Akbar's empire consisted at first of twelve and finally of fifteen *šubas*, named either from their capitals, as in the case of Dihlī, Āgra, and Ilāhābād, or from the old names of the tracts which they covered, as in the case of the Pandjāb, Bangāl, Berār, Mālwa, and Guḍjarāt. After Awrangzib's conquest of Bidjāpūr and Gulkunda, when the empire of the Timūrids reached its greatest extent, other *šubas* were added. By the English the word has often been wrongly applied to the governor of a *šuba*. The error seems to have arisen from the designation *Šāhib-Šuba*, meaning "lord of a province", and synonymous with *Šubadār* [q.v.], in which the first word has apparently been mistaken for a purely honorific title.

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ŠUBADĀR, the governor of a province, or *šuba* [q.v.]. It was Akbar who first regularly divided the empire into provinces, styled *šuba*, but in his reign the title *šubadār* was not in use, and the governor of a province is styled *šipāh-sālār* (commander-in-chief) in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*. His successors employed the term *šubadār* or *šāhib-šuba* (lord of a province), but the use of these titles was neither uniform nor consistent. The governor or viceroy of the Dakan is usually styled *šubadār*, but the governors of Awadh and Bangal are more often styled *nawwāh-wazīr* and *nawwāb-nāẓim* in the eighteenth century. Europeans, as Orme, himself an offender, remarks, often called a *šubadār šuba*. The source of this error is undoubtedly the form *šāhib-šuba*, the first part of which was mistaken for a purely honorific title. The title *šubadār* seems also to have been applied by Europeans to inferior officials, such as the governors of towns or districts (*sarkār*).

The title *šubadār* has also been applied, since the formation of a native army in India, to the chief Indian officer of a company of sepoys [q.v.] or a troop of regular, but not irregular, cavalry; under the original constitution of such companies or troops its actual captain. This use of the title, and its former application to civil officials, are perhaps due to the habit of mind, common in India, which seeks to please by conferring complimentary titles on inconsiderable persons, but etymologically *šuba* may be as correctly applied to a company as to a province.

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ŞUBAİTİLA (ŞBEİTİLA or HENŞİİR ŞBEİTİLA, ancient Sufetula), a town in Tunisia at a distance of 81 miles south-west of Kairawān and 57 miles east-south-east of Tebessa; in the centre of a large plain on a plateau to the east of which lies Wād Şbeītila. The ancient town has been often described, notably by Guérin, Tissot, Diehl and Merlin. In the history of Muslim Africa it is only mentioned in the period of the conquest and its importance cannot be ascertained sufficiently. In A. H. 26 (646/647) an army of 20,000 soldiers commanded by 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd met the Byzantine patrikios Djurdjir (Gregorios) at the head of 120,000 men before Şubaītila. According to al-Balādhuri, however, the battle took place at 'Akūba. The year before, Djurdjir had declared himself independent from the Emperor of Constantinople (Theophanes, ed. Bonn, i. 525) and, according to some authors, he had chosen Şubaītila as his capital. The battle was won by the Muslims; Djurdjir was killed and Şubaītila sacked or placed under a Muslim governor.

The detailed accounts of the Arabic authors, especially those of Ibn 'Idhārī and Nuwairī, are full of legendary features; Djurdjir's daughter appears unveiled at the top of a tower and is promised to him who will kill Ibn Sa'd. The rôle ascribed to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair seems to have been intentionally accentuated. It is he who takes the direction of the battle; fortuitously he kills Djurdjir with his own hand; with great discretion he conceals his gallant deed and is chosen to report the tidings to the caliph. It is equally improbable that the patrikios should have chosen Şubaītila instead of Carthage as his capital. The Muslim chroniclers, who did not possess reliable sources for the history of North-Africa, are inclined to represent the capital of the country to have surrendered at the first blow. It may be admitted, however, that the patrikios had occupied, on the first appearance of the Muslim troops, this important point at one of the main ways from the South, in order to come in touch with the native populations whom he sought to win (Diehl) as well as to protect Tunisia, then a fertile and populous country. It is certain that at the end of the vith century Şubaītila was a well fortified point. It was defended by a number of fortifications built around a central point, which was formed itself by the enclosure of the three temples of the Capitol.

Bibliography: Guérin, *Voyage en Tunisie*, i. 376 sqq.; Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, ii. 613 sqq.; Saladin, *Archives des missions*, 3rd series, xiii. 68 sqq.; Diehl, *Afrique Byzantine*, p. 278 sqq.; A. Merlin, *Forum et églises de Sufetula, Notes et documents*, v., Paris 1912. On the rôle of Şubaītila at the Muslim conquest: Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 4, 6, transl. Fagnan, i. 4, 7; al-Nuwairī, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 320; al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 110, transl. p. 128; de Slane, *Lettre à M. Hase, in Journ. Asiat.*, 1844, ii. 328 sqq.; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, i. 112—113. (GEORGES MARÇAIS)

ŞU BASHİ, ancient military title in countries of Turkish civilization. Although later popular etymology has always regarded the first element as the word *su*, "water", this interpretation

is probably erroneous. In old Eastern Turkish *zu* (very possibly taken from Chinese) signified army and *şu-bashî* therefore meant commander of the army (cf. Maḥmūd Kashgharī, *Diwān Lughat al-Turk*, iii. 156; Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leyden 1884, p. 14, 30). It is not surprising, however, that this title has been connected with the word designating water, because in practice the responsibility for keeping the waters for irrigation in repair was often in the hands of a very influential functionary (cf. al-Maḥḍisī, p. 330 who says that the *amir* having charge of the waters of Merw had 10,000 men in his service). And in Turkestan, as in Asia Minor, there have always been officials in control of the irrigation (see Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, London 1899, p. 332; and for Asia Minor Aḥmad Rafiḳ, *Soḳollî*, Constantinople 1924, p. 108). But these functionaries have always called themselves *mîr-âb* and never *şu-bashî*. There is also an Arabian explanation of the title, deriving it from the Arabic word *sū* "evil". Thus Muḥammad Hafid, in his *al-Durar al-muntakhabāt al-manḥūra fî iṣlāḥ al-ghalaṣāt al-mashhūra*, p. 260, declares *şu-bashî* to be a translation of the Persian *ser-bāk* (see also von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii. 121).

Şu Bashî became a very well known military and police title in the Ottoman empire, but it was found in Asia Minor as early as the times of the Seldjūks. In the xiiith century Ibn Bibi (Houtsma, *Recueil de t. rel. à l'hist. des Seldj.*, iv. 210) speaks of a *şu-bashî* of the town of Kharpūt [q. v.] who was probably under the sultān of Konya. Every town of any importance had a *şu-bashî*; when 'Oṯmān took possession of his first capital Karadja Hışār, one of his first acts was to appoint as *şu-bashîllik* his cousin Alp Gündüz (*Tawāriḫ-i āl-i 'oṯmān*, ed. Giese, p. 7; Uruċ Beg, ed. Babinger, p. 12).

As the Ottoman supremacy became confirmed, a differentiation of the functions and the position of the *şu-bashî* in the provinces and in the capital was introduced. In the provinces they obtained a position in the feudal organisation, which also proves the military origin of their functions. The *şu-bashî* had their own fiefs (*timār*) and they exercised police control over the other *sipāhî* and the inhabitants of the district under their charge. Administratively they were under the authority of an *ālāy-beg*, who again was subject to the Sandjak Beg [see SANDJAK]. These *şu-bashî* had many privileges, which varied according to the different provinces; they had the right to a certain amount of the imposts and the fines extorted from the people (see *Kānūn-nāme-i āl-i 'oṯmān*, ed. 'Arif Bey, Constantinople 1330, appendix to Nos. 13 and 14 of T. O. E. M., p. 28).

In the capital the *şu-bashî* became one of the chief officers of police, who assisted the Ća'uşh Bashî, whose function is most like that of minister of Police. With the Muhzir (Muḥḍir) Agha and the 'Ases Bashî he was responsible for the carrying out of all the judicial sentences and in general for obedience to the police regulations in the capital. Besides this the title of *şu-bashî* is used to designate a certain military rank in the cavalry corps of the 'Ulūfadjî.

Bibliography: Ricaut, *Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 345; von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, i. 370; ii. 121,

240; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1820, iii., p. 341, 380 sqq.; Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge (Harvard) 1913, p. 129. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SUBH. [See SHAFĀK.]

SUBĤĀ (A.), also pronounced *sebĥa*, the rosary, which at present is used by nearly all classes of Muslims, except the Wahhābīs who disapprove of it as a *bid'ā*. There is evidence for its having been used at first in Šūfī circles and among the lower classes (Goldziher, *Rosaire*, p. 296); opposition against it made itself heard as late as the xvth century A. D., when Suyūtī composed an apology for it (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 1st ed., p. 165). At present it is usually carried by the pilgrims (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 441) and the darwishes.

The rosary consists of three groups of beads made of wood, bone, mother of pearl, etc. The groups are separated by two transversal beads of a larger size (*imām*), while a much larger piece serves as a kind of handle (*yad*; Snouck Hurgronje in *Int. Arch. f. Ethnographie*, i. 154 and plate xiv., No. 12). The number of beads within each group varies (e. g. 33 + 33 + 34 or 33 + 33 + 31); in the latter case the *imāms* and the *yad* are reckoned as beads. The sum total of a hundred is in accordance with the number of Allāh and his 99 beautiful names. The rosary serves for the enumeration of these names; but it is also used for the counting of eulogies, *dhikr*'s and the formulae at the end of the *ṣalāt*. Lane (*Manners and Customs*, Register) makes mention of a *sebĥa* consisting of a thousand beads used in funeral ceremonies for the thrice one thousand repetitions of the formula *Lā ilāha illa 'llāh*.

Masābiĥ (plur. of *misbāĥa*) are mentioned as early as the year 800 A. D. (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 318). Goldziher (*Vorlesungen*, p. 165) thinks it certain that the rosary came from India to Western Asia. Still, Goldziher himself has pointed to traditions mentioning the use of small stones, date-kernels, etc. for counting eulogies such as *takbīr*, *tahlīl*, *tasbīĥ*.

From such traditions the following may be mentioned: "on the authority of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās . . . that he accompanied the Apostle of Allāh who went to visit a woman, who counted her eulogies by means of kernels or small stones lying before her. He said to her: Shall I tell you what is easier and more profitable? "Glory to Allāh" according to the number of what he has created in the earth; "glory to Allāh" according to what he has created in the heaven; "glory to Allāh" according to the number of what is between these; "glory to Allāh" according to what he will create. And in the same way *Allāh akbar*, *al-ḥamdu lillāhi* and "there is no might nor power except in Allāh" (Abū Dā'ūd, *Witr*, bāb 24; Tirmidhī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 143).

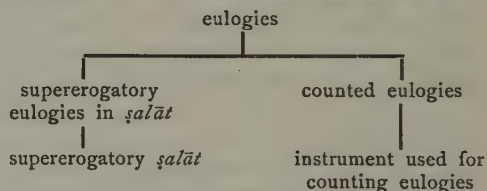
The tendency of this tradition is elucidated by the following one: Šafiya said: the Apostle of Allāh entered while there were before me four thousand kernels which I used in reciting eulogies. I said: I use them in reciting eulogies. He answered: I will teach thee a still larger number. Say: "Glory to Allāh" according to the number of what he has created (Tirmidhī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 103).

To a different practice points the tradition according to which the Apostle of Allāh "counted

the *tasbīĥ*" (Nasā'ī, *Sahw*, bāb 97). The verb used here is *'aḥada*; its being translated by "to count" is based upon the fact that the lexicons give it among others this meaning. Probably this is based in its turn upon traditions like the one just mentioned, and like the following: "The Apostle of Allāh said to us (the women of al-Madīna): Practise *tasbīĥ*, *tahlīl* and *taḥdīs*, and count these eulogies on your fingers, for these will have to give account" (Abū Dā'ūd, *Witr*, bāb 24; Tirmidhī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 120). According to Goldziher, in these traditions the counting of eulogies on the fingers is contrasted with their being counted by means of stones etc. There is, however, a tradition that makes it a matter of doubt whether *'aḥada* in connections like those mentioned has always the meaning of counting and not its proper sense of tying. I have in view a tradition preserved by Ibn Sa'd (viii. 348) according to which Fāṭima bint Ḥusain used to say eulogies aided by threads in which she made knots (*bi-khuyūt ma'kūd fihā*).

The term *subĥa* does not occur in classical tradition in the meaning of rosary; it is often used in the sense of supererogatory *ṣalāt*, e. g. *subĥat al-duḥā* (Muslim, *Musāfirūn*, trad. 81). Al-Nawawī explains the term by *nāfila* (Commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii. 204). Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s. v. asks how it is that the ideas of *nāfila* and *subĥa* coincide. He answers: Eulogies (*subĥa*) are supererogatory additions to the obligatory *ṣalāt*'s. So supererogatory *ṣalāt*'s came to be called *subĥa*.

If Ibn al-Athīr's opinion is right, the semasiological evolution of *subĥa* took two directions:



Bibliography: Goldziher, *Le rosaire dans l'Islam*, in *R. H. R.*, vol. xxi. 295 sqq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

SUBĤĀN ALLĀH, "Praise be to Allāh", a religious formula, frequent in the Qur'ān. It is an accusative of exclamation from a root which does not occur in Arabic (the verb *sabĥaĥa* is rightly explained by the grammarians as derived from the noun), but which goes back as a loan-word to Aramaic and was also adopted in Hebrew and Ethiopic, viz.: *shebaĥ* "to praise". Muḥammad probably found the expression somewhere among "the possessors of a scripture", as it is not probable that he himself should have created such a form from a non-Arabic verb. It is also evidence of an extensive use of the word that *subĥāna* is found in a verse of al-A'shā without a genitive with a following *min* as an exclamation of surprise (Ibn Ya'ish, ed. Jahn, p. 43, 5, 148, 1 etc.). As a regular formula in the Qur'ān it is placed in the mouth of Moses (vii. 140), Jesus (v. 116), the blessed in Paradise (x. 10) and the angels (ii. 30; cf. xxvii. 8). It is used on different occasions to express the impression made upon the speaker by Allāh's overwhelming greatness and His wonderful deeds. Thus: "Praise be to Him who made His servant travel in the night" (xvii. 1),

"Praise be to Him, who has subjected all this to us" (xl.iii. 12), "who created the pairs" (xxxvi. 36), "in whose hand is rule over every thing" (xxxvi. 83), "Praise be to Allāh (i.e. praise ye him) morning and evening" (xxx. 16); when the pious hear the recital of the Qur'ān they fall upon their faces and say "Praise our Lord!" (xvii. 108); it is also found in a confession of wrong-doing: "Praise be to Allāh, we have done wrong" (lxviii. 17 sqq.). As an expression of Allāh's absolute superiority and perfection, it is specially used, when anything is rejected than which Allāh is greater, and which would injure his nature (cf. xvii. 45 where it is connected with *ta'ālā*). The thing rejected is often introduced with *'an* (xxi. 22; xxxix. 67; lii. 43; lix. 23). Thus Muhammad is fond of using the formula when in the Meccan Sūras he is combatting the worship of other gods than Allāh as blasphemy (ix. 31; xii. 108; xvi. 1; xvii. 45 etc.) or when he is filled with horror at the idea that God should have a son (ii. 110; iv. 169; v. 116; xxxix. 6; xliii. 82) or sons and daughters (vi. 100; xvi. 59; xxxvii. 157, 180). It is in a similar connection that the pious say "Thou hast not created the world in vain (*bāṭilan*), *subhānaka* (how much thou art raised above it! iii. 188) or that Mūsā recognises that God cannot be seen (vii. 140) or that Muhammad turns aside the demand of his countrymen for miracles by saying he is only a man and a messenger (xvii. 95). In this way the expression may be weakened to mean almost "God forbid!" (xxiv. 15).

The derivative *sabbaḥa* early came to mean "to pray", especially of the supererogatory prayers, *subḥa*; e. g. Hassān b. Thābit in *Delectus*, lxxvii. 14 (not in Hirschfeld); cf. Lane, *Lexicon*.

(FR. BUHL)

SUBHĪ MUḤAMMAD, Turkish historiographer. He was born at the beginning of the xviiith century (the date is unknown) as son of Beylikdji Khalil Fehmī Efendi. He entered upon a long administrative career, beginning with the office of *dīwān kاتبی*. Soon after, before 1150/1737, he was appointed *wak'a-nuwwis* as successor to Shākir Husein Bey and he combined this position with other functions till the end of the year 1156 (Feb. 1744) when he was appointed *beylikdji*. The *wak'a-nuwwislik* was then given into the charge of Sulaimān 'Izzī [q. v.]. Subhī Efendi died in Šafar 1183 (June 1769). His *Ta'riḥ* was printed in Constantinople, together with those of his two predecessors Sāmī and Shākir in 1198/1785; the last year of which he wrote the chronicle was 1156. His Turkish biographers commend him for his style and his poems.

Bibliography: Djamāl al-Dīn, *'Othmanī ta'riḥ we-mü'errikhleri*, Constantinople 1314, p. 48; Thureiyyā Efendi, *Sicill-i 'othmānī*, iii. 220; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 437, 472; viii. 39, 336; F. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18 Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919, p. 22.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-SUBKĪ, *Nisba* from the place *Subk* in the district of *al-Manūfiya*, district of *Manūf*, Memphis (‘Alī Paṣha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, Bulāk 1305, xii. 7).

A. The *Shāfi‘i* family of scholars al-Subkī (the numbers beside certain persons in the family tree refer to the descriptions which follow; for the whole cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Academien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, p. 119).

1. Šadr al-Dīn Abū Zakariyā’ Yahyā, Qāḍī of al-Maḥalla and later Professor at Cairo, died 725 (*Academien*, N^o. 183).

2. Taḳī al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad, b. 704, Professor at Cairo and Damascus, d. 744; wrote a *Ta’riḥ*; his correspondence Ahlwardt, N^o. 8471, 24 (*Academien*, N^o. 97; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8).

3. Bahā’ al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Bakā’ Muḥammad, b. 708, Professor, Qāḍī and Ḥakīm in Damascus and Cairo, Wakil of the Sulṭān and Khaṭīb of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, d. 777; three unfinished writings (*Academien*, N^o. 52; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8).

4. Walī al-Dīn Abū Ḍarr ‘Abdallāh, b. 735, Professor, Qāḍī, Khaṭīb and financial officer in Damascus, d. 785 (*Academien*, N^o. 98).

5. Badr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad, b. 741, Professor, Muftī and Qāḍī at Cairo, Damascus etc., Khaṭīb at the Umayyad mosque; unpopular on account of the influence he allowed his son Djalāl al-Dīn to exercise over his affairs, d. 802 or 803 (*Academien*, N^o. 53; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8).

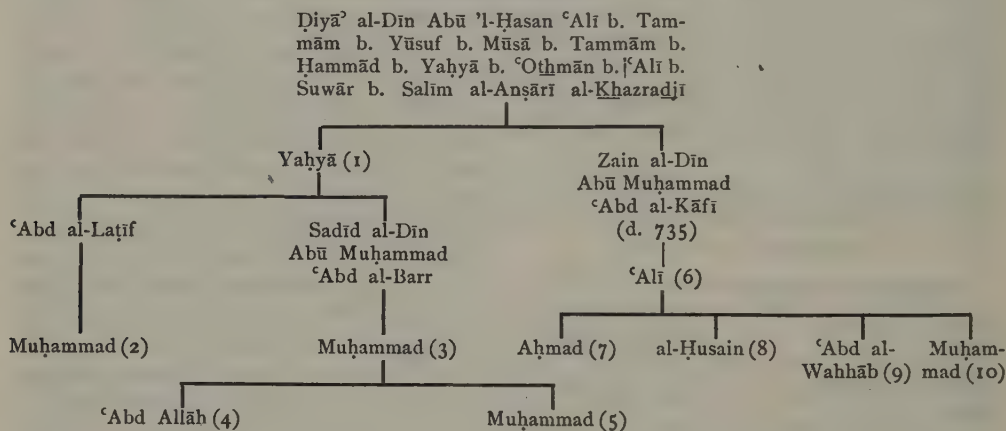
6. Shaikh al-Islām Taḳī al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī, b. 683, studied in Cairo principally, Professor, Muftī and Qāḍī at Cairo and Damascus, Ḥakīm at Damascus, Khaṭīb at the Umayyad mosque, d. 756; produced more than 150 works, of which the following may be mentioned with a view to corrections to the list of those still extant by Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 87 sq.: 5) printed at Haidarābād 1315, Bulāk 1318; 12) also Ahlwardt, N^o. 9399; 16) that of a *Ḳaṣida* also in Ahlwardt, N^o. 8482, fol. 41a; 18) Answers to legal questions, Ahlwardt, N^o. 5026, 1; 19) *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī Tafsīr al-Kur’ān al-aẓīm* (unfinished); 20) *Tafsīr “yā ayyuha ‘l-Rusulu kulū min al-Ṭayyibāti” al-āya* (Kur’ān, xxiii. 53); 21) *al-Itihādī fī Sharḥ al-Minhādī* (Brockelmann, i. 395, l. 12 [not quite correct] unfinished; cf. below, N^o. 7, 2); 22) a commentary on *al-Muḥaddhab* of al-Shīrāzī unfinished; cf. Brockelmann, i. 387, 9, i.); 23) *al-Raḳm al-ibriṣī fī Sharḥ Muḥṭaṣar al-Tibrizī* (cf. Brockelmann, i. 393, 24); 24) *Raḳ al-Shīḳāḳ fī Maṣ’alat al-Ṭalāḳ*; 25) *al-Taḥḳīḳ fī Maṣ’alat al-Ṭa’iḳ*; 26) *Bayān Hukm al-Rabṭ fī ‘l-tirād al-Sharṭ ‘alā Sharṭ*; 27) *Munyat al-Bāḥith ‘an Hukm Dain al-Warīḥ*; 28) *al-Riyāḍ al-anīka fī Ḳisimat al-Ḥarika*; 29) *al-Sahm al-ṣāib fī Ḳaḍā’ Dain al-Ḡhāḍib*; 30) *al-Ghailḥ al-mughriḳ fī Mirāṭh Ibn al-Muṭṭiḳ*; 31) *Faṣl al-Maḳāl fī Hudāya ‘l-Ummāl*; 32) *al-Ḳawl al-ṣaḥīḥ fī Ta’yīn al-Dhābiḳ*; 33) *Kaṣf al-Daṣā’is fī Hadm al-Kanā’is*; 34) *al-Ṭarīḳa al-nāfi’a fī ‘l-Muṣāḳāt wa ‘l-Muḫḫābara wa ‘l-Muṣāra’a*; 35) *Nūr al-Rabī fī ‘l-Kalām ‘alā mā rawāhu ‘l-Rabī*; 36) *al-Ṭibār bi-Baḳā’ al-Djanna wa ‘l-Nār*; 37) *al-Ḳawl al-mahmūd fī Tanzīḥ Dāwūd*; 38) *Ghuwrat al-Imān al-djālī fī Abī Bakr wa ‘Omar wa ‘Othmān wa ‘Alī*; 39) *al-Ittisāḳ fī Baḳā’ Waḍīḥ al-Iṣṭīḳāḳ*; 40) *Aḥkām “kull” wa ‘alāhi mā yadull*; 41) *al-Iḳnā’ fī Ifādat “law” li ‘l-Imtīnā’*; 42) *al-As’ila fī ‘l-Arabiyya*; 43) *al-Djadd al-ighriḍ fī ‘l-Farḳ bain al-Kināya wa ‘l-Ta’rid*; 44) *al-Iḳtinās fī ‘l-Farḳ bain al-Ḥaṣr wa ‘l-Iḳhtisās*; 45) *Iḥyā’ al-Nufus fī Ṣan’at Ilfā’ al-Durūs*; many of his shorter writings are in the collection of his *Fatāwā* (*Academien*, N^o. 49; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 7; Hādjīdī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, Index, N^o. 8765; Brockelmann, ii. 86, 9, in which there is an even longer list of literature; complete biography in the *Ṭabaḳāt* of his son [here N^o. 9]).

7. Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad, b. 719, Professor, Muftī and Qāḍī in Cairo and Damascus, d. in Mecca 773; wrote 1) an unfinished commentary on *al-Ḥāwī* of al-Kāẓimī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 394, 29, i.); 2) a supplement to the unfinished commentary on the *Minḥādī*-commentary of his father (see above, N^o. 6, 21); 3) *Ḍīan* *al-Tanākūd* or *al-Munākaḍāt* (Ḥājjdī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, vi. 157); 4) *Arūs al-Afrāḥ fī Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (cf. Brockelmann, i. 295, 10); 5) an unfinished commentary on *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥājjib from al-Baidāwī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 305, 6); 6) a *Ḳaṣida* on the meaning of the word *ʿAin* (Ahlwardt, N^o. 7065, 1 as also in 6973, 3 and in 7334); 7) a riddle-poem on the Nile (with the answer of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafādī [Brockelmann, ii. 31, 3] thereupon: Ahlwardt, N^o. 7866, 1 also in 6111); 8) another poem by him Ahlwardt, N^o. 8471, 28; 9) writings addressed to him Ahlwardt, N^o. 7869 and 8471, 24 (*Academien*, N^o. 50; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8; Ḥājjdī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, Index, N^o. 1899).

read Leiden, N^o. 897; printed Cairo 1324; from this also M. Enger, *De vita et scriptis Maverdii commentatio*, 1851; 8b) also Ahlwardt, N^o. 10036; 8c) read Gotha, N^o. 1762; 10) also Ahlwardt, N^o. 941; 11) to be cancelled; 12) also Ahlwardt, N^o. 8465, fol. 108a; 16) *Kitāb al-Ashbāḥ wa 'l-Naẓāir*, passages from this Ahlwardt, N^o. 4611; 17) a commentary on *al-Minhādī* of al-Baidāwī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 418, ii.); 18) *Djalab Halab*; 19) *Raf' al-Ḥājjib 'an Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājjib* (see above, N^o. 7, 5); 20) a poem on foreign words in the *Kur'ān*, Ahlwardt, N^o. 725; cf. 724; 21) Verses by him Ahlwardt, N^o. 5967, 1; 22) *al-Durar al-lawāmi'*; 23) letters to him, Ahlwardt, N^o. 7869; 24) Elegy on him in Ahlwardt, N^o. 7868 (*Academien*, N^o. 51; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. (sic), 8; Wüstenfeld, *Der Inām el-Schāfi'i*, i. 10 sq.; Ḥājjdī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, Index, N^o. 8704; Brockelmann, ii. 89 sq., where further literature is given).

10. Muḥammad: his father's admonitory *Ḳaṣida* is addressed to him (see above, N^o. 6, 4).

THE SUBKĪ FAMILY



8. Ḍjamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Taiyib al-Ḥusain, b. 722, Professor in Cairo and Damascus, in the latter also deputy Qāḍī; d. 755, previously to his father; wrote a book on people with the name of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī (Ḥājjdī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, v. 159); his correspondence Ahlwardt, N^o. 8471, 24 (*Academien*, N^o. 73; Ahlwardt, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8).

9. Tādj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahhāb, b. 727 (or 728 or 729), Professor, Muftī, Qāḍī and Ḥākim in Damascus and Cairo, Kḥaṭīb of the Ūmayyad mosque; in 769 he was thrown into prison for about 80 days, but was able to rehabilitate himself; d. 771 of the plague. To Brockelmann's list of his surviving works, ii. 89 sq., should be added: 1) Ahlwardt, N^o. 4401 is autograph from 762; the commentary of al-Zarkashī also Ahlwardt, N^o. 4402; printed with the commentary by al-Maḥallī and the super-commentary by al-Banānī also Bülāḳ 1297 and 1891, with the same commentary and the *Takrīrāt* of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sharbinī, Cairo 1309 and 1318; 7) ed. D. W. Myhrman, *Luzac's Semitic Text Series*, London 1908, xviii.; abridged and translated from the Arabic by O. Rescher, Constantinople 1925; 8a)

B. Shihāb al-Dīn (or Sharaf al-Dīn) Aḥmad b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi'i, d. 1032, at the age of 93; wrote 1) a gloss to *Kitāb al-Shifā'* of al-Qāḍī 'Iyād (Brockelmann, i. 369, 5, 1, h); 2) *Faṭḥ al-Muḳit fī Sharḥ al-Taḥḍīb 'ind al-Tabyit* (Brockelmann, ii. 151, 130b); 3) *Faṭḥ al-Ghaḥfūr fī Manẓūmat al-Kubūr* (ibid. a); 4) *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn bi-Sharḥ Manẓūmat Ibn 'Imād al-Dīn* (cf. Brockelmann, ii. 94, 4; perhaps erroneously attributed to him, cf. c [Pertsch, N^o. 1080]); 5) *Hadiyat al-Iḥwān fī Masā'il al-Islām wa 'l-Istīdhān*; 6) *Manāṣik al-Ḥājj al-kabīra* and 7) *al-ṣaghīra*; 8) besides these he collected the *Fatwā's* of al-Ramlī (cf. Brockelmann, ii. 321, 13) (*al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 8 sq.; Biography also Ahlwardt, N^o. 8471, 15b).

C. For the modern Egyptian Aḥmad Bey al-Subkī b. Aḥmad b. Sulaimān 'Udjaila, cf. *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djādida*, xii. 9. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SŪDA, a town in the Yemen in South Arabia. It is built on a rocky ridge running S.W. to N.E. with a peak in the centre. The citadel (*ḥuṣn*) stands in the centre of the town which is also its highest part, a strong lofty building reached by a kind of staircase on the

west side, which is now in ruins. On the west side is also a small plateau with a fine cistern: there is a tower to the west of it on the southern edge of the cliff. The town runs N.E. by S.W. up to the castle; the northeastern part stands high and the southwest slopes down in terraces. The town is entered from the southwest; the market lies in the same direction; it consists of a few miserable booths near the mosque. The water supply is provided by four or five well cemented, regular elliptical, circular or quadrangular cisterns, N. and N.W. of the citadel. The town is surrounded by rich fields. In the lower lying areas, e.g. the Wādī Bait Kilāb and the immediate vicinity of Sūda, *sorgho* is grown and in the higher like Djebel 'Ayālī Yazid, Djebel Beni Hadjdjādī, barley, wheat etc., and also coffee, which is considered the best in Yemen, especially in Wādī Thedje and Wādī Shamayān, 600—1,000 feet lower. Bananas also flourish exceedingly. The crops are grown on terraces, which, made absolutely horizontal, enclose the hills as it were with hypsometric lines and are separated from one another by a strong stone perpendicular wall, often 12—20 feet high.

Bibliography: E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen*, 1883/1884, fol. 43^r, 44^v.
(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SŪDĀN. The expression *Bilād al-Sūdān* properly means "land of the negroes". It would appear then that the word Sūdān which comes from it ought to mean all the parts of Africa inhabited by negroes. Among Arabs, as well as Europeans, it has become the custom to restrict the application to the northern part of these regions or in a more general way to the area of sub-Saharan Africa which has been penetrated by Islām. In practice this area is divided into three parts: Western Sūdān, containing the basin of the Senegal, the Gambia, the upper Volta and the middle Niger; Central Sūdān including the basin of Lake Chad and Eastern Sūdān or the Egyptian Sūdān, confined to the basin of the upper Nile. It may be mentioned that the English use the word Sūdān alone to mean the Egyptian Sūdān and that the French officially apply the name "Soudan Français" to one of their colonies, which really corresponds only to a small fraction of the large Sudanese area which they occupy. In this article we shall take the Sūdān to include all the lands lying south of the deserts of the Sahara and of Libyan, from the Atlantic in the west to the western frontiers of Ethiopia in the east, the southern limit following roughly the 10° of North Latitude.

It is probable that from the earliest times there were relations between the Sūdān and Mediterranean Africa. The ancient Egyptians obtained slaves by making expeditions into the land of the negroes and they had also commercial relations with it. Caravans setting out from the Phoenician colonies, especially Carthage, used to buy in the Sūdān, gold, ivory, and slaves, in exchange for cloth, copper and tools. This intercourse which took place via the Nile or across the Sahara continued in the Greek and Roman period and later after the conquest and conversion to Islām of North Africa it was continued by the Arabs. By the end of the seventh century A. D. Muslims of Egypt, Ifrikiya and the Maghrib were attending the great markets of the Sūdān. Some were even settled there as correspondents and agents for their com-

patriots on the shores of the Mediterranean. But according to the Arab authors who give the earliest notices of the land of the negroes, it was evident that these Muslims were only interested in commerce and did not proselytise and it was only in the xith century that Islām began to spread among the Sūdānese. Several traditions, it is true, make the conqueror 'Okba b. Nāfi' come to the Sūdān but they do not appear worthy of credence.

We should not however deduce that before the xith century there was no civilisation or political organisation worthy of the name in these regions. While many of the princes who have ruled various parts of Sūdānese territory from the xith century have professed Islām, it was not always nor everywhere thus. Indeed several of the Sūdānese states, including the most important were well governed before the beginning of the conversion of their country to Islām and had already attained a power and fame, in some cases considerable, and possessed institutions which Muslim rulers at a later date were pleased to adopt and which still exist to-day in those kingdoms that have remained pagan, like the Mōsi of the Upper Volta, such as are described in the xith century by al-Bakrī when he tells of the pagan kingdom of Ghāna.

The religion formerly professed by all the Sūdānese was the same, apparently, as that which is found at the present day among those of them who have not been affected by Islām, i. e. a form of Animism based on the worship of ancestors and of the spirits of nature.

Christianity had penetrated into several parts of the Sūdān; it was predominant in Nubia from the ivth to the viith century and it is said that the princes reputed to be Berber origin, who founded the kingdom of Songhoy [q. v.] in the viith century were Christians.

Islām must have spread very early among the Nūba or Nūbians of the valley of the Nile, but it appears to have taken a long time to reach the provinces of the eastern Sūdān which lie at some distance from the main branch of the river, when it was only introduced towards the xvth century by tribes of Arab origin who at this period pushed south-westwards and came into contact with the negroes of this region. It was on the western part of the Sūdān that a deep and lasting impression was first made by the teaching of Muḥammad. It reached there, not through the Arabs, but through Berbers of the Sahara, who at this time launched the Almoravid movement.

At this time the Ghāna empire was flourishing in the Western Sūdān, founded at an unknown date by princes who are said to have belonged to a white stock, but whose rulers at the time were negroes of the Sarakolle tribe (alias Soninke, or Wākore or Marka), who lived at Kumbi, S. S. W. of Wālata, in the province called Waghadu or Baghana, and who bore titles of *tunka*, *kayama gha*, and *ghāna*. It is this last term extended from the ruler to the town that the Arab writers use for the town of Kumbi. The Ghāna extended his sway beyond the proper limits of his kingdom over the greater part of the Western Sūdān, and notably over the goldmines of the left bank of the Upper Senegal, as well as over the majority of the Berber tribes of the Sahara and in particular over that of the Lemtuna and over their capital Awdaghost, probably situated at some distance to the S. W. of Tishit (Tichit).

In 1042, the Berber reformer 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn, left the *ribāṭ* or monastery which he had conducted on an island of the Lower Senegal and began to preach Islām to the Berbers of the Adrār and of the Tagant and to the negroes of Takrūr (Fūta-Tōro), ancestors of the Tokorōr or Tuculor of our day and to several other Sūdānese peoples, then more or less vassals of the Ghāna. His preaching was all the more successful at it was addressed to people, black or white, anxious to cast off the yoke of the suzerainty of the Sarakolle of Kumbi, who were also a bulwark of paganism. The king of Takrūr and his family—the first of the negroes without doubt to do so—adopted Islām and even supplied contingents to the Almoravid army. The king of Manding or Mali, who lived on the Upper Niger soon became a convert also and the conversion of the king of Songhoy in the region of Gāo on the middle Niger is put about the same date. Awdaghost which remained faithful to the Ghāna, was attacked and taken in 1054 by 'Abdallāh b. Yāsīn and about 1076 while Yūsuf b. Tashfin at the head of the main body of the Almoravids was conquering Morocco and preparing to invade Spain, his cousin Abū Bakr b. 'Omar of the Lemtuna tribe with the Almoravids who had stopped on the threshold of the Sūdān seized Kumbi and put an end to the long period of Ghāna domination. Compelled by force to adopt the new religion, the Sarakolle became converted to Islām en masse and began to spread it in the different kingdoms which they still ruled and which had taken advantage of the fall of the Ghāna their suzerain to declare themselves independent: kingdoms or provinces of Djāra or Kanyaga (near the modern Nyoro), of Gumbu (south of Kumbi), of Sōsō (between Gumbu and Bamako), of Djakhā or Djā (western Māsina) etc. The death of Abū Bakr b. 'Omar in 1087 and the departure for the north of the last Almoravid forces which had supported him, did not prevent the propagation of Islām from going on and at the end of the xth century some Muslim Djula, converted by the Sarakolle of Djakhā, carried the new faith up to the dense forests of the Gold Coast, to which they used to go to buy kola-nuts.

Progress was then checked for a period; then about 1224 a religious and commercial centre was organised at Wālatā and soon Timbuktu and more particularly Djenne were reached. In the following century Timbuktu became the Muslim metropolis of the western Sūdān. The Mandingo empire, the hegemony of which had succeeded to that of the Ghāna, was then at its zenith. In 1325 its ruler, who at this time was the famous Gongon-Mūsa (popular Kankan-Mūsa) had mosques built in Gāo and Timbuktu by an Arab of a Granada family whom he had brought from Mecca; these mosques had flat roofs, and pyramidal minarets and introduced to the Sūdān an architectural style which spread rapidly there; the éclat which he gave the Muslim religion contributed to consolidate Gongon-Mūsa's authority over the Niger countries. It was under his successor that regular diplomatic relations were begun between the Sūdān and Morocco.

The progress of Islām became still more rapid at the end of the xvth and beginning of the xvth centuries as a result of the policy of the greatest prince of Songhoy, the *askiya* Muḥammadu Tūre. On the other hand it suffered a considerable setback in the middle of the xvth century in Senegal,

as a result of the conquest of Takrūr or Fūta-Tōro by Pul and Manding hordes from Koli-Tengella and the establishment in this country of a Pul pagan monarchy which held power from 1559 to 1776. Contrary to what one would have expected, the conquest of Songhoy and of Timbuktu by a Moroccan expedition in 1591, was a further signal for a decline in the Muslim faith, on the middle Niger and for the beginning of the decline of Timbuktu as an intellectual and religious centre.

It must not however be thought that Islām had ever won over all the Sūdānese. According to the Arab geographers and historians and to the local chroniclers, the new religion had made its converts mainly among the kings and high dignitaries; except in the case of a few tribes like the Tuculor, the Sarakolle, the Djula and Songhoy, the mass of the population except in the large towns had remained pagan.

It was in the xviiith and xixth centuries that Islām made most progress in the Western Sūdān and a progress more marked than it had ever made since the Almoravid period. The mystical temperament of the Tuculor caste of the Tōrodbe (sing. Tōrodo) of Takrūr was the main factor in this movement. It had begun about 1720 with the creation at Fūta-Djallon [q. v.] of a kind of theocratic monarchy. It was strengthened in 1776 by the foundation at Fūta-Tōro of a similar theocracy as a result of the victory which the Muslim Tuculors then inflicted on the Pul, who still remained pagan and of whom the majority were now forced to adopt Islām. Gradually the Wolof of Lower Senegal were also converted to Islām. Prophets soon arose among the Tōrodbe of Fūta-Tōro and among the Pul of Māsina. The first was the Tuculor Usmānu Fōdjo who preached the holy war between the Niger and the Chad, converted a section of the Hausa, and founded the empire of Sokoto (1802). He was followed by the Pul Sēku Ḥamadū Bari, who secured the supremacy of Islām in Māsina and built a capital there which he called Ḥamdallāhi (1810). Then the Tuculor al-Ḥādī 'Omar, who in the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca (1820) had been invested with the title of *Khalifa* of the *Tidjāniya* for the Sūdān, began in 1838 a series of missionary and military campaigns which made him master of Manding (1848), Kaarta (1854), Segu (1861) and lastly of Māsina (1862). At his death (1864) he left a vast empire in which Islām was a sort of official religion but it was to collapse before the French conquest (1890—1893). A little later in 1898, an attempt to set up another Muslim empire between the Senegal and the Upper Volta begun by the conquering Mandingo Samōri Tūre was definitely checked by the defeat of the latter, who was captured by the French troops.

In the Central Sūdān, Islām had made its first appearance in the xth century. It had been introduced to Kānem in the reign of Ume whose dynasty, which remained faithful to paganism, was overthrown in 1194 by a Muslim dynasty of native origin, that of the *May*, which transferred its capital to Bornu at the end of the xvth century. But it was only at this latter date that the Muslim faith took firm root in these regions by establishing itself solidly on both sides of Lake Chad. It was only at the end of the next century in the reign of the *Mbang* 'Abdallāh (1561—1602) that it reached Baghirmi and it was only at the beginning

of the xviii century that the prophet Šālih, said to have been of Arab origin, brought Islām to Wadāy where it was not firmly established till 1635 onwards. Very much later Islām spread southwards under the stimulus of the adventurer Rabah (1878—1900).

In the Eastern Sūdān, the Nūba formed almost the only native Muslim population down to the xvth century. At this period Dār-Fūr, after long being like Wadāy and Kordofān under the authority of the idolatrous Tundjūr princes, said to have been of Asiatic origin, was partly converted to Islām by the founder of a new dynasty named Solun-Slīmān. One of his successors, Teherāb, conquered Kordofān and converted the Koldādji of this country in the xviii century. The conversion of the Eastern Sūdān made more rapid progress towards the end of the xixth century under the influence of the Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad [q.v.] who belonged to a Nūbian family of Dongola and who conquered Kordofān, Dār-Fūr, Baḥr al-Ghazāl, Sennār [q.v.] and finally Khartūm (1881—1885) and under his Khalifa 'Abdallāh, one of a tribe of Baggāra of Dār-Fūr, who extended his conquests into the province of Equatoria (1892), to be finally driven from Khartūm by Kitchener in 1898 and killed in Kordofān in 1899 by a force under Colonel Wingate.

At the present time (1925) the Sūdān as a whole has a population, that may be approximately estimated at 25 or 30 millions, composed of Muslims and Animists in about equal parts. The former predominate in the larger centres but are relatively less numerous outside the towns. Some tribes however are all or for the most part Muslims; these are from West to East the Wolof, the Tukulor, the Sarakolle, the Djula, the Songhoy, the Kanūri and Kānembu, the Tēda or Tubu, the Māba, the Kondjāra, the Koldādji, the Nūba and a few others of minor importance. Some are partly pagan like the Pul or Fulbe, the Mandingos or Malinke, the Sorko or Boso, the Hausa, the Baghirmi, etc.; and lastly many are entirely or for the most part Animists, like the Serer, the Djola or Flup, the Basari and Konyagi, the Bambara, the Bobo, the Dogon or Tombo, the Samo, the Mōsi, the Gurunsi, the Lobi, the Dagāri, the Senufo, the Busanse, the Gurmantche, the Berba, the Kambari, the Bautshi, the Mandara, the Musgu, the Mundang and the numerous peoples of the Central and Eastern Sūdān grouped together by the Muslims as Kāfiri, Kirdi, Fertit, Djenakhēra, etc.

Arabic as a spoken language has made very little progress in the Sūdān; it has only enriched the dialects of the Sūdānese Muslims with words relating to religion. These dialects, like those of the Sūdānese Animists, all belong to the African-Negro family. On the other hand, Arabic is the written language for all the Muslims of the Sūdān who have any education and there has existed since the xvth century a regular Sūdānese literature in the Arabic language. Sometimes, at least as far as the Pul and Hausa are concerned, the characters of the Arabic alphabet are used to write the native languages.

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SUEZ, an Egyptian frontier sea-port town situated at the head of the Gulf of Suez on an arid, sandy plain with the dark 'Atāka Mountains in the West. On account of its physical surroundings it has earned for itself the descriptive sobriquet of "The Stony" *al-Hadjar* (see *Description de l'Égypte*, État Moderne, i. 185). It is 80 miles S.E. of Cairo and 2 miles N. of Port Ibrāhīm, the harbour at the South entrance of the Suez Canal. 29° 58' 59" N., 32° 35' E. Population c. 20,000. Its position on the Canal (opened in 1869) has changed it from a village into a considerable town. Nowadays it is a governorship (muhāfiz). The old city is largely built of sun-dried bricks, and presents a dreary appearance. There are several poor mosques. In the European quarter large offices and warehouses have been built. The town is a quarantine station for pilgrims on their way to Mekka.

The modern Suez occupies the site of several former cities. Ancient Egyptian remains have been found, and on an eminence (*Kūm al-Kulzum*) near by, are the ruins of the Ptolemaic fortress of Κλύσμα (*Clysmia Præsidium*; the *Kulzum* [q.v.] of the Arab geographers). Previous to this, however, Ptolemy Philadelphus (c. 230 B.C.) had built in the vicinity the town of Arsinoë (Ἀρσινόη) later named Cleopatris (Κλεοπάτριν). In early Christian times a colony of natives chiefly engaged in fishing and smuggling existed here. During Muslim rule, the town became rich except under the Mameluke Sultans when a check was given to its growth. On the discovery of the Cape Route its prosperity further diminished. Once again under

Selīm I (1517) it revived as a naval station. At this time the water from the *Bīr Sues*, a league and a quarter distant on the road to Cairo, was brought to the town by an aqueduct, traces of which still remain. This water according to 'Alī Bey (*Travels*, ii. 30) was brackish. Water was also brought (about 8 miles) from the Wells of Moses ('*Āyūn Mūsa*), celebrated in legend (Ibn al-Wardī, *Perles des Merveilles*, in *N. E.*, ii. 31). 'Alī Bey declares that the wells yielded "a disagreeable and fetid kind of water". In modern times, however, a fresh-water canal was cut in 1863 between Cairo and Suez.

By the beginning of the 19th century the town had once more fallen into decay and insignificance ('Alī Bey, *ibid.*, ii. 29). But it revived again when the overland mail route was opened in 1837 between England and India, and still more after the construction of the Canal.

An etymology of the name *Suez* will be found in *Descr. de l'Ég.*, i. 87. Yāqūt mentions, on the authority of al-Muhallabī, the presence in the neighbourhood of magnetic rock (*maḡnāṣis*) whose power is decreased or increased according as it is rubbed with garlic or vinegar.

An ancient canal, called *Amnis Trajani*, although much older than the Roman occupation, once existed between the Nile and the Red Sea. One of its termini was at Ḳulzum. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ re-opened this ancient waterway to enable grain supplies to be shipped direct to the Ḥaramain (Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 345 sqq.). Soon afterwards it was silted up again until restored under al-Mahdī (c. 780 A.D.). In the year 971 A.D. Ḥasan the Ḳarmāṭian captured the city. During the middle ages the commerce of the Indies passed steadily through the town. Caravans from Farma (*Pelusium*) took four days; from Cairo, three (see J. M. Hartmann, *Edrisii Africa*, p. 449; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, s.v.).

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(J. WALKER)

ŞUFĪ. [See TAŞAWWUF.]

AL-ŞUFRIYA, one of the principal branches of the Khāridjīs [q.v.]. Historiographic tradition, established as early as the middle of the 2nd century by Abū Mikhnaḡ (al-

Tabarī, *Annales*, ii. 517 sqq.) places its rise in 65, when the Tamīmī 'Abdallāh b. al-Şaffār, a Khāridjī of al-Baṣra, broke away from his colleague Nāfi' b. al-Azraḡ on the question of the *isti'rād* (the murder of adversaries and their families), propounded by the latter, and subsequently from 'Abdallāh b. Ibād, who maintained that non-Khāridjī Muslims should not be regarded as polytheists. The account of Abū Mikhnaḡ shows, as has been aptly remarked by Wellhausen, a spirit of pragmatism, which regards the three great branches of the Khāridjīs: the Şufriya, the Azraḡites [i. 563/564] and the Abādīs or Ibādīs [i. 3/4; ii. 372/373], as the simultaneous product of a conflict of principles. Another historian al-Balādhuri (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 82—83), names as founder of the Şufriya 'Ubaida b. Ḳaḡiḡ; theological sources, on the other hand, assign this rôle to Ziyād b. al-Aṣfar, after whom the Şufriya have also received the name of Ziyādīya (al-Baḡhdādī, *Firaḡ*, p. 70; al-Şahraṣṭānī, ed. Cureton, p. 102; al-Khwarizmi, *Mafātīḡ al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 25; al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, vol. 354 a) or to al-Nu'mān b. Şufr (Maḡrībī, *Khifaṡ*, ii. 354 below = 2nd ed., iv. 178, below): all of which persons are equally obscure. In reality the Şufriya began to take part in the Khāridjī movement in the month of Ṣafar 76, when the great revolt raised by Ṣāliḡ b. Musarraḡ (or Musarraḡ, cf. Tabarī, ii. 881, note g) broke out, after his death led by Ṣhabīb b. Yazid al-Şhaibānī [see above, p. 261—262]. Ṣāliḡ b. Musarraḡ, who was regarded by his followers as a saint, and whose tomb remained an object of veneration for a long time (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 209 = Ibn Duraid, *Iṣṭikḡāḡ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 133), represents the type of devotee with ascetic tendencies who becomes propagandist and ends by becoming engulfed in the turmoils of a bloody war in spite of his pacific temperament; he is represented in the account of a contemporary, who in all probability writes with authority (Tabarī, ii. 886) as opposed to the terrorist methods of the Azraḡis, a point which has invariably constituted a characteristic of the Şufri theory, although its adepts have not always observed it in practice.

After the defeat of Ṣhabīb b. Yazid, the Şufriya again appear involved in the revolt of al-Daḡḡāk b. Ḳais [q.v.] towards the end of the Umayyad period. At the same epoch they are found spread over the whole of the Islāmic world; they are mentioned in the Maḡrib from the year 117 (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v. 153 below), where, a few years later, guided by their chief Abū Ḳurra, they slew the 'Abbāsid governor 'Omar b. Ḥaṡṡ, in 153 (Tabarī, iii. 370—371), and seized the town of Sidjilmāsa [see above, p. 432—433] where they long maintained their independence (Ibn al-'Adḡārī, *Bayān al-Maḡrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 58 sqq.; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, vi. 4 sqq., 53); they joined the Ibādīs in the general rising of the Berbers, and ended by being absorbed by the former, who in North Africa as elsewhere became dominant. Another conflict between Ibādīs and Şufriya, where the latter were overthrown, took place in 'Omān, in which the Şufriya had taken refuge in 134, after having been defeated by the 'Abbāsid chief Khāzim b. Khuzaima (Tabarī, iii. 78).

It is principally as exponents of Khāridjism

that the Şufriya are of importance; they seem to have been the first to attempt a systematic exposition of their religious principles, and one of their very earliest *imāms*, the poet ʿImrān b. Hiṭṭān [ii. 507—508], d. 84, is renowned as juriconsult and theologian. Other names of Şufri traditionists and theologians are cited by al-Djāhiz in his list of Khāridjī scholars (*Bayān*, i. 131—133; ii. 126—127): amongst others Shubail b. ʿAzra al-Dubaʿi (d. 140), also known as poet and lexicographer (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, N^o. 20, where the patronymic is incorrect; Ibn Duraid, p. 193; Tabarī, ii. 1913; Djāhiz, *Hayawān*, i. 152; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahḏīb al-Tahḏīb*, iv. 310, etc.), al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣadiqa, Mulail, etc. The principal theses which divided the Şufriya from the extremist Azriḳis, though not quite equalling the moderation of the Ibāḏis, are, according to the systematic tracts by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baǧhdādi and al-Shahraṣṭāni, the admission of *kuʿūd* (temporary cessation of war with other Muslims; cf. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 527, 595, 10, 604, 10) and of *taḳīya* (dissimulation of faith), the negation of the doctrines of *istiʿrāḍ* and the damnation of the children of infidels. In moral doctrine also the strictness of the Khāridjis is somewhat modified by the Şufriya: one of their subdivisions maintains that sins do not produce in the sinner the quality of an infidel (*kāfir*) nor of a polytheist (*mushrik*) as long as it concerns infractions of righteousness for which the religious law provides a definite punishment (*ḥadd waḳf*): this expression has not been included in the translation of al-Shahraṣṭāni by Haarbrücker, ii. 154), but only in those cases in which there is no punishment in the law. Other peculiarities of the Şufriya refer to questions of ritual and equity.

The Şufriya, as a religious school, seems to have especially pre-dominated, in the eastern half of the Islāmic world, where they maintained themselves up to a comparatively recent period. Ibn Ḥazm (d. in 456) affirms that they were the only branch of the Khāridjis who existed in his time, beside the Ibāḏis (*al-Faṣl fi ʿl-Milal*, iv. 190—191). This leads us to suppose that there was a gradual absorption of the other schools of Khāridjis into that of the Şufriya, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that Ibn Ḥazm ranges with the Şufriya the schools of Thaʿāliba, ʿAdǧarida [i. 149; ii. 381], Baiḥasiya [i. 617] with their subdivisions, while ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baǧhdādi and al-Shahraṣṭāni consider them as independent schools.

The origin of the name Şufriya is greatly disputed, the etymologies that are derived from the supposed founders (Ibn al-Şaffār, al-Aṣfar, Ibn Sufr) seem somewhat artificial; a perfectly foolish one, although it is due to the celebrated philologist al-Aṣmaʿi, is the one which, admitting the vocalisation *Şifrīya*, attaches it to the word *şifr* "zero" and supports it by an anecdote according to which an imprisoned Şufri was accosted by one of his companions in captivity with the words: "You count for no more than zero in religion!" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi. 135 = *Taǧ̣ al-ʿArūs*, iii. 337). A third etymology deserves more credit, although it is not entirely beyond doubt: it is that which derives the name from *şufr*, the "yellow colour", which their faces had assumed in consequence of their devotional practices (al-Balāḏhurī, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 82—83; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 604,

9—11, 615—616; cf. Tabarī, ii. 881, 14, where he says of Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ that he was a man of "yellow countenance" [*musfarr al-waǧīḥ*]). This etymological uncertainty is the consequence of the obscurity that covers the origin of the movement itself: Šāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, who as we have seen, seems to have been the real originator, is not recognised as such by the later Şufriya, who name as their first *imām* ʿImrān b. Hiṭṭān (al-Baǧhdādi, *Firaḳ*, p. 71): al-Baǧhdādi, p. 89, hesitates to attribute to Šāliḥ the denomination of Şufri and al-Shahraṣṭāni, p. 95, in mentioning the school of the *Šāliḥiya* says that they do not enter into any of the known categories of the Khāridjis.

According to al-Maḳrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii. 354 below = 2nd ed., iv. 179) the Şufriya also bore the name of *al-Nukkār*, "the deniers" because they reprove (like all the other Khāridjis) a part of the conduct of ʿUḥmān, ʿAlī and ʿĀʾisha; but the passages quoted by Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 722^b (which refer without exception to the Maghrib) show that it was an insulting appellation applied to Khāridjis in general.

Bibliography: see article KHĀRIDJIS.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

ŞUFİRÜY (vulg. *Şefrū*, *nisba*: *Şefriwī*), a small town to the north of Morocco, 33 KM. S. E. of Fās (Fēz), 800 metres above sea level at the foot of the northern spurs of the Middle Atlas. The town, watered by the Wādi Şufirūy, is surrounded by beautiful orchards, principally cherry. The quarters are N. Taḳṣabt and Şhebbāk, E. the Kaṣba or fort, S. Meṣbāḥ and Zemrita, surrounding the Mellāḥ or Jews' quarter on all sides. The town is protected by a high wall restored in the 19th century by the Sulṭān Mawlāy Sulaimān, who also built a mosque and a *ḥammām*. The population exceeds 8,000, of whom more than 3,000 are Jews.

The principal sanctuaries of Şufirūy are those of Sidi Bū-Serǧīn, Sidi Bū-ʿAlī and Sidi Bū-Medyen. The first is the most important; at the end of the summer a spring near to the sanctuary is the object of a water-cult; it has the virtue of curing madness and idiocy. These sacred spots were visited in 1179 (1765—1766) by the Sulṭāna Fāṭima bint Sulaimān who came from Marrākeṣh to Fās for the express purpose of visiting these sanctuaries.

It was in the environs of Şufirūy, that in the Berber tribe of the Ait Yūsī, the learned and versatile al-Ḥasan b. Maṣʿūd al-Yūsī (d. 1102/1691) [q.v.] was born; his tomb is at the *zāwiya* called Sidi Laḥsen in the S.W. of the town; he is still greatly venerated by the Ait Yūsī, who hold a *mawṣim* there every year.

Nothing is known of the date at which Şufirūy was founded. Leo Africanus (who calls it *Sofroi*) says that it was built by the "Africans", which means that for him its origin is lost in antiquity. It would seem to have been in existence at the time of the foundation of Fās by Idris II; he was not slow to enter into conflict with the inhabitants of the region of Şufirūy and al-Baḥālī, where the religion seems to have been strongly impregnated by Judaism, and converted them to Islām. The memory of an ancient Jewish population is preserved in the name of wādi ʾl-Yahūdī (the name of the lower part of wādi Şufirūy) and by that of the grotto called *Kāf al-Yahūd*, which

among the Jews in the town is the centre of a true naturalist cult.

The importance rapidly attained by Fās, the new and adjacent capital, accelerated the decline of the ancient Berber city. Şufırŭy, however, as a necessary point of passage for the caravans bound for Sidjilmāsa always retained a certain vitality; it was, moreover, the natural depot for the products of the Middle Atlas, destined for Fās: fruits, wool, skins and cedar wood.

In 407 (1016—1017) on the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova Şufırŭy, which was a fief of the lord of Fās, al-Mu'izz b. Zırî, was taken from him by Wānūdin b. Khazrūn al-Maghrāwî, lord of Sidjilmāsa and of Dar'a. In 455 (1063) Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn took Şufırŭy by assault and massacred all the Maghrāwa who had shut themselves up in it. In 536 (1141) Şufırŭy was seized by 'Abd al-Mu'min for the Almoravids.

Speaking of Şufırŭy in the xith century, al-Bakrî only says that it is on the route from Fās to Sidjilmāsa and that it is a city surrounded by ramparts, possessing water-courses and trees. In the xiiith century al-Idrīsî describing it says that it is "a small and secluded but civilised town, where there are not many markets. Its inhabitants are for the most part agriculturists, who cultivate a quantity of cereals; there are also a large number of large and small cattle. The waters of the land are sweet and abundant".

Şufırŭy suffered greatly during the civil wars which devastated the region of Fās during the dynasty of the Banū Waţţās and of the Sa'dites. After the accession of the 'Alawis, it was again the victim of the wars waged by these sultāns against the rebel Berbers of the Middle Atlas.

In 1096 (1684—1685) Mawlāy Ismā'il passed through Şufırŭy upon an expedition against the tribes of the Middle Atlas and the High Molouya. In 1736, the inhabitants of the town and the neighbourhood were massacred by the Sultān Mawlāy Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, called Ibn 'Arabīya, infuriated by the protection which the Berbers of the district had given to his rebellious brother 'Abd Allāh; their heads were transported to Fās. In 1811, in the course of the great revolt of the Berbers they came as far as Şufırŭy to surround an army that was sent against them; they pillaged the camp and sacked the whole region. In 1235 (1819—1820) the Sultān Mawlāy Sulaimān had three hundred men of the rebellious neighbouring tribe of the Ait Yūsî arrested in Şufırŭy.

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(GEORGE S. COLIN)

SUFYÂN AL-THAWRÎ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH SUFYÂN B. SA'ĪD (according to some SA'D) B. MASRU'Ā AL-THAWRÎ AL-KUFÎ, a celebrated theologian, traditionist and ascetic of the second century A. H. His *nisba* al-Thawrî is

derived, according to the view generally held by the biographers, from Thawr b. 'Abd Manāt . . . b. al-Yās b. Muḍar, who was among his ancestors (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealog. Tabellen d. arab. Stämme u. Familien*, 1853, p. 452; Ibn Duraid, *Ishtikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1854, p. 113; Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, G. M. S., xx., fol. 117a). Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 265 (transl. by de Slane, 1842, i., p. 576 sqq.) gives as the date of his birth "95, 96 or 97". On the other hand, all the other sources agree in giving 97 (715/716) as the date (Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, i. 5, p. 1180, N^o. 26 puts the date of Sufyān's birth as 96, on the authority of a unique manuscript). Sufyān received his first instruction in *ḥadīth* from his father, a learned Kūfan, who died in 126 (according to others in 128, cf. Caetani, *loc. cit.*, p. 1607, N^o. 73) and is quoted among his authorities by different names in the biographical dictionaries to be mentioned below. Sufyān was one of the old school of pious men, who showed their dislike of the new régime by declining to accept offices in the government service and thus brought the wrath of the court upon their heads. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, ed. Zetterstēen, 1909, vi., p. 258, says that Sufyān on one occasion accepted money and gifts from a wālî but ever afterwards refused them. In 150, he left Kūfa and went, like so many others (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, 1922, p. 209) beyond the bounds of 'Irāq to escape appointment as *kaḍî*. He went to the Yemen and made a living as a merchant by giving other merchants goods to dispose of on commission and settling up with them annually, so that he finally possessed a fortune of about 200 dinārs (according to Ibn Kūtaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1850, p. 250 his estate at his death amounted to 150 dinārs in goods). But even there, he was not safe from persecution by the Baghdād court. He was sought out but went to Mecca. The amīr of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, was ordered by the Caliph in the year 158 (the year in which al-Mahdî succeeded al-Manşūr; therefore the sources vary as to which Caliph gave the order) to find him (*yaṭlubūhu*, so most sources; in al-Nawawî, *Tahḍīb al-Asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1842—1847, p. 287, and Ibn Ḥaǧjar, *Tahḍīb al-Tahḍīb*, 1325, iv., p. 114, however some wood-merchants who were going to Mecca are ordered by al-Manşūr to crucify him, *fa-ṣṭlibūhu*, which is certainly not simply a copyist's mistake, but it suggests another story). The governor, however, did not carry out his orders; according to Ibn Sa'd, *loc. cit.*, he warned Sufyān so that he was able to go promptly into hiding. While al-Ṭabarî, iii. 385 sq., says that he had already taken Sufyān prisoner but then set him free again. The whole story is embellished in the different versions with details of interest to the student of the life of the time. It seems certain in any case that Sufyān was actually forced to seek refuge from his pursuers in the Ka'ba (Ibn Sa'd, p. 259). In the end however, Mecca also became too hot for him; and he went to Baṣra to Yahyā b. Sa'īd, where many learned jurists came to study *ḥadīth* under him. In Baṣra also he had to change his abode for the sake of safety. Ḥammād b. Zaid advised him to make peace with the court. Sufyān began negotiations by correspondence, which led to a satisfactory result, but before he could set out for Baghdād

he became ill and died at the age of 64, in *Sha'bān* 161 = May 778 (169 in al-Dhahabī al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāṣ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1833, i., p. 45, N^o. 40 is probably only an error of the lithographer). The sources then are all agreed that up to the time of his death he kept himself in hiding from the temporal powers. His son, whom he loved above all else had died before him; he therefore left his whole estate to his sister and her son 'Ammār b. Muḥammad, but left nothing to his brother al-Mubārak (d. 180). He was buried, as several authorities tell us, by night; his grave in Baṣra is mentioned by several geographers. He had not seen his native city of Kūfa since the year 150; cf. Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *loc. cit.*

The above outline is all that can be considered certain in Sufyān's biography. But in view of the extraordinary authority which he enjoyed, a large number of legendary features could not fail to creep into the story of his life, which one must treat with general distrust, even when they are not obvious inventions or cannot be shown to be historically impossible. The most characteristic is his conversation with the Caliph al-Mahdī, which has been adopted in Ibn Khallikān's biography of Sufyān from al-Mas'ūdī, *Muru'ij* (vi., Paris 1871, p. 257). It is — apart from other reasons — unhistorical simply because the two certainly never met in their lives. What else is related of Sufyān's life will be discussed below in connection with the various intellectual movements in Islām which claimed the authority of Sufyān for their views and had therefore an interest in finding the characteristics they required in his life.

As a traditionist, the greatest praise is everywhere bestowed on him on account of the extraordinary breadth of his knowledge and his reliability. The most pregnant criticism of him is the verdict in al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl*, 1325, N^o. 3266: *ḥudūdja, ṭhabī*. At the same time, he is credited with other "qualifications of the first rank", as collected in Goldziher, *Muḥamm. Stud.*, ii. 142. He is occasionally rated higher than Mālik b. Anas. The only reproach made against him is that of *tadlīs*, that he used to trace traditions directly to recognized authorities, although he had only received them indirectly or from transmitters of less authority (cf. *Ḳāmūs*, s.v. and Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 48, and the passages there quoted from Ibn Khaldūn). Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisin*, Cairo 1322, p. 9 places him in the second rank of the *mudallisin* i. e. those whose *tadlīs* the Imāms have tolerated, because they were such important personalities and their *tadlīs* amounted to very little (*ḵillat tadlīsiki*) and gives as his authority al-Nasā'ī (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 199) and al-Bukhārī [q. v.]. Sufyān's *tadlīs* however does not prevent the biographers vying with one another in telling stories to his credit. He was one of the first to commit to writing the wealth of traditions stored in his memory: cf. Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, *Annales*, ed. Juynboll, i., 1855, p. 387 sq. and Ḥādījī *Khalifa*, ed. Flügel, i. 80 sq. The *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i., p. 225, for example gives a number of works by him, namely: 1) *al-Djāmi' al-kabīr*; 2) *al-Djāmi' al-ṣaḡīr*; 3) *Kitāb al-Farā'id* and 4) and 5) two epistles the subject of which is not recorded. Then there is his commentary on the *Qur'ān*, *Tafsīr*, which according to Ḥādījī *Khalifa*, N^o. 3248 is quoted by *Tha'labī*. These works however have not survived; several bio-

ographies record that on his deathbed Sufyān commissioned a friend whose name is not given (cf. *Fihrist*, ii., p. 98, note 3, on p. 225) to burn them, which was done. The reason for this action is said by Ḥādījī *Khalifa* (i. 126) to have been that he felt remorse at the traditions with weak authority which he had admitted into his books; the reproach of *tadlīs* already mentioned therefore does not seem to have been made against him unjustly. The most comprehensive list of his authorities and pupils is given by Ibn Ḥaḍjar (*loc. cit.*, p. 111 sq.) but names not included here are given in other biographical sources. Al-Nawawī and Ibn Ḥaḍjar give as the best Kūfic *isnād*: Sufyān from Maṣṣūr [b. al-Mu'tamir, see Nawawī, p. 578] from Ibrāhīm [al-Nakha'i, see Nawawī, p. 135] from 'Alkama [al-Rāwī, see Nawawī, p. 433] from Ibn Mas'ūd [q. v.].

As a faḵīh he was the founder of a *madhhab* which however later disappeared; cf. Mez, *loc. cit.*, p. 202 sq. He was a strict follower of the *Ahl al-Hadīth* [q. v.] and as regards theology belonged to the *Shī'ā'iya* i. e. he recognised the qualities of Allāh mentioned in the *Qur'ān* as existing in the literal sense and peculiar to him; cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Mīlāl*, ed. Cureton, i. 65, 160 (transl. by Haarbrücker, i. 97, 242). That he was a Sunnī is proved, if it were necessary, from the profession of faith which he is said to have dictated to Shu'aib b. Djarīr, cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāṣ*, i., Ḥaidarābād 1333, p. 193. In this, after speaking of the uncreatedness of the *Qur'ān*, he says that *ḵawḷ*, *'amal* and *niya* (see SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ) constitute the *īmān* [q. v.], that it can increase and decrease (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, ed. 2, 1925, p. 81), that pre-eminence (i. e. over 'Alī, cf. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het zaidietische imamaat in Yemen*, 1919, index, s.v. *ṣaiḥks*, de beide) is due to the two *shāikh*s (Abū Bakr and 'Umar), that in the minor ablution (*wuḍū'*) the washing of the foot-covering is permitted in place of the feet (*al-mash' alā al-khuffain*) (cf. Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 369), that it is better to recite the *basmala* in a low voice than in a loud one (cf. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī'a*, *S. B. W. A.*, lxxviii., 1874, p. 451 sq., 457), that one must believe in predestination (see *QADAR*), that one may pray on Friday and at the two festivals behind any imām, but at other times must choose one in whose piety one has confidence and of whom one knows that he is a Sunnī and finally that the *djihad* will exist to the day of judgment (see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 1885, p. 244^a, b) and that one should obey every person in authority, whether he is just or unjust. It is easy to see that the majority of these articles represent well known points of difference between Sunna and Shī'a, which are all decided according to the Sunnī view. Nevertheless Sufyān is credited with an inclination to the Shī'a; thus the *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāṣ*, *loc. cit.*, mentions among his authorities the imām Dja'far al-Šādiḳ [q. v.]; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 301 mentions him in a list of Shī'is, and al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2516, gives a story according to which he was a Shī'ī but met two scholars in Baṣra who persuaded him to change. He has, however, also been claimed as a Zaidī, cf. *Fihrist*, p. 178, and, thereon van Arendonk, *loc. cit.*, 284, and index s.v.; "*Corpus Iuris*" di Zaid ibn Alī, ed. Grifflini, 1919, p. clxxv. with note 3 and index s.v.

These are doubtless inventions. Massignon, *La Passion d'Al-Hallāj*, 1922, p. 72 sees their origin in the fact that for men like Sufyān, al-Shāfi'i etc. reverence for the Prophet implied reverence for his family which of course included the 'Alids. The explanation given by Bergsträsser in his review of the *Corpus Iuris*, *O. L. Z.*, 1922, col. 122 sqq. seems to me much more illuminating, namely that the *Corpus* in many cases is in conformity with the jurists of the 'Irāq of whom Sufyān was one. As it thus comes about that he often taught the same as the *Corpus* (except that in reality it was the latter that borrowed), he might be claimed as a Zaidī. It must have been similar with his Shī'ism. — The above mentioned requirement of 'amal as an essential of imān is directed against the Murdji'a; cf. thereon Goldziher, *Vorlesungen* 2, p. 351, where it is related (on the authority of Ibn Sa'd) how Sufyān refused to take part in the funeral of a murdjī'.

That Sufyān was an ascetic is beyond doubt. Here also the biographers cannot quote too many stories about him. The best evidence of his asceticism is however that he is claimed by the Sūfis as one of their fore-runners. Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'* (ed. Nicholson, i., 1905, p. 188 sqq.), devotes an article of nearly 9 pages to him, which however contains nothing characteristic and of which H. H. Schaefer's remark (*Islām*, xiv., p. 1) on the biographies of the devout men of the past in general in 'Aṭṭār holds, namely that they are "very much modelled on a single pattern of mystic piety". Sufyān is however mentioned by the *Fihrist*, i. 183, in a list of ascetics who wore the *sūf* and Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj, *Luma'*, ed. Nicholson (*G. M. S.*, xxii. 1914), p. 22 actually quotes him as evidence of the antiquity of the Šūfiya. His relations with al-Djunaid (q. v.) are several times discussed, although the two could not have known one another; cf. e. g. al-Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, transl. Nicholson (*G. M. S.*, xvii., 1911), p. 128. The reference is apparently only to intellectual kinship; it is difficult to understand it otherwise when Abu 'l-Mahāsīn (*loc. cit.*, ii. 213) says that al-Hallādj [q. v.] was acquainted with Sufyān (*laḳīya*). On the other hand, one need not doubt the truth of the story recorded by the same author (i. 424) that Sufyān was on friendly terms with the ascetic Shāibān al-Rā'i (d. 158) who lived the life of a hermit in Lebanon.

These remarks on Sufyān viewed from different angles, corresponding to different currents in the intellectual history of Islām, are of course nothing more than prolegomena; they cannot take the place of a monograph on him, the necessity of which must be evident from the manifold variety of what we have said above.

Bibliography: On the sources it should first of all be noted that al-Dhahabī's *Tadhkirat al-Huffā'*, i., p. 192, depends on his own great historical work in which he dealt at great length with Sufyān. The volume, in which the article must have been, is however not quoted among the manuscripts of the separate volumes mentioned in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 47. Al-Dhahabī also refers to a book on the *Manāqib* of Sufyān by Ibn al-Djawzi [q. v.] but this has not survived. — The biographical, bibliographical, and historical works quoted in the article almost all contain articles on Sufyān, which have been utilised here. So far as they

have appeared in European editions, the indices should be consulted, s. v. Sufyān, for scattered references to his life and teaching. The reader may be also referred to the story of his meeting with Mā shā'a Allāh in al-Kiṭī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Lippert, p. 327, to his refusal of the office of kaḍī, as it is told in al-Hudjwiri, *loc. cit.*, p. 93 and to his meeting with al-Manṣūr (Ibn 'Ahd Rabbihi, *Ikḍ*, Cairo 1331, ii., p. 108). — The indices of the European works should also be consulted for passages not quoted here. There is further Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 1920 (in *Muh. Stud.*, ii., the reference in p. 58 is not in the Index: on it cf. D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, 1903, p. 97 sq.); Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, 1909, i. 424—426 (p. 434 he adopts the already mentioned story of Sufyān's meeting with al-Hallādj).

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-SUFYĀNĪ. [See AL-MAHDĪ.]

SUGHĎ. [See SOGHĎ.]

SUGHDAK, once a great seaport, now a little town in the Crimea, Greek Σουγδαία or Σουγδαία, also Σουγδαία, Latin and Italian Soldaia or Soldachia, Old Russian Surož; the Arabic form *Sholṭāṭia* in Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, ii. 395) is probably connected with the Italian form. The name is connected with Soghḍ [q. v.], the name of a country in Central Asia and explained as Iranian; its foundation is therefore ascribed to the Alans (see ALLĀN). The Alans are mentioned in the region (east of the Tauric Chersonese) as late as the xiiith and xivth centuries. Like the Greek cities, Sugdaia had an era of its own, according to which the year of its foundation was 212 B. C.; but the name is not found in Pliny nor in any other geographer of antiquity. It is first mentioned in the viiith century by the Anonymous writer of Ravenna (*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. Pinder and Parthey, Berlin 1860, p. 175 sq.: Sugdabon). At that time the town had a Greek bishop although it was not under Byzantine but Khazar rule. It was only after the destruction of the Khazar empire and of the Russian principality of T'mutarakan that the whole southern shore of the Crimea passed to Byzantium. During Latin rule in Constantinople this region belonged to the kingdom of Trebizond. Twice, in 1223 and 1238, Sughdak was sacked by Tatars. It is to the intervening period that the very full but undated account in Ibn Bibī ([q. v.]: Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, iii. 329 sqq.; iv. 134 sqq.) of the invasion by Turks from Asia Minor belongs; Ḥusām al-Dīn Čoban the commander sent by 'Alā' al-Dīn Kai-kubād (616—634 = 1219—1236) succeeded in defeating the Greeks in Sughdak and their allies, the Russians and Kipčak. In Sughdak the bells were broken in pieces, a large mosque built in less than a fortnight, a *mu'adhdhin*, a *khaṭīb* and a kaḍī appointed and a garrison left; but the Turks seem (*op. cit.*, iii. 358; iv. 138 sq.) to have been very soon driven out again. In 1249 the Tatars were forced to leave Sughdak whereupon the Greek governor (*Sebastos*) had the population counted. The total was only 8,300, which probably refers only to male adults. In spite of its small population Sughdak was then of great importance for sea-trade, especially for trade with Venice, as is evident from Venetian documents

and from Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, i. 2 sq.). Sughdāk suffered a heavy blow in the reign of Özbek, Khān of the Golden Horde (712—741 = 1302—1340); on Aug. 8, 1322, the town was occupied without resistance by Kara-Bulat, sent by Özbek, all the bells were carried off, all images of saints and crucifixes smashed, and all the churches closed. In spring 1327 Özbek ordered his governor Tolaktemir to destroy the citadel and several churches. When Ibn Baṭṭūta [q.v.], visited "Surdāk" (for Sūdāk) it looked like a Turkish and Muslim city; only a few Greek artisans were left. The harbour is described by Ibn Baṭṭūta as "one of the largest and best". The houses were mainly of wood (*Rihla*, Paris, ii. 414 sq.). The Christian population soon came back again. The conquest of Sughdāk by the Genoese in 1365 and the treaty between them and the Tatars of 1380 were important events in the history of the town. The district of Sughdāk in those days extended as far as Alushta and included 18 villages, almost the same number as the corresponding Turkish *kādīlik* in 1774 (19); they must have been the same villages, as the most westerly one, Alushta (Arab. *Shālūsta*), did not belong in the Genoese period to the district of Sughdāk. Sughdāk henceforth, down to the Turkish conquest of 1475, belonged to the Genoese colony of Gazaria or Guzzaria and was administered by a separate consul, subordinate to the consul of Kafa. In the sources dealing with the Turkish conquest only the fighting round Kafa is fully described; no details of the fall of Sughdāk are known. Unlike Kafa, Sughdāk experienced no revival under Turkish, nor later under Russian rule. Broniewski (1578) describes Sughdāk as a town in ruins. The present ruins (pictures e.g. in Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, i. 3; Yu. Kulakovskiy, *Proshloye Tavrid* 2, Kiev 1914, p. 120; L. Kolli, *Izv. Tavr. Arkh. Komissii*, xxxviii., p. 1) date mainly from the Genoese period.

Bibliography: (cf. also BAGHĀE SARĀI and KAFĀ): V. G. Vasilievskiy, *Istoričeskiya svēdeniya o Surože (Trud* V. G. Vasilievskogo, t. III, *Izd. Akademii Nauk*, Petrograd 1915); P. Melioranskiy, *Seldjuk-Name, kak istočnik dlya istorii Vizantii v XII—XIII vekakh* (*Vig. Vremennik*, i. 613 sqq.); L. Kolli, *Khrisostoro Di-Negro posliedniy konsul Sol'dai* (*Izv. Tavr. Uchenoy Arkh. Komissii*, xxxviii., 1905, p. 1 sqq.).

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-SUHAIL, i.e. the *Kávwos* (Canopus) of the ancients, the star α Carinae in the modern star catalogues, next to Sirius the brightest fixed star in the heavens (magnitude — 0.9), but invisible for all regions north of 37° of Latitude; for it has a declination of $\delta = -52^{\circ} 38' 52''$, while its right ascension $AR = 6^h 22^m 1s$. In the northern Muslim lands, therefore it scarcely rises above the horizon and for example about the year 2,000 B.C. in Babylon its altitude of culmination was only 2°.9. It was therefore the most southern of the fixed stars marked on the spider (*al-ʿankabūt*) of the Arab astrolabes.

The name Suhail was given by the Arabs to several stars in the southern heavens; but *suhail al-Yaman*, *suhail ḥaḍār*, *suhail al-waḥn*, or *suhail* alone, always meant Canopus i.e. the bright large star of the southern helm in the constellation of *al-safīna* (the ship). As in the northern parts of the Indian Ocean, Canopus rises in the S.S.E. and sets in the S.S.W., in the nautical language of

the Arabs, according to G. Ferrand, S.S.E. is indicated by *muḥālī* *al-suhail*, S. by *kuṭb al-suhail* and S.S.W. with *maghrib al-suhail*. In Central Arabia Canopus is called *ʿ-šēl*; it is used to find the south. According to J. J. Hess, the Beduin of Central Arabia say: *ʿnt rāṣib n-šēl fā wedjhek* ("when thou ridest, Canopus is in thy face").

Various suggestions have been made regarding the derivation and meaning of the word *suhail*. Ideler points out that *suhail* can be explained as diminutive of *sahl* "level", but finds Buttmann's explanation the least forced, that *al-suhail* received this and the two names *ḥaḍār* and *al-waḥn* because it only rises a little above the horizon in the lands where these names are given it; it is therefore called "the heavy", "the earthly"; *ḥaḍār* from the earth and *sahl* from the plain, above which it rises very little. Eratosthenes tells us that it was called *τρηγεῖος*, "terrestris" for this reason by the ancients.

According to F. X. Kugler the Babylonians placed Canopus in the constellation $\mu\lambda\text{NUN}^k = {}^k\text{Eridu}$ (= constellation of Eridu i.e. Vela + Southern Puppis + Canopus). On the Greek name *Kávwos* the following may be noted. *Kávwos* was the steersman of the ship which was to bring Menelaus back to Greece. A storm drove the ship on to the Libyan coast. *Kávwos* died here of a snake-bite. Menelaus, deeply mourning the death of his excellent friend had a splendid memorial built to him and called the settlement of Spartiates that arose here *Kávwos* in honour of *Kávwos*. It lay on the western mouth of the Nile, a few geographical minutes north of the site of Alexandria (cf. also: Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii. 60... "Condidere id [oppidum Canopum] Spartani, ob sepultum illic rectorem navis, Canopum; qua tempestate Menelaus, Graeciam repetens, diversum ad mare terramque Libyam deiectus est").

The Egyptian name for Canopus is not yet certainly known. In the Dekan lists (cf. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum*, Leipzig, p. 148, 173), there is the name of a dekan *ḥri ib w'* (= he in the boat) but that this is a steersman, let alone the steersman *Kávwos*, cannot be proved, on the contrary it is improbable as the dekan star is to be sought in the vicinity of the ecliptic.

According to Athanasius Kircher, Canopus was the god of moisture and of fertility and as, he had his abode in the Nile, in Egypt he was the god of water generally, comparable to Poseidon and Neptune. He was therefore naturally credited with influences relating to seafaring in astrology, i.e. in the horoscope of a new born infant. The following reference to this is found in Hieronymus Vitalis (*Lexicon Mathematicum*, Paris 1668, p. 63): "Argo Navis sidus in caelo ad Australem plagam stellas continens secundum communem, numero 45, at secundum Bayer, 63. Omnes fere de natura Saturni, parvum Jovis; intra quas una fulgentissima in Canopo existans primae magnitudinis, arabice Rubail (!). Haec in Horoscopo, inquit Pontanus in Urania (cf. Pontanus, Giovanni Giovano da Caretto, *De rebus caelestibus*, lib. xiv., Florenz 1520), facit Naclerum et praestat fortunam in navigationibus, praesertim si Veneris benigno radio fulciatur: At in occasu cum Saturno partiliter repta, portendit mortem in aquis".

The treatise of the Arab astronomer and court physician Sinān b. Ṭhābit b. Ḳurra Abū Saʿīd

(† 943): "On the star Canopus" no longer exists.

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p. 249—251, 269; G. Ferrand, *l'Élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, in *J. A.*, 1924, p. 216 sqq.; F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Münster 1913, suppl., p. 175; Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus aegyptiacus*, Rome 1652, p. 207—212. — On Dekans and Dekan stars, cf. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathem. u. techn. Chronologie*, Leipzig 1906, i., p. 165 sqq. (C. SCHÖV)

ŞUHĀR, a seaport on the coast of 'Umān in 24° 22' N. Lat. and 56° 45' E. Long. with about 7,500 inhabitants. The harbour has a good roadstead and excellent anchorage and is well protected in the north and west by the promontory of Farḡsa and from the south by Cape Suwāra. The most important building is the palace of the lord of the town, which is richly ornamented, having pointed arches, slender round pillars, crossed vaulting, projecting balconies and turrets. The palace stands on a little eminence within the town and is surrounded by a triple wall and a ditch, which is crossed by a bridge leading to the inner gateway. On the wall are old field guns and four great cannons before the entrance. Before the palace lies an open square planted with trees which stretches to the walls on the seaside. The town is defended by walls on which a few old guns still stand and is guarded by a ditch against the land side. The market-place is large and has a busy trade. The market-hall called *Ḳaiṣariya* [q.v.] is vaulted with great swing-doors and is long and spacious; most of the artisans are weavers, smiths, gold- and silversmiths or copper-smiths, and are masters of their crafts. The town is picturesque. The two or three storied houses are often connected by archways over the narrow streets. The town is probably about two miles round; it is connected by a broad road with neighbouring towns like Maṣḡat; the hinterland is very fertile, well watered, and thickly populated. Fishing is very much followed, and it plays an important part in providing the food supply of the population.

Although A. Sprenger's identification of Şuhār with the Oman of Pliny cannot be maintained, there can be no doubt that we have a very old settlement here, which can be traced back to the pre-Muslim period at least. How ancient the town is in the eyes of Arab scholars may be seen from the legend which traces its foundation to Şuhār b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ. The Persians who were at one time supreme in the gulf called after Yemen were probably the first rulers of this town. The old name of the town, Mazūn, which the older Arab writers mention, is also Persian. Şuhār first appears in history in the year 8 (629/630) when the envoys of the Prophet Muḥammad, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Sahmī and Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī, handed the Prophet's message to the two princes of the town, Djaifar and 'Abd (or 'Abbād). They accepted Muḥammad's offer and adopted Islām; the first mentioned of the Prophet's envoys remained as resident in 'Umān. The name of the town is again mentioned in the accounts of the funeral of Muḥammad where it is recorded that the corpse of the Prophet was wrapped in two robes of Şuhārī manufacture (other texts give Saḥūlī); the textile industry of the town was even then ap-

parently highly developed, which may have been due to Persian influence. The general unrest which seized the whole of Arabia after the death of the Prophet also affected 'Umān and particularly Şuhār. In the war against the leader of the pagan party in 'Umān, Dhu 'l-Tādj Laḳīṭ b. Malik al-Azdī, in which the leaders of the Muslim party were the two brothers 'Abbād and Djaifar of the al-Djūlanda family, the latter had for a time to abandon Şuhār and take refuge in the mountains. But they apparently succeeded in returning to Şuhār and leading the resistance against the pagan party there until the town was taken by the Muslims in 12 (633/634). But like the rest of 'Umān it was only very loosely attached to the Muslim empire. The situation was altered when the notorious Umayyad governor Ḥaḍḍjādī b. Yūsuf conquered 'Umān and united it to al-ʿIrāḳ. In 751 A. D. the land again became independent and chose a ruler for itself in the person of al-Djūlanda b. Maṣ'ūd al-Azdī, the first Imām of 'Umān. The capital however was not Şuhār but Nazwa. By the tenth century A. D. Şuhār had attained considerable prosperity. It was considered the most important town of 'Umān and the most beautiful on the Persian Gulf, flourishing, populous, rich and busy, more important than Zabīd or Ṣan'ā', healthy, with wonderful markets and pleasant surroundings. The fine houses were built of brick and teak. The great Friday mosque was built by the sea; the splendid building with a lofty minaret stood on the spot where the Prophet's camels had knelt down. The *miḥrāb* had a winding staircase which presented different colours, yellow, green and red, from different sides. A small chapel (*muṣallā*) lay in the centre of a palm-grove. Springs with good water and canals of fresh water provided the town's water-supply and its climate was considered excellent. The capacious bazaars were filled with the most varied goods. Şuhār was a depot for wares from China, and the centre for trade with the East and the ʿIrāḳ and was also of importance for the trade of Yemen. It had an advantageous position for trade with the east. The harbour which was always busy with ships entering or leaving was a parasang in length and breadth. The language of business was Persian, as al-Muḳaddasī expressly tells us. Merchants from all parts of the world met here. There was constant intercourse with Yemen and China for which expeditions were equipped here. The rich land which produced dates, bananas, figs, pomegranates, quinces, and other fruits attained wealth and prosperity. There was also constant intercourses with al-Bahrain, for which a road ran from Şuhār along the coast over the mountains to Djulfar. But its decline soon set in. The campaign of the Caliph Hārūn al-Raṣīd and that of al-Mu'taḍīd, the latter of whom tried with more success to gain 'Umān for the Caliphate, do not seem to have seriously affected Şuhār. Şuhār was destroyed in the Ḳarmāṭian troubles but rebuilt again. In 362 (972/973) there was an encounter before Şuhār between Abū Ḥarb, 'Aḳd al-Dawla's general and the Zandj who had occupied 'Umān. Abū Ḥarb was victorious and seized Şuhār the population of which had to take to flight. In 433 (1041—1042) the Būyid Abū Kalīdjar sent a Persian army by sea to 'Umān which had risen against him. The fleet anchored before Şuhār, occupied the town and brought the people to submission. But neither the Būyids nor the Seldjūḳ

rulers of Persia, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Caliphs of Baghdād did anything to revive the prosperity of Şuhār. About the middle of the twelfth century A. D. the trade of Şuhār with the Far East was ended, when a governor of Yemen by a clever coup seized control of the Persian Gulf and not only strangled traffic by sea but also plundered the coast so that trade went more and more to 'Aden. According to Ibn al-Mudjāwir, who is well informed, Şuhār was already destroyed in the first quarter of the seventh century A. H. (c. 1225 A. D.) and its trade had passed to the Persian emporium of Hurmuz, and to the Arabian harbour of Kāhāt. Şuhār seems to have revived again later and to have been rebuilt; for Marco Polo mentions it under the name "Soer" and says that it traded in horses with Malabar. Ibn Battūta also mentions Şuhār in his *Travels*. On Sept. 16, 1506 a Portuguese fleet, which was conducting an attack on Hurmuz from Sokotrā [q. v.] passed for the first time before the town which the Portuguese called "Soar". The town and also the fortress were occupied by them. In 1588, they built a new fort which was restored at the beginning of the xviiith century, and was surrounded for a circumference of 8 miles with tamarisks and fields of corn and vegetables. The yield from taxation and other revenues was not unimportant and amounted to 1,500 Xerafi. When the Ya'rubid Nāsir b. Murshid b. Sulṭān, who had gained a following in the towns in the interior attacked the Portuguese possessions in 'Umān, the Portuguese could only hold the fortified coast towns of Şuhār, Maskaṭ, al-Matraḥ and Qaryāt. Their influence on land in any case had never been important. In order to take Şuhār, Nāsir b. Murshid had a fort built on the coast and threatened the city; this attack was so far successful that the Portuguese were only able to hold the citadel of Şuhār and also lost Qaryāt. They were able to retain the fortified market-place for a time on payment of tribute to the Imām; about 1650 they were finally driven out. In 1724, Şuhār was taken by Khalaf b. Mubārak the rival of Muḥammad b. Nāsir but later surrendered to the Ya'rubid Saif b. Sulṭān. In 1738 Şuhār was besieged by the Persians, who after the conquest of Maskaṭ had been defeated at Şuhār by its governor Aḥmad b. Sa'īd, but returned to attempt to take the town. The stubborn defence under Aḥmad foiled all their efforts. The town must have suffered severely — its important commerce had already been ruined by the Portuguese — for according to C. Niebuhr it was of no great importance. A heavy blow to it was the raids by pirates who had settled in the stronghold of Shinās at the beginning of the xixth century. Slight relief was brought by English intervention which led in 1819 to a naval battle between the pirates and ships of the English navy off Şuhār. J. R. Wellsted who visited the town in 1836 describes Şuhār as the most important and by far the largest town on the thickly populated 'Umān coast between Shinās and Birēma, and next in importance to Maskaṭ as a commercial centre. It had 40 large bangalās and maintained a considerable trade with Persia and India. The number of inhabitants including those of the adjoining small villages is put by Wellsted at 9,000, including 20 families of Jews who had a small synagogue and made a living by money-lending. It is evidence of the importance of the trade of

Şuhār at this time, that the Shaikh of the town drew a revenue of 10,000 dollars annually from harbour dues and in 1825 the tribute paid by Şuhār to the Imām of 'Umān amounted to 24,000 dollars. The treaty concluded by England on Jan. 8, 1820, with the pirates guaranteed for a brief period peace and security in the waters of the Persian Gulf so that the trade and commerce of the ports prospered. But while the then Imām of 'Umān, Saiyid Sa'īd, was intent on extending his possessions in East Africa, his authority was undermined in his absence; piracy was again revived and the pirate chief Ḥamūd b. 'Azzān seized Şuhār and Rastāk. The Imām Sa'īd could not do much against this and in 1834 was forced to recognise his rival. Two years later he went with the help of the Wahhābis to drive Ḥamūd out of Şuhār. The town was blockaded by land and sea but the siege led to no decisive result as Sa'īd was afraid that if they took the town it would fall not to him but to the Wahhābi Faṣāl b. Turkī. Sa'īd was freed from his dilemma by an English warship which brought Ḥamūd to Maskaṭ where he was forced to sign a treaty handing over the rule over Şuhār to his son Saif. As the latter did not fulfil the pledges made to his father, and refused him his due share of the revenues, Ḥamūd had his son murdered in 1849 and assumed power himself, but with the approval of England was seized and imprisoned by Sa'īd. His brother Kais b. 'Azzān succeeded him in Şuhār but had to hand over the town in 1852 to Saiyid Sa'īd under superior military pressure and to be content with ruling over Rastāk. From that date Şuhār has again formed part of the imāmate of 'Umān, which now for the most part belongs to the kingdom of Ibn Sa'īd.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SUHRAWARD was a town in Djibāl [q. v.], the ancient Media. Nöldeke was the first to connect the name with Suhrāb and Marquart followed him so that one may assume older forms of the name to have been **Suxrāp-kart*, **Suhrāv-gerd*. Nöldeke thinks that the eponym of the town was the Suhrāb who was a Persian governor of al-Ḥira [q. v.]. Although this does not mean that the town was not founded till the time of this governor — it is only a hypothesis that he and no other of the many known bearers of the name Suhrāb is the one in question — one should perhaps be careful not to date the foundation of the town at too remote a period. The classical geographers do not seem to have known the town; at least, no ancient name is known, which could be applied to the place later known as Suhraward.

The site of Suhraward cannot be located with absolute certainty. We have the statements of the Muslim geographers, according to which the town lay on the road from Hamādhān to Zandjān to the south of Sulṭāniya. This road, 30 farsakhs long, was, according to Iṣṭakhrī, used in times of peace as the shortest route to Ādharbāidjān; in troubled times the circuit via Kāzwin was taken. Ibn Ḥawkal states exactly the reverse about the use of these two routes. In the ivth (xth) century the town was already in the hands of the Kurds; the inhabitants were mainly heretics, who emigrated, with the exception of such as stayed in their native town out of lack of courage or love of their home.

The town, which had been walled, was destroyed by the Mongols; Mustawfī describes it as a little village with many Mongol villages around it. On account of the cold in the Median highlands, little was grown here beyond corn and the smaller fruits.

Bibliography: On the etymology cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Über iranische Ortsnamen auf -kert und andere Endungen*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii., 1879, p. 143 sqq., esp. p. 147; do., *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, p. 346, note 1; J. Marquart, *Erānsahr*

(*A. G. W. Gött.*, N. F. iii., No. 2, 1901), p. 238; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v. Suhrāb. — The passages in the Muslim geographers are briefly utilised by G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 223 with references; those of the Arabs only fully in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, vii., 1926, p. 731 sqq. — The only map which attempts to locate Suhraward is map v. in Le Strange's book. — On famous men of Suhraward cf. in addition to the biographical works Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, s. v. Suhraward, and Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, *G. M. S.*, xx., s. v. Suhrawardī. (M. PLESSNER)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤAFṢ 'UMAR B. 'ABDALLĀH, a Šūfī and theologian of the Shāfi'ī school, was born in 539 (1145) at Suhraward in the province of Djibāl in Persia. He pursued his first studies of mysticism under his uncle Abu 'l-Nadīb, — whom he often quotes in his *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* — and under the celebrated Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djili. He settled in Baghdād, where he was received at the court of the Caliph al-Nāṣir. There he became chief of the Šūfis and died at a great age in 632 (1234). Ša'dī, when he stayed in Baghdād, studied under Suhrawardī of whom he relates an anecdote in the *Bustān* (ed. Graf, p. 150). Suhrawardī, who performed the ḥadjj on several occasions, met the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ during a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1231. On this occasion the two sons of the poet were invested with the khirka [q. v.] by the celebrated Šūfī.

'Umar Suhrawardī is a representative of orthodox Šūfism. His best known books are the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* and the *Kashf al-Naṣā'ih al-imāniya wa-Kashf al-Faḍā'ih al-yūnāniya* both dedicated to the Caliph al-Nāṣir. The first is one of the most popular treatises on Šūfism. It was published in Cairo on the margin of the *Iḥyā'* of Ghazālī, and translated into English by H. Wilberforce Clarke (from a Persian version) as an appendix to his translation of Ḥāfiẓ (London 1891). It is more particularly a treatise on ethics and practical mysticism, but it at the same time contains interesting historical notes and is of value for our knowledge of the Šūfī terminology. The *Kashf al-Naṣā'ih* is a polemical work directed against the study of Greek philosophy. In it Suhrawardī gives, on the model of the *Kalām* and of Ghazālī, a criticism of the hellenising philosophers but reveals a much inferior comprehension of philosophy to that of the author of the *Tahāfat*. A curious feature of the book is that in it the Caliph al-Nāṣir, who himself taught, is frequently cited as an authority in support of traditions.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 440—441. Also Carra de Vaux, *Gazali*, Paris 1902, p. 235—241; do., *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, vol. iv., Paris 1923, p. 199—207. (S. VAN DEN BERGH)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN YAḤYĀ B. ḤABĀSH B. AMĪRAK, known as al-Maqtūl, was born in the middle of the xiith century. He studied law at Marāgha and becoming a philosopher and Šūfī lived in Iṣfahān, then in Baghdād and Aleppo. It appears that at Aleppo the viceroy al-Malik al-Zāhir, son of Šalāḥ al-Dīn, at first granted him his patronage but when his mysticism rendered him suspect to true believers and the orthodox party demanded his execution, al-Malik had him put to death in 578 (1191). He was then 36 or 38. He was called al-Maqtūl to show that

he was not to be considered a martyr (*shahid*).

Suhrawardī declares himself a Peripatetic and a Sūfī. In his interpretation of Aristotle, he is influenced by Ibn Sīnā. But while Ibn Sīnā, just like the Greek commentators on Aristotle by whom he is inspired, does not, as a rule, make use of mysticism except to supplement or extend Aristotle's thought by certain Neo-Platonic theories when it in his view presents lacunae, or to develop monistic tendencies which he thinks are already implicit in the work of the master, one finds in Suhrawardī alongside of Peripatetic ideas all that mystic philosophy which Islām obtained from Hellenistic syncretism, all that mixture of Neo-Platonic doctrine, Hermetic theories, occult sciences, Gnostic traditions and Neo-Pythagorean elements. For Suhrawardī and other Muslim mystics, as had been the case with Hellenistic syncretism — the Neo-Platonist Asclepiades, for example, had composed a treatise "On the Agreement of all Religions" — all philosophical systems and all religions express only one single truth and he claims as his masters Agathodaemon, Hermes and the "five greatest philosophers of Greece", Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle and at the same time Djamāsp and Buzurgmihr. With patriotic pride he regards the latter as the true precursor of the Greek thinkers (the Jewish historian Artapanus — first century B. C. — had already said that Moses was the teacher of Orpheus and was known to the Greeks as Musaeus) and according to him it was they who — far from being dualists — were the first to express the truth of absolute Being and contingent Being under the symbols of Light and Darkness. But, although he professes agreement with Aristotle and Plato, he gives in his principal work, *Kitāb Hikmat al-Ishrāk* (lithogr. Teherān 1316 = 1898) a prominent place to an attack on Aristotle. The extreme liberalism of his ideas even allows him, while teaching in other passages the theories criticised, to repeat the criticisms which the *Kalām* had formulated against certain fundamental theories of the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle, e.g. against the theory of the definition of essence (by the argument, of sceptical origin, that we could only find the universal by complete induction from the particular cases which are infinite in number) and against the doctrine of matter (by the argument — of Stoic origin — that the possible has no objective existence; if this were not the case, it would be at once potential and actual). As a rule we find, quite frequently in him, those theories and arguments of the Sceptics and Stoics which the *Kalām* had taken up; he teaches for example the theory of the Stoics — revived by Leibniz — of the identity of the indiscernables and the theory of the Stoics or of the Sceptics of the subjectivity or the impossibility of relations and he shares with the *Kalām* the optimism of Stoic (or Neo-Platonic) theodicy — revived by Leibniz — "that everything is for the best in the best of possible worlds".

But what is most characteristic of his work is his metaphysics of light, of illumination (*ishrāk*). It is the Neo-Platonic theory of light, a spiritual light which serves as a symbol of emanation but at the same time is regarded as the fundamental reality of things. We find this theory, which has played a great part in Christian and Muslim philosophy and mysticism, in most of the Arab philosophers, especially in Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and

Ghazālī, but no one, I believe, has made so much use of this symbol as Suhrawardī. Necessity and contingency, being and non-being, substance and accident, cause and effect, thought and sensation, body and soul, are all explained by his doctrine of *ishrāk*; he regards all that lives, or moves or has its being as light and even his proof of the existence of God is based upon this symbol. It is particularly for his metaphysics of light that he is known to posterity; he was the founder of a sect, whose name *al-ishrākiyūn* is derived from *ishrāk* and the order of dervishes, who trace their foundation to him, are similarly called *Nurbakhshiya*.

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SUHUF. [See **ṢAHĪFA.**]

SŪḲ (A.), market, frequent in street- and place-names. The word in this sense is, according to Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, p. 187, borrowed from the Aramaic. Fraenkel was especially induced to come to this opinion by the consideration that "markets in this sense must have been unknown to the earliest Arabs". This may be true for the early period during which the word may be presumed to have been borrowed from the Aramaic; but it is certain that regular markets were already in existence among the Arabs before Islām; on this the most recent reference is H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire* (*M. I. F. A. O.*, ix. 3, 1924), p. 57—58 (153—154), from whose quotations it is evident that *sūḳ* was used not only in the meaning of "market-place" but also in that of "market".

The whole complex of social, economic, and legal problems of the Muslim world associated with the conception of "market" can only be hinted at here. Preliminary studies dealing with special aspects of these questions do not exist; on the other hand, in many works of the most varied nature there are occasional notes which still have to be submitted to a systematic examination. The most important thing to remember in such a study is that Islām in a very short time conquered an enormous territory, the separate parts of which, formerly independent kingdoms, with very different economic and legal histories, at once were formed into one state with a uniform government, with a system of law based on a single canon and administered by organs of the central authority and not by an independent local authority. The importance of this lies in the fact that Islām by its whole structure prevented the growth of

civic communities, possessing the right of making laws of their own, and able to use them in the local market, as was the case in the west during the middle ages. At the same time, it is recognised that in Islām the existence of a market was much more independent of the protection of the town, in which it was situated than was the case in the west, in legal theory at least, and probably in fact also. The historian of the market in the *Dār al-Islām* will thus have to trace back to pre-Muhammadan times the local history of the markets in the different regions and to ascertain to what degree the Muslim conquest interfered with their development, and finally will have to ask whether typical developments are found after a study of many different cases, as far apart geographically as possible, which are characteristic of different parts of the empire and whether and how these types differ from the markets of these towns, which were only founded by the conquerors or at any rate after the conquest. Such an investigation would be very important not only from the point of view of social, economic, and legal history, but it would to a very special degree throw light on the relation between *sharīʿa* and practice, and on the question whether the difference between the sects and the *madhāhib* in the different parts of the world of Islām favoured a varying development of this relation in certain fields, for example, on that of the history of the market, which is not to be traced to the fact that the regions in question belonged to different kingdoms before Islām.

The *Bibliography* which would be required to study this problem is almost boundless; it is easier to mention Muslim works which are valueless for our subject than those that are. There is the whole theological, historical, geographical and *adab* literature, as well as applied philosophy and a part of the poetry. Only philology, metaphysics, mathematics and some natural sciences can be dropped, in so far as they do not deal with saleable goods.

There is much economic material in modern travels, etc.; but these do not deal with questions of historical development. A few observations which might serve as starting points are to be found in Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, iii, 1922), p. 522 sqq. (cf. H. H. Schaeder in *Isl.*, xiv, 1925, p. 5 sqq.) and in the posthumous *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* of the same writer (1923), Index s. v. Vorderer Orient (jüngere Perioden).

Special mention should be made of al-Dimashqī, *K. al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tiǧāra*; cf. H. Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft* (*Isl.*, vii, 1—91). On the office of superintendent of the market cf. HĪSBA; on some ḥadīths relating to the market cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Some Aspects of Gender in the Semitic Languages*, Register, s. v. SŪḲ.

(M. PLESSNER)

SŪḲ AL-SHUYŪḲH, a small town in ʿIrāq on the right bank of the Euphrates, about 25 miles to the east of Nāṣiriya, opposite the mouth of the canal al-Badʿa, an arm of the Shaṭṭ al-Hāy. The distance to Baṣra as the crow flies is about 100 miles. The town is surrounded by date-groves extending along the river bank, but the marshy country, that extends into Baṣra, makes the air very unhealthy. SūḲ al-Shuyūkh was founded in the first half of the xviiith century as a market-place (*sūḳ*) of the confederation of the

Muntaḥḳ [q. v.] Arabs; 4 hours to the east there was formerly the residence of the chief **Shaiḳh** of the Muntaḥḳ, called Kūt al-Shuyūkh; the plural *shuyūkh* designates the members of the clan of this chief. To the end of the xviiith century SūḲ was a small town with a mosque and surrounded by earthen walls (Beauchamp) and in the beginning of the xixth century it is described as an extremely dirty town, inhabited by 6,000 families and having a lively commercial intercourse with Baṣra and even with Būshir and Bombay. According to Fraser the Muntaḥḳ **Shaiḳh** disdained to live in the town, but in Petermann's time (1854) he had a house there; the last mentioned traveller estimates the number of the population at 3,000. At the end of the xixth century the number 12,000 is given (Cuinet, Sāmi), of whom 2,250 were Sunnis possessing two mosques (*djāmiʿ*), and 8,770 Shīʿis with one sanctuary (*masǧid*). The population also included of 280 Jews and 700 Mandaean or Šubbā. The latter lived for the greater part in the suburb Šubbūye on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. Before 1853 the Mandaean population had numbered 260 families, but the oppression of the Muntaḥḳ had caused 200 families to emigrate to ʿAmāra. The German orientalist Petermann in the year 1854 visited in SūḲ al-Shuyūkh the high priest of the Madaeans, **Shaiḳh** Yahyā. As elsewhere these people are here silversmiths; they are also builders of a special type of boats.

Under Turkish administration SūḲ al-Shuyūkh became the capital of a *qaḍā* of the same name in the *sandjaḳ* of Muntaḥḳ. The tribes living on both sides of the town (Badūr and Banī Asad) are Shīʿis. The number of the population of the *qaḍā* is given as 50,000 (Cuinet).

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdekunde*, xi. (vol. vii., second part), p. 1000, 1008, who cites the earlier travellers; H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii., p. 83—93; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iii., p. 308 sqq.; Sāmi, *Kāmus al-ʿAṭām*, iv. 2687; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 72; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 72; W. Brandt, *Die Mandäer*, *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, N. R., Amsterdam 1915, vol. xvi., p. 57—58.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SUKAINA, daughter of al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and of Rabab bint Imr' al-Ḳais b. ʿAdī b. ʿAws the poetess, who gave her daughter the name of Sukaina (sometimes called: Sakina, but the *Kāmus* has: Sukaina). Her real name was Umaina (according to Ibn al-Kalbī quoted by Ibn Saʿd and the *Aghānī*) or Umaina but more probably Āmina or Āmina (according to the *Aghānī*). The date of her birth is not known; but she was a little girl at the time of her father's death (definitely stated by Ṭabari, ii. 232, 10, and by Ibn al-Aṭhīr in telling of the death of Ḥusain, *Kāmil*, iv. 73; the same writer says that Yazid had the survivors of the day of Kerbelā' — of whom Sukaina was one — brought to Medina under a strong guard — and that the latter's mother died of grief a year later; *ibid.*, iv. 76/6). Sukaina is particularly famous for her successive marriages; very contradictory statements are given regarding their number and order. According to the *Kit. al-Aghānī*, a proposed marriage with her cousin Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī came

to nothing and the latter married Sukaina's sister Fāṭima. Ibn Ẹutaiba and Ibn Sa'd give lists; the former three lists in which the order varies, the second two lists; the *Aghānī* gives six contradictory lists. It is best in the circumstances to accept the oldest order, on which Ẹutaiba and Ibn Sa'd are almost in agreement, the order adopted by Ibn Khallikān. Her first husband, according to this, was Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair b. al-'Awwām (d. in 70 or 71 in a battle fought against 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān; cf. Ibn al-Aṭṭir, iv. 263 sqq.); Muṣ'ab gave Sukaina a considerable dowry when she was given him by her brother 'Alī (cf. the satirical verses in *Tha'ālibī*, *Laṭā'if*, p. 53); they had a daughter to whom Sukaina gave her mother's name; this daughter married the brother of Muṣ'ab and died young. The second husband of Sukaina seems to have been 'Abdallāh b. 'Uṭhmān, nephew of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair; from this union was born 'Uṭhmān called Ẹurain (and according to Ibn Sa'd two other children Hākim and Rabiḥa), a union not always peaceful (according to the *Aghānī*). The third husband was, according to Ibn Sa'd, Zaid b. 'Amr b. 'Uṭhmān b. 'Affān; the *Aghānī* describes him as miserly and unreliable and speaks of continual quarrels with Sukaina, who survived him. Al-Aṣṣagh b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān (d. 86), brother of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz and governor of Egypt from 75 A.H., married the divorced Sukaina without ever consummating the union (too much stress need not be laid on the differences of the biographers on this question; while Ibn Ẹutaiba, followed by Ibn Khallikān and Ṣafādī makes al-Aṣṣagh the third husband of Sukaina, Ibn Sa'd and a verse quoted by the *Aghānī* made him her fourth husband). According to Ibn Sa'd, besides, Sukaina married, immediately after Zaid b. 'Amr, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhri with whom she lived three months; they were divorced, it is said by orders of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, which is not at all probable; according to Ibn Ḥadjar and Ibn Ẹutaiba (*Ma'ārif*) Ibrāhīm died in 76, aged 75; the marriage must therefore have been earlier. Ibn Ẹutaiba further records, without giving an authority, that Sukaina married 'Amr b. Hākim b. Ḥizām. The statements of the *Aghānī* about a marriage between Sukaina and her cousin 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī may be rejected. Sukaina was generally recognised to have been one of the most remarkable women of her time. One of the authorities quoted by the *Aghānī* (xiv.) describes her as chaste, fastidious, full of a dignity which did not exclude a fondness for badinage (jests and hoaxes quoted, xiv. and xvii., p. 94, 97, 101). The beauty of her hair was celebrated; she had a particular method of arranging it; at a later period 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz strictly prohibited this coiffure. She was very proud, not only of her beauty but of her ancestors (*Aghānī*, xiv. 164) and of her daughter whom she liked to cover with jewels. She also gave evidence of the possession of courage, if we may believe *Aghānī* (xiv.) on the stoicism with which she submitted to an operation on the eye. She was also a woman of wit, devoted to poetry and song (numerous anecdotes, *Aghānī*). She spent her life in the region of the sacred cities and died at Medina on Thursday 5th Rabi' I 117 (April 7, 735). Her burial was postponed for several hours because the governor ordered that they should wait till he could arrive.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Aghānī*,

index; Yāḳūt, index, and Syria, 1921, p. 221 sqq.; Ibn Ẹutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, index; Ibn Sa'd, viii. 348; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, v. 252; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Juynboll, index; al-Dhahabī, ed. De Jong, s. v.; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i. 581; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G. A.*, 186; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, transl. Amar, p. 197; *Mustaṭraf*, transl. Rat, i. 201; Tha'ālibī, *Rois des Perses*, p. 727; Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, ed. De Jong, index; Zainab Fawwaz, *al-Durr al-manṭḥūr*, p. 244; al-Shablandjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāḳib al-Bait al-Nabī 'l-mukḥṭār*, Cairo 1298, p. 259—263; Ṣafādī, *B. N. Paris MS.* 2064, fol. 151 v°; Perron, *Femmes arabes*; Kremer, *Kulturgesch.*, ii. 100; *J. A.*, 1832, p. 47 and 50; 1884, p. 173, No. 1. (H. MASSÉ)

SUKKAR, from Pers. *shakar* or *shakkār*, from Sanskrit *ṣarṣarā*, Prakrit *sakkārā*, the sap crushed from the sugar-cane (*ḡaṣab al-sukkar*) and solid sugar. Vullers (ii. 439) gives the following from the *Bh*: *shakkar* is in the technical language of the physicians the sap of a plant, similar to the reed (*nay*) but not hollow between the nodes, which becomes solid on boiling. It is given different names in different stages of preparation. Thus for example, when not yet purified (simply solidified) it is called *shakkar surḥ* (red sugar); when it is boiled a second time and purified by being poured into a vessel where the impurities are deposited, it is called *Sulaimānī*; when it has again been boiled and poured into a mould shaped like a pine-apple (*ḡālib ṣanawbarī*) it is called *fānīd*; when it is boiled for a third time and reaches the highest stage of purity, it is called *imūdj* or double *ḡand*; when it is poured into long reed-shaped moulds similar at both ends, it is called *ḡalam* (sugar-stick); when it is once more boiled and poured into glass moulds, it is called *nabāt-i ḡassānī* (grown silk sugar?); if it is brought to the boil with water and stirred vigorously till it solidifies and is then drawn out into threads it is called *fānīd ḡhasū'i* and *sandjari* (*Sindjari*?); if in the third boiling it is brought to the boil with a tenth of its bulk of fresh milk added to it, until it solidifies, it is called *ṭabarzad* (sugar lump).

The names are not all clear. The word *fānīd* came into Persia from the Sanskrit *phāṇita*, *ḡand* or *ḡand* from the Sanskrit *ḡhanda* (with the meaning somewhat changed). As *Sulaimānī* is probably a trade-mark, from the name of the town of Sulaimānān in *Khūzistān*, *Sindjari* may refer to the district of Sindjar. Instead of *ḡhasū'i*, we find the reading *ḡhasū'imī*, which P. Schwarz proposed to translate "intended for the treasuries"; *sandjari* therefore might also mean "royal". The pine-apple shape is the original of our sugar-loaf, the *ḡalam*-shapes were probably cylindrical; the name *ṭabarzad* "chopped with an axe" is also given to rock salt; the sugar made in this way must have been so hard that it had to be smashed into small pieces.

A wild variety of the sugar-cane (*saccharum officinale*) is not known and the attempt to cultivate the related *S. spontaneum*, which is widely distributed, has not succeeded. The original home of the sugar-cane is Bengal; it is said to have been brought from there to China in the seventh century B. C. Herodotus did not know of the sugar-cane, nor Ktesias, the court physician of Artaxerxes Memnon (c. 416); on the other hand Nearchos and Onesikritos mention that in India

a reed produces honey "without bees" and Megasthenes, who went to India several times as an ambassador, about 300 B.C. tells a similar story. Theophrastus speaks of μέλι καλάμινον (nature unknown, the translation "reed honey" is doubtful); later writers hardly add anything new. Pliny never mentions the sugar-cane; on the other hand the word *σάκχαρον* is first found in him and in Dioscurides, applied to a kind of "liquid honey from India and Yemen, which is found in a reed and looks like salt". In the *Periplus* (c. 77 A.D.) a "reed-honey" called *σάκχαρι* (see above) is mentioned as an article of export from Barygaza (the modern Baroach). Galen quotes Dioscurides, but hardly makes any use of the scarce stuff which was difficult to obtain. According to E. O. von Lippmann, *sakcharon* is not a product of the sugar-cane and should not be identified with our sugar. In Sanskrit the word means something friable, of the constitution of sand or grains of corn. The purification of sugar was first known in India about 300 A.D.; the first certain European mention is in 627 A.D. in connection with the conquest of Dastagird, the capital of the Persian king Khosrū II, when sugar is mentioned among the Indian treasures of the Persian king. It may be assumed that the manufacture of sugar and the cultivation of the sugar-cane reached Persia about the same time, as the flat and moist low-lying lands of southern Mesopotamia and Khūzistān afforded excellent conditions for its cultivation. At first cultivated only to a small extent for medical purposes or as a valuable sweet, the sugar-cane was very rapidly spread by the Arabs after the conquest of Persia, anywhere that the climatic conditions were suitable to the plant, notably Egypt, along the north coast of Africa as far as Morocco (Sūs al-Aḡṣā), Spain and Sicily; India and Persia however still remained the main centres of production.

All the sources for the history of the sugar-cane and sugar, including Oriental ones, so far as available up to 1890, were utilised by E. O. von Lippmann in his *Geschichte des Zuckers*, Leipzig 1890. A new work on the subject which will take note of the new literature of the last 40 years is desirable in the near future. Below are given also, a few works dealing with the narrower field of Islam and Persia.

Bibliography: E. Wiedemann, *Über den Zucker bei den Muslimen*, Beitr., lii.; do., *Nachträge zu dem Aufsatz über den Zucker*, Beitr., lv.; B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 1919, p. 376; P. Schwarz, *Die Zuckerpressen von Ahwās*, in *Isl.*, 1915, vi., p. 269 sqq.; Immanuel Löw, *Der Zucker. Ein Kapitel aus der Flora der Juden*, in *Chem. Ztg.*, 1927, li., p. 15.

(J. RUSKA)

AL-SUKKARĪ, AL-HASAN B. AL-HUSAIN B. 'UBAIDALLĀH ABU SA'ĪD, an Arabic philologist, pupil of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Riyāshī, the pupil of al-Aṣmā'ī, who is also sometimes wrongly mentioned as one of his teachers, although this is impossible on chronological grounds alone, and of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb and of Abū Ḥatīm al-Sidjistānī, born 212 (827), died 275 (888). His activities were almost entirely devoted to the collection and editing of old Arabic poems. Of the *Diwāns* of various tribes collected by him, only that of the Hudhailis has survived but is incomplete. That he had the help of other collections for this edition (see Goldziher, *D. L. Z.*, 1895, p. 1451) is

very probable; but when 'Abd al-Qādir al-Bagh-dādī in the *Khiṣmāt al-Adab*, ii. 317, *sq.*, speaks of a copy of the year 200 A.H., the quotation cannot be from the commentary of al-Sukkari, as that copy bore a certificate by Ibn Fāris (d. 395 = 1005) but he must refer to his own copy of the *Diwān*. Besides the editions by Kosegarten, Wellhausen and Hell we have also Sukkari's commentary edited by F. Bayraktarevič, *Abū Khayr al-Hudhaili, la Tūmiyya, publiée avec le commentaire d'al-Sukkari, Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1923. Of his still frequently quoted *Akhḥār al-Luṣṣā* only the *Diwān* of Tahmān, ed. W. Wright in *Opuscula arabica*, Leiden 1859, p. 76—95, survives. Of his editions of the *Diwāns* of various poets we only possess the *Diwān* of Imra'ālḥais in the Leyden MS. Warn. 901 (1, s. *Catalogus codic. ar. lib. ac. Lugd. Bat.*, ed. i. 347. N^o. clxiv.), and perhaps that of Kaïs b. Khaṭīm, see ed. Kowalski, xxxiii. His only share in the surviving recension of the *Naḥṣīd* of Abū 'Ubaida was that of a transmitter from his teacher Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb. Quotations from other works are given in *G. A. L.*, i. 108).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 78, 20—27; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuḥat al-Aḥbāb*, p. 274—275; Yāqūt, *Irsḥād al-Arīḍ*, ed. Margoliouth, iii. 62—64; al-Suyūṭī, *Buḡyat al-Wuṣat*, p. 208—209; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 89. (C. BROCKELMANN)

SUKMÂN (SUKMÂN) B. ORTOḠ, MU'IN AL-DAWLA, lord of Ḥiṣn Kaifā. After the death of his father Ortoḡ in 484 (1091/1092) Sukmân, jointly with his brother Ilghāzī [q.v.] received the city of Jerusalem as a fief from the Salḡūḡ Sultān Tutuṣh b. Alp Arslān. But by Shaḥbān 489 (July-Aug. 1096) or, according to another less reliable statement, in 491 (1098), it was taken from them by the Fāṭimids. The two brothers then went first to Damascus from which Ilghāzī went to al-'Irāḡ and Sukmân sought refuge in Edessa. After the inhabitants of this town, who were mainly Armenians, had called in the Franks and given them rule over the town, Sukmân collected an army with which to oppose the Franks. He was successful in taking the town of Sarūḍj but when he met the enemy soon afterwards he was defeated and had to take to flight (Rabī' I, 494 = Jan. 1101), whereupon the victors wrought a fearful massacre among the people of the town. After some time Ḥiṣn Kaifā was taken by Sukmân. The amir Kurbuḡā [q.v.] who lived in al-Mawṣil died in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 495 (Aug.-Sept. 1102) and when his governor in Ḥiṣn Kaifā, Mūsā al-Turkmānī, quarrelled with Djekirmish, the lord of Dījazirāt Ibn 'Omar, his troops abandoned him and went over to Djekirmish, whereupon Mūsā in desperate straits sought help from Sukmân, who was then in Dīyār Bakr, and had to give him Ḥiṣn Kaifā in return. In time Sukmân succeeded in bringing Māridīn also under his rule. In Rabī' I, 496 (Dec. 1102), Sultān Barkiyārūḡ [q.v.] appointed Gümüşhtekin al-Kaisarī governor of Baghdād, although Ilghāzī had already been given this office by Barkiyārūḡ's rival, his brother Muḥammad. With the help of his brother Sukmân and the lord of al-Hilla, Ṣadaḡa b. Maṣṣūr [q.v.], Ilghāzī was soon able to dispose of Gümüşhtekin. When the Franks attacked Ḥarrān in 497 (1104), the old enemies Sukmân and Djekirmish, who were just preparing to attack one another, made up their quarrel. The people of Ḥarrān were

already negotiating their surrender to the Franks, when the two amirs, who had met on the Khābūr, arrived in time to relieve the town. A battle was fought on the Balikh, a tributary of the Euphrates, and the Franks were completely defeated. Count Baldwin of Edessa and Joscelin were taken prisoners, while Boemund and Tancred succeeded in reaching Edessa with great difficulty. In spite of the brilliant victory it wanted little to arouse once more the old jealousy between the two Muslim leaders, as the rich booty which fell to Sukmān's men aroused the envy of their allies and only Sukmān's skilful diplomacy enabled the threatening danger to be averted from the victors. After the resistance of the Franks had been temporarily broken, Djekirmish took possession of Harrān and then turned his attention to Edessa. There Tancred commanded, while Boemund remained in Antioch. The latter was at once sent for, but as difficult roads delayed his march, Tancred resolved to risk all on one throw and made a bold sortie early one morning. He succeeded in surprising the besiegers and put them to flight. Soon afterwards Ibn 'Ammār [q. v.], lord of Tripoli, appealed to Sukmān for help against the Franks. Sukmān declared himself ready to assist him and set out for Damascus, but died on the way (beginning of Šafar 498 = Oct. 1104). In Ḥiṣn Kaifā he was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm and in Māridīn by his brother Ilghāzī.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, x., passim; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii. 309, 319, 337, 343, 351; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, v. 210—212; Ibn al-Ḳalānisi, *Dhail Ta'rikh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, p. 132—138, 143, 146 sq., 158, 176; *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Histor. occidentaux*, iii., see Index, *Histor. orientaux*, i. 3 sq., 6—8, 197 sq., 208—210, 221—223, 226 sq.; iii. 462, 483, 486, 489, 494, 523, 527 sq., 557—580; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 149 sq., 153 sq., 165—168, 185; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 49, 51, 55, 78, 283.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SULAHFĀT, the tortoise, or turtle. Land (tortoise) and sea (turtle) varieties are distinguished as *al-barri* and *al-bahrī*. Al-Damirī and al-Kazwīnī give practically the same fables about their habits. The turtle attains the size of an island. As it cannot hatch its eggs on account of the hardness and coldness of the shell on its belly, it looks after the eggs until God allows the young ones to come out. If the eggs fall into water, turtles are born from them. Magical qualities are attributed to them by the *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ* of Balīnās and healing properties are mentioned by al-Kazwīnī and al-Damirī. Combs are made from the shell. The stupidity of the tortoise is proverbial.

Sulahfāt is also the Arabic name of the constellation of Lyra, compared to the Greek *χελύς*.

Bibliography: al-Kazwīnī, *Adjā'ib al-Makh-lūḳāt*, i. 136; al-Damirī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, transl. Jayakar, II/i. 55; L. Ideler, *Sternnamen*, p. 68.

(J. RUSKA)

ŠULAIB, The generic and proper name of this Arab pariah tribe living in Central Arabia and the adjoining territory, usually called Šulaib (pronounced Šlaib), is (according to a letter from the Carmelite father A. M. de St. Élie) Šulaba (pronounced Šleba). The collective form is derived from the singular Šulabi (pronounced Šlebiy), fem.

Šulabiya. The plural al-Šulabāt is also found (in Wetzstein, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxii. 125). Hess only knows the term Šluba. The diminutive form, which is commonly used in Arabia with a contemptuous sense, from Šulaba is Šulaib, or sg. m. Šulaibī or Šulaibiya (pronounced Šlaib, Šlaibiy or Šlaibiya). The combination with "Banū" and "Benī" is also occasionally found but is probably not correct, as in Arabic geographical proper names no essential alteration took place in the oldest recorded form of the name in the form or combination of these names from the period of the oldest tradition. This applies even to the use of the Arabic article *al-*.

The most varied explanations are given of the meaning and origin of their name. Those who connect the word Šulaba with totemism have most in their favour, of all the explanations given in Pieper's work (p. 65—69); for the *wasim* [q. v.] of that tribe is said by some (St. Élie in *Machriq*, Wetzstein and Palgrave) to be the cross *el-šalīb* [q. v.]; but Huber (197) gives their tribal badge as another symbol, a short stroke with a semi-spherical snake by its side (*mešbā'*; according to Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, p. 82: *el-medba*); probably a parrying-shield such as is borne by the people of the Upper Nile and the Dinka. Another tribal mark is *el-hāzim*, which looks like a "K" and is branded on the left shoulder of their animals, while the *mešbā'* is put on leg, neck or cheek (Massignon, *loc. cit.*, p. 75). The other less probable interpretation, which, according to Doughty (i. 283) and Pelly (189), is the Beduin etymology, derives the tribal name from the expression *šulb el-'Arab* (= the Arab's stock, from the back of the Arabs = the dregs of the Arabs). On the other hand the Arab derivation from *šulb* (= hard, hardened, steadfast, i. e. in faith; St. Élie in *Machriq*, p. 674) is only to be adopted with some misgiving as perhaps illuminating but hardly scientific in my opinion. A connection of the name Šulaib with Greek gods of agriculture, who according to St. Élie (*loc. cit.*, p. 674) were called "Sulèves" may on the other hand be at once rejected as it is little probable that the Šulaba, being in the main hunters, should have formerly worshipped agricultural deities. Nor can the name be derived from names of places, e. g. from Šulaib (Solēb; St. Élie, *loc. cit.*, p. 674). Their name does not seem to be a patronymic, not simply because the compound name Banū Šulaib is hardly to be found and is incorrect but also because neither in the Arab legends so far known nor in the scanty references of the Arab historians and geographers is there any mention of the name of a possible ancestor from which the name of their tribe could be derived (their legendary ancestor Dab'ān does not come into question here). The suggestion that they are descended from the Crusaders (*Šalibi*, *Šalibiya*; cf. St. Élie, *loc. cit.*, p. 613, first made in the Paris periodical *Le Rosier de Marie*, 1864) is very improbable for practical reasons and because historical references suggesting such a thing are entirely wanting.

Their origin and descent is obscure because, as already remarked, the historical sources give negligible information about them and these important points in particular, which may be due not only to their small numbers and slight importance, but particularly to their low social status as a despised and barely tolerated pariah tribe among the

Beduins. In the earlier Arabic literature they are not called by their proper name Şulaba, Şulaib, etc., but are called al-Zaʿānif (according to a letter from St. Élie). So far as I know there are no genealogies of them in existence, not even fictitious ones. Their legends and those of the Arabs form only a very poor substitute for this deficiency. Common to them — and this is very significant — is the statement that the ancestors of the Şulaba once held a much higher social and economic position than they do now (St. Élie, *loc. cit.*, p. 675; Doughty, i. 283), which however they forfeited through arrogance etc. (motif of the Fall; a Christian survival?). Pelly (p. 189) says that an Arab once had sexual intercourse with his mother and the Şulaba are the descendants of this act of incest. Quite apart from the fact that it is the regular custom in Arabia to disparage the descent of one's enemies or people one holds in contempt — even beyond the bounds of truth — the story given by Pelly recalls a significant statement in Strabo (xvi. 4, 25); according to him the Nabataeans recognise marriage with the widowed mother on the death of a father, a peculiar degeneration of the true Semitic institution of the levirate marriage. Wright, p. 43, records another legend, which may be important for dating the age of this people. Their ancestors are said to have left Ḥusain b. ʿAlī and his followers and companions in the lurch at the battle of Kerbelāʾ (61 = 680) and thus contributed to the guilt of their massacre. This is unusual as it suggests the Shīʿa and a connection with Mesopotamia.

More positive facts however throw light on the present position of the Şulaba, their customs, ideas, and social position with regard to the other Arabs. It is decisive for their whole existence and peculiarities that they, like the Ḥutaim (pronounced Ḥūtāim or Ḥʿtāim), ʿAḳēl — Arabs and Arab gypsies (Navar, sing. Nūri) — are a race of pariahs.

The area over which they are found is the whole of the interior of the northern and central part of the Arabian peninsula. The southern frontier of the country over which they wander corresponds roughly with the Tropic of Cancer on the southern boundary of the fertile zone of Naǧd. Assertions to the contrary by Pelly, p. 189 and Doughty, i. 282, are not so very important in my opinion, as there had been no previous mention of them in South Arabia and Yemen by Europeans who had travelled there, which would be remarkable in the case of a people of such striking appearance as the Şulaba. This does not of course mean that we deny their occasional appearance in these regions. A further argument in favour of this assertion is that the Şulaba are reckoned with the Ahl al-Şemāl (cf. Curtiss, p. 46, note 2). The large towns on the border of the steppes and deserts are only occasionally visited by the desert Şulaba to buy provisions, arms (Wetzstein in *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 492) and munitions and other necessities or to sell their manufactures and booty of the chase. On the other hand some of them are settled in the fertile parts of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. Within the area above defined, especially in the steppe district the desert Şulaba wander northwards or southwards, according to the season, following the movements of the game, their chief source of food, which depends on the growth and decline of vegetation. They, like the Beduins, are not settled. The few Şulaba in the more fertile

zones on the edge of the Arabian deserts need hardly be taken into account, especially as they are also for the most part half nomad. Their unsettled and migratory form of life is connected with their way of living. Unlike the Beduins, they live for the most part by hunting or handiwork. This also causes them to split up into very small groups whether settled or migratory — here again unlike the Beduins. They are found, according to Raynaud and Martinet, p. 30—35, in groups of two or three families. But it sometimes happens although rarely, that larger bodies are found wandering or camping together. This is all the more remarkable as in Arabia the tribes acquire all the more prestige and are less exposed to hostilities the greater their numbers. The Şulaba share this peculiarity with the other wandering pariah tribes of Arabia. But in particular places in Arabia the Şulaba are said to be found in larger bodies. According to Doughty, i. 283 *sq.*, this is particularly the case in the oases of Taimāʾ and Wedǧh. The fact that they are so thinly distributed makes it difficult to estimate their numbers and the estimates vary very much. St. Élie (*loc. cit.*, p. 678) at the end of 1898 (?) puts their strength at over 700 tents which, as a mean, is probably nearest the truth, for Curtiss, p. 46 note 1, gives 400 and Huber, p. 196, 1,000 tents for el-Hedjira or el-Hedjra alone. The latter figure can only be taken with scepticism.

They are divided into different small tribes and these again into clans. According to Raynaud and Martinet, p. 30—35 supplemented by the publications of St. Élie, the best living authority on this people, and letters from him to me, the Şulaba have been divided since the last century into three sub-tribes as follows:

- I. Şulaib [Şlāib], who are divided into the sub-tribes of:
 1. al-Mālik;
 2. al-Ṭāmil [Ṭāmel] (= the shameless);
 3. al-Māǧǧid in Lower Mesopotamia or Bilād al-Muntaḳiḳ [dial. also: al-Māyed];
 4. al-Duraib [Dʿraib] (= the nimble, alert, active);
 5. al-Ḳabwān (= the faithful, reliable) [dial.: al-Gabwān];
 6. al-Bennāk [dial.: al-Bannāy] (= those who hunt partridge with extraordinary skill);
 7. al-Nāẓim;
 8. al-Ṭarfāʾ;
 9. al-Ḥāzim and
 10. al-Subaiba [pronounce: Sʿbaiba] (in Raynaud and Martinet, *loc. cit.*, wrongly called: Sbeipat).
- II. Sub-tribe of al-Şaidān; clan: al-ʿAmira and
- III. Sub-tribe of al-Ḡhunmī or al-Ḡhunaim, also wrongly called: Banū Ḡhunaimī [Beni Ḡhʿnāimi].

Another division on a geographical basis is given (in a letter) by St. Élie:

- I. Sub-tribe of desert-Şulaba or Khalawiya [Khlāwīyā], sgl.: Khalawī [Khlēwī] or Khalawa [Khlēwā], who are divided into the following clans:
 1. al-Māǧǧid at Nuḳra Bani Khalīd in Naǧd;
 2. al-Rashaʿida;
 3. al-ʿAwāzim; Rashaʿida and ʿAwāzim meet in the hinterland of al-Kuwait;
 4. al-Ḥāzim at Nukhaib [Nʿkhaib], at Tubal Tʿbal] and at al-Salam, i.e. in the land between Lower Mesopotamia and Naǧd;

5. al-Sulaimān [S'laimān] at al-Shinbil [Shenbel];
 6. al-Rāshid, in the vicinity of al-Kasim;
 7. al-Hutaim (!) [H'taim] at Hā'il and at Madinat al-Rasūl and
 8. al-Djamil, who adjoin the Mādjid.
- II. Sub-tribe of the Palestine-Şulaba or al-Ghunmi [Ghenmi] with the clans:

1. al-Ghunmī in Shinbil; among them is the supreme chief now called Mu'aidhif [M'aidhef] who to some degree holds the supreme judiciary powers over them and the right of appeal; also found in Naǧd;
 2. al-Sulaimān (cf. above);
 3. al-Tarabīn between Jerusalem and the Egypt frontier;
 4. al-Khanādjira [Khanādjra], neighbours of the Tarabīn;
 5. al-Ma'āza, between Ghazza and Egypt, and
- III. Sub-tribe of the Şulaba of Transjordan, Syria and Mesopotamia or the Şulabat ul-Sarhān [Serhān] with the clans:
1. al-Khuwaitāt [Khwaīāt], east of Jordan;
 2. the Banū 'Atiya;
 3. al-Sharārāt [q.v.] and
 4. the Banū Şakhar (!) [Banī Şakhar].

These three clans are distributed over the southern and eastern part of Transjordan. A more accurate delineation of the tribes and stock of the Şulaba is urgently required, especially as regards which Arabian pariah tribes are to be included among them; the Nawar gipsies [q.v.] do not come into question.

Various branches of the Şulaba, especially those in the more fertile districts, are distinguished from the other (desert-) tribes by a higher standard of living (e.g. as camel-breeders) or by a certain tribal pride (like the Ghunmī); the latter for example demand a higher price for the bride from a Şulaba not of their tribe who wishes to marry into it (*Mahr*; q.v.), than from one of their own tribesmen. Nevertheless they possess the feeling that they are all one people (see Pieper, p. 17).

From the anthropological point of view, nothing absolutely certain can be stated with regard to their racial connections for want of reliable sources and in view of the contradictory accounts of their physical appearance. This is unfortunately the weak point in our present knowledge of this people.

According to St. Élie (*Machriq*, p. 676) the Şulaba are markedly distinct from the Beduins in their somatic attributes, by the smallness of the head, the fineness of the features, the height and breadth of the forehead, their blue eyes, light complexions, fair hair, the oval shape of the face, their more tender skin but especially by their more elegant figures. According to St. Élie (in a letter) occasionally lighter pigmented individuals are the exception among the Arabs of pure stock in Naǧd etc. The Şulaba are also proverbially lean. These statements of St. Élie are only partially confirmed by other authorities, e.g. by Blunt, ii. 109; Wright, p. 48 and von Oppenheim, i. 221 hold the contrary opinion. Generally they are said to be of a straight and rigid carriage, of no great stature and slightly built. Blunt, ii. 109 gives the height of a "little old" Şulabiya woman as "not more than than four feet". These vague statements do not permit us to make any deductions about their descent or racial connections. Reliable measurements are also completely lacking. The only pictures

of Şulaba, so far as I know, are the little sketch by Euting in the second volume of his *Travels* and the group (the only picture to some extent satisfactory) in v. Oppenheim, i. 220, which however is not sufficient for any far-reaching deductions. In any case from all the evidence available, this people seems, according to Christian (*Sitz.-Ber. Wien. Anthropol. Ges.*, 1923/1924) and Littman (cf. Pieper, p. 75), to belong to the Mediterranean branch of the human race and also to be of Semitic stock.

As to their character, the Şulaba are readily distinguished to their advantage by their naively cheerful and open natures from the reticent and always suspicious Beduins. They are not ungifted, musically and poetically, whence they can earn a living in the tents of the Beduins, and are kindly, peaceful, of gentle and amiable disposition and hospitable like all Orientals. According to a letter from St. Élie they are on the other hand not very liberal on the march or on their passages through the desert so that travellers who want anything from them have to threaten them. Their moral standard, as with all pariah peoples, does not seem to be very high.

Much more important for ascertaining their racial connections are their mode of life, customs, ideas and particularly their position with regard to the people among whom they live. It is this that marks them as pariahs. As to their mode of life it has already been mentioned that they make a living in quite un-Semitic fashion (Christian, *op. cit.*) — for the true Semite of these lands earns his livelihood either as a cattle-rearing nomad or as a trader, sometimes also as an artisan and soldier — mainly by the chase. Their main booty is the gazelle (*gazella dorcas*, L.), the sabre antelope or *baḳar waḥshī* (*oryx elgazel*, Pall.), the wild goat (*capra beden nubiana-sinaitica*, Hempr. Ad rheub.), and of ground game the desert fowl or the *ḳatū* bird (*pteroclidurus elchata*, L.), bustards, e.g. the *ḥubāra* (*Houbara undulata*, Jacq.) etc. Ostriches (*struthio camelus*, L.) in spite of the statements to the contrary by several travellers (e.g. Musil, iii. 19), are no longer hunted as they have been driven away to the south. Besides these wild creatures, anything else that it is at all possible is eaten by them as, being pariahs, they have no prohibitions regarding food either from custom or belief. They even eat the vulture and the dog, despised by the Arabs as unclean (Huber, p. 197; Doughty, i. 281; Pelly, p. 189). Pieper, p. 31-34 gives a detailed account of a Şulaba hunt, which is conducted either on foot by stalking or from the back of an ass. Another main business of the desert Şulaba with whom we are mainly concerned here, is the rearing and sale of the Şulaba ass, highly esteemed for its excellent qualities, also called Şulaibi (Şlaibi). Their strength and endurance and appearance are described by Musil, *op. cit.*, iii. 291, and Butler, p. 524. As a rule they are light, almost white in colour. Huber, p. 588, however (cf. Wright, p. 52), says that a clan of Şulaba on the Djebel 'Awdjā about 1880 also bred dark coloured asses. According to Musil, *op. cit.*, the Şulaba catch wild asses (*equus asinus africanus*, Fitz.) and use them for breeding whereby the strength of their asses is maintained at a high level. On account of their excellence these animals are very highly esteemed by the citizens and *fellāḥin* of the lands bordering on the Arabian deserts who do not share the prejudice of the

Beduins against the ass, and exported even to Europe under the name Baghdād or Moroccan asses. At the same time but only rarely — this must be emphasised — individual Şulaba, e.g. those parts of this people who lived under the rule of the enlightened and vigorous amir of Hā'il, the well known opponent of the Wahhābis, Muḥammad b. Rashid, also rear camels (*camelus dromedarius*, L.). Each family among them has on an average three or four camels. But this must be considered exceptional. As a general rule if the Şulaba were to accumulate or possess wealth to any considerable degree in the larger domestic animals, desired by the robber Beduins (with the exception of the ass which they detest), they would no longer enjoy protection and security from their attacks. This immunity has also a material foundation: the Şulaba pay their hosts a tribute, the so-called "brotherhood tax" (*khuwwa*; cf. in Raynaud and Martinet, p. 32, the list of their 9 *khuwwa*) for permission to graze and sojourn among them. Huber, p. 197 and Butler, p. 524, however, say that they are attacked and persecuted by several Beduin tribes, e.g. the 'Adjman, and on religious grounds by the Kaḥṭān also, according to Huber and according to Butler, out of covetousness by the robber 'Aneze [q.v.] as soon as they become prosperous. They also keep — although not in such large numbers as the Beduins — sheep and goats, less for their meat than for their wool, milk, and milk products. The Şulaba further work as day-labourers among the *fellāḥīn* of Taimā' and other oases during the date-harvest (Huber, p. 588) or work as smiths and carpenters. The latter may be evidence in favour of a great antiquity for this people (cf. Eisler, *Qenitische Weiheinschriften*, Freib./B. 1919, p. 741). They are, like the (Arabian) gypsies, with whom they have nothing racial in common, as the latter's origin has been established beyond all doubt by de Goeje (*Bijdr. tot de geschied. d. Zigeun.* and *Mém. sur les migrations d. Tsiganes*, etc.), skilful tinsmiths, make and repair weapons, sickles, domestic utensils of brass (*shughl al-khlāwiya*) etc. and wooden frames for the saddles of pack-camels, wooden screws, wooden vessels, etc. They are thus indispensable to the Beduins — a further ground for their immunity. They are well known and welcome for their medical practice on men and animals (St. Élie in *Machriq*, p. 680 sq.) which consists partly of cauterisation (*kaiy*) and partly of unguents, manipulations which follow definite rules, known only to the experts. Their fortune-telling is also mentioned (Blunt, ii. 110) and their begging (Doughty, i. 284; Burckhardt, p. 14).

Their dress and dwellings are most primitive. They wear a garment of skins (*farwa*) made of 15—20 gazelle-hides dried in the sun and sewn together with the hair outside (cf. the picture in von Oppenheim, i. 220). Unlike the 'abā' of the Beduins it is not open the whole length in front but has an opening at the neck (*ed-djēb*) through which it is slipped on. The sleeves reach to the roots of the fingers and contract at the wrists. The garment has a hood which suggests Hamitic north African influence. The *farwa* is held together with a girdle of dyed lamb-skin. To wear a shirt (*ḥabbe*) below this garment or a cloak above it is considered by them to be a luxury. The two sexes dress practically alike. The Şulaba usually

go bare-footed but they sometimes wear sandals (*k'dhā*) as a protection against thorns and sharp stones. The Şulab wear a head-cloth (*keffiyē*) and veil (*uḳāl*) in the same way as the other Beduins of Arabia. Their garment of skins is further remarkable, as it is either a survival from an earlier period of development or an adaptation to the special circumstances under which they are forced to live; perhaps it may prove to be of use in eventually ascertaining their origin. The *farwa* is convenient because it wears better than woven material and by its desert colour suits the conditions of light and ground in the desert, which is very useful in hunting and enables the game to be successfully stalked.

The arms are old fashioned carbines with six chambers which therefore get the Persian name of *shish-khān* (St. Élie, *op. cit.*, p. 677 sq.), and the *meṣbā'*, a parrying-stick (Christian, *op. cit.*) which has already been mentioned, and as clubs the *mikyār* which consists of a rather short wooden handle with a knob of asphalt as a head, those made entirely of iron mainly in al-Ḳatīf (cf. the pictures in v. Oppenheim, ii. 103). The Şulaba are still said to use also the bow and arrow (Pieper, p. 22 and 32). But they do not seem to be armed to the same degree as the Beduins. As they are extremely peace-loving and do not allow themselves to be involved in the feuds of the Arab tribes nor have any of their own, it is probably hardly necessary for them to be so well armed.

They live like the Beduins in tents (*bāit*, *buyūt*) which are made either of mats, of goat's hair (*al-farāyēk*), or like their dress from the skins of the victims of the chase. These are of varying size: Burckhardt, p. 24, once saw a Şulaba tent which according to him could shelter 20—30 families. The cleanliness in and around their habitations is not very great (Wright, p. 51). They also use caves to shelter themselves and indeed, being children of nature with no wants, they often spend the night in the middle of the *khalā* when on a hunting expedition.

Their customs show traces of ancient Christian and Sabaeen elements. Nominally they are Muslims. According to St. Élie (in a letter to the writer) the Christian survivals only began to disappear in the last century; till then the Şulaba had remained true to the faith of their forefathers. He tells me for example that polygamy, divorce or repudiation, circumcision etc. only began to be adopted by them in the second half of last century. Whether this development is directly or indirectly due to the Wahhābī movement, as was the case with the Murrekede or Merrekede Arabs (cf. Burckhardt, p. 145—146) awaits further investigation. In any case their long adherence to Christian beliefs and customs seems to have been not without influence on their position as outcasts among the Beduins. We find undoubted reminiscences of Christianity in their religious beliefs and usages, for example the use of the cross on ceremonial occasions, baptism on the tenth or fortieth day after birth in addition to circumcision which they also practise. According to Pelly, p. 189, at baptism they dip the child seven times into the water, which is the practice of the Johannites or Mandaeans. The Şulaba also believe in the existence of a supreme being. In praying they stretch their arms out sideways so as to form a cross. According to Pelly, p. 189 sq., the Şulaba have a place

of pilgrimage and a holy town in Ḥarrān and their kinsmen living there have older and purer forms of prayers and psalms composed in Chaldaean or Assyrian (probably Eastern Aramaic); but this, like the whole of Pelly's account, is very much to be questioned as, according to other authorities (St. Élie, Curtiss, Littmann), they have now no special language of their own but speak a beduinised Arabic. According to Pelly they still adhere to the old Arabian star-worship. They worship the Pole-Star and a star in the constellation of the Ram. Like the Jews, they pray three times a day, at sunrise, at midday and at sunset. They have priests and priestesses. Doughty p. 281 mentions a patriarch of all the Şulaba. The priestesses enjoy special reverence and according to Curtiss, p. 63, 286, are called *fakira* (female anchorites?). They heal the sick by the laying on of hands. It is still an open question whether the Şulaba may not still be crypto-Christians. Old Semitic ideas are also apparent in their conception of sacrifice (Curtiss, p. 37, 107). Pieper, p. 39—56 in his account of the Şulaba describes their festivities and dances, the morals of their women, marriage, divorce, funeral customs etc., which cannot be gone into here for lack of space. But it may just be mentioned that they tolerate polygamy, although it is rare among them on account of their poverty.

The alpha and omega of the study of this people, one of the most remarkable and most interesting of the pariahs among the peoples of Eastern Asia is and will be, as already mentioned, the question of their ethnology. Pieper, p. 67, 70, 74 sq. thinks that till the question is definitely settled they must be regarded as Semites. For several important reasons it is very difficult to uphold this view at the present time. The rigid way in which they are cut off from the other Arabs of the peninsula, who would never marry a Şulabiya woman and consider themselves as high as the heavens above these pariahs, is in my opinion evidence of non-Arab origin. Occasional exceptions to this statement about mixed marriages are found but very rarely (Doughty, ii. 461; Curtiss, p. 34, 46). According to St. Élie (in a letter to me) they are undoubtedly pure-bred Arabs. Pieper might be right in so far as they, if they were not originally Semites, might have very much arabicised their mode of living by intermarriage, although only to a very small degree, for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years. The view held by Blunt and v. Oppenheim that the Şulab are gipsies is rightly rejected by Pieper (p. 69—73). From what has been said above it will be seen that there is much more probability in the hypothesis that they might originally have been a fragment of some, perhaps Hamitic, people which had found a way into Arabia; for we find Hamitic memories in their skin-dress with hood, and the parrying-shield and their living by hunting. As St. Élie claims to have found clans of the Şulaba in Palestine and even in the Sinai Peninsula, and on the frontiers of Palestine and Egypt, e.g. the Tarābīn, al-Khanādīra and Ma'āza, we cannot see why Hamitic tribes, reversing the direction of the Arab immigration into North Africa, should not have entered Arabia and Palestine by the old route through the Sinai peninsula. The last link in this chain of argument, historical tradition, is however lacking. Careful investigation of their somatic qualities etc. by the methods of

ethnology might provide some compensation for this historical material which will barely be obtainable. In this connection, reference may be made to Möller's essay (*Die Ägypter und ihre libyschen Nachbarn*, Z. D. M. G., 1924, lxxvii. p. 45—59) particularly to the Thūmah there mentioned, who according to Möller show in many respects a really striking similarity to the Şulaba. The present position of the Şulab, their customs, etc. suggest in my opinion, that they are the victims of some great and catastrophic war of nations.

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(PIEPER)

ŞULAIHİ is the name of a dynasty which ruled over Yaman as nominal vassals of the Fātimid caliphs of Egypt. The founder of the dynasty, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, was the son of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, ḳaḍī of Ḥarāz of the clan of Yām, a subdivision of the large tribe of Hamdān. 'Alī came as a young man under the influence of the Shī'a missionary 'Amir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zawāhī, who was supposed to have had in his possession a copy of the mysterious book "al-Djafar" in which the destinies of the Shī'a Imāms were laid down. Through ardent studies 'Alī became an accomplished jurist and for fifteen years was leader of the pilgrims from Yaman to Mecca. It was during the pilgrimage in the year 428 (1037) that 'Alī confided to sixty men of his tribe of Hamdān that it was his intention to set up the rule of the Fātimids in Yaman. These sixty men swore him allegiance for life and death and upon their return to Yaman and in the following year he and his followers took possession of the village

of Mazar in the mountains of Ḥarāz to the West of the city of Ṣan'ā'. They were quickly besieged by angry tribesmen, but with the utmost speed fortified the village in such a way that its conquest was very difficult. 'Alī appears to have made very little material progress at the beginning of his career and the small kingdoms formed after the disruption of the Ziyādī dynasty more than held their own while the kingdom founded by the Abyssinian slave al-Nadīdjāh in the lowlands (Tihāma) of Yaman was always a serious obstacle to the Ṣulaihi's becoming rulers of the whole of Yaman. 'Alī obtained the sovereignty over the Tihāma and the city of Zabīd in the year 453 (1061) by having al-Nadīdjāh poisoned by a slave girl whom he sent to him. This event probably (though the historians are silent as to the grounds) led the Zaidī Imām al-Qāsim b. 'Alī to send an army against 'Alī under the command of his son Dja'far. 'Alī however surprised this army and in the month of Ṣha'bān of the same year, he routed Dja'far's army and the latter is killed. After this he attacked the strongholds of the Zaidī Imāms and took the castle of Yanā' on mount Ḥaḍḍr. After defeating Ibn Abī Ḥāshid near the village Ṣawf he proceeded to Ṣan'ā' which he took in 455 (1063). After this he devoted his attention to the conquest of the city of Zabīd in the Tihāma over which he appointed in the following year his brother-in-law As'ad b. Ṣhihāb and one year later he took possession of 'Adan, where he allowed the two sons of the late ruler al-Karam, al-'Abbās and Mas'ūd to remain rulers as vassals, because they had assisted him in the conquest of Zabīd. They agreed to pay to his daughter-in-law Saiyida an annual tribute which amounted to approximately 100,000 dinārs, which tribute was regularly paid till the death of 'Alī. How great the power of 'Alī had become by this time is proved by the fact that in the year 455 he was able to install as ruler of Mecca Abū Ḥāshim Muḥammad. He also sent from this time annually the covering of the Ka'ba and restored the treasures which had been carried to the Yaman by the Ḥasanids. Some smaller principalities still remained to be subdued and in the year 460 (1068) when one Ibn Ṭarf who ruled in Zarā'ib having invoked the help of the Abyssinians rebelled, he and his allies were defeated and this mountainous district was conquered. After this event 'Alī returned to Ṣan'ā' which he did not leave for the next twelve years. The various districts of Yaman were administered by trusty governors and he took the precaution of keeping in his entourage the princes whose dominions he had conquered, a system followed by the rulers of Yaman to this day.

In the year 473 the rulers of Mecca abandoned the mention of the Fātimid caliphs in the public prayers and returned to the mention of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs of Baghdād and it was probably this which induced 'Alī to leave Ṣan'ā' and proceed towards Mecca as if wishing to perform the pilgrimage. He took with him the princes whom he had with him at his capital, leaving his son al-Mukarram in charge of the capital. When they reached the district of al-Mahdjam in the Northern Tihāma he pitched his camp near a well named Umm al-Duhaim. While they were off their guard the camp was attacked by followers of Sa'īd, the son of al-Nadīdjāh, who murdered 'Alī and his brother 'Abd Allāh and consternation reigned

throughout the camp. Sa'īd spared some of the princes who were with 'Alī, as hostages, but most of the army were massacred. Among the captured was the queen Asmā', daughter of Ṣhihāb and mother of king al-Mukarram, whom he took with him to the capital of his father, Zabīd, which now opened its gates to Sa'īd.

Asmā' was kept closely guarded by Sa'īd and it was not till the year 475 (1082/1083) that she was able to send her son a letter in which she stated that she was with child by Sa'īd. She wrote this to incite al-Mukarram to rescue her with all possible speed. The power of al-Mukarram had diminished considerably, because most of the vassal principalities had declared themselves independent like the rulers of 'Aden. He urged his followers at Ṣan'ā' to avenge the honour of their tribe and king. They marched against Zabīd which was defended by 20,000 Abyssinians, while the army of al-Mukarram is stated to have numbered only 6,000. He himself took command of the centre while his brother-in-law As'ad b. Ṣhihāb and an uncle of the queen led the wings. After a fierce battle the city was taken by storm and al-Mukarram with two followers was the first to reach the place where his mother stood. He ordered the head of his father and uncle which had been put up on poles to be taken down and buried honourably. Then, after appointing his brother-in-law As'ad b. Ṣhihāb governor of the Tihāma, he departed with his mother to Ṣan'ā'. Asmā' died in Ṣan'ā' in 479 (1086) and in the same year al-Mukarram instituted a new coinage called Mālīkī Dinārs which monetary standard remained in force for a long time afterwards. However the sons of al-Nadīdjāh, who had fled to the islands of the Red Sea returned to Zabīd in the same year, drove out As'ad and made themselves masters of the city and the Tihāma. Al-Mukarram retook the city and Sa'īd, the son of al-Nadīdjāh, was killed under the walls of the city in the year 481 (1088) while his brother al-Djāiyāsh escaped with his wazīr to India by the way of 'Adan. They remained there for six months only, then returned to Yaman and again gained possession of the city of Zabīd.

Al-Mukarram appears to have been an incapable ruler and we find the singular spectacle in Islāmic history of a woman, his queen Saiyida, taking the most prominent part in the management of the affairs of State. She was born in 444 and was brought up under the care of the late queen Asmā'. She was married to al-Mukarram in 461 and bore him four children, two sons and two daughters. After the death of his mother, al-Mukarram gave himself up to wine and pleasures and handed the cares of the State to his wife who demanded from him full freedom of action. One of her first actions was that she left Ṣan'ā' and took up her residence at Dhū Djibla, at a place, which had been founded by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulaihi, who was slain with king 'Alī at al-Mahdjam, in the year 458. The capital of the country was henceforth transferred to Dhū Djibla and a palace and chief mosque erected in which queen Saiyida was subsequently buried. It was due to her that the death of Sa'īd b. Nadīdjāh was brought about. Al-Mukarram died in 484 (1091) and having no surviving sons the office of Dā'ī was bequeathed by him upon Saba', son of Aḥmad b. al-Muza'ffar b. 'Alī, the Ṣulaihi. He however

did not gain possession of *Dhū Djibla* where the queen *Saiyida* reigned with the consent of the nobles and populace. *Saba* therefore first turned his attention to the conquest of the *Tihāma* and the city of *Zabid*, but was attacked unawares by the troops of *Djaiyāsh* and barely escaped to his stronghold of *Ta'kar* with his life. He then corresponded with the *Fātimid* caliph *al-Mustanşir* and from him received a letter in which *Saiyida* was instructed to marry *Saba*. This letter was conveyed to her to *Dhū Djibla* and after much hesitation she consented to the marriage and a dowry was fixed. *Saba* came personally to her capital to contract the marriage, but her majestic manner and other causes prevented him from completing the marriage contract and after the first night he departed again to his residence without consummating the marriage.

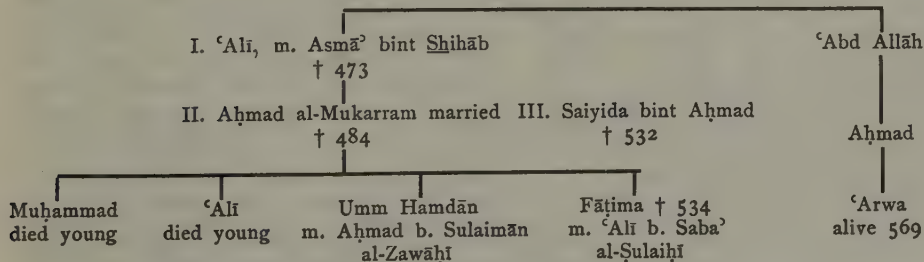
After this the queen placed her reliance principally upon *al-Mufaḍḍal*, son of *Abu 'l-Barakāt* to whom she had granted the castle of *Ta'kar* which lay on one of the highest mountains overlooking the *Tihāma*. There the treasures of the *Şulaihis* were stored and the queen was in the habit of making it a place of residence during summer, returning to *Dhū Djibla* for the winter. It was through *Mufaḍḍal* that she regained the revenues of *Adan* and a partial submission of the lowlands. In 504 (1110/1111) *Mufaḍḍal* laid siege to the city of *Zabid* and his absence was used by men of the tribe of *Khawlan* to get possession of his fortress. *Mufaḍḍal* returned but died under the walls of the castle. Then the queen herself marched with her troops from *Dhū Djibla* and by a ruse again got possession of the fortress, in the following year (12th *Rabī' I*, 505). As the *Khawlanīs* however did not act with justice towards the inhabitants of the district she ordered *Amr b. 'Urfuṭa al-Djanbī* to drive them out. Though not actual ruler of the country the queen managed to exercise during the following years a kind of suzerainty over the various small principalities which had sprung up in all parts of the country till the arrival in *Yaman* in 513 (1119) of *Ibn Nadjib al-Dawla*, who was sent as an emissary by the *Fātimid* caliph and who for the next six years waged war against the smaller principalities reducing them gradually to obedience. The queen having aged, he made in 519 the attempt to wrest the power from her and wished to place her in seclusion, but she received such strong support from the various princes of the country that he was forced to desist from his design. As *Ibn Nadjib al-Dawla* began to intrigue in the *Yaman*

in favour of the anti-caliph *Nizār*, he was arrested at the request of the caliph *al-Āmir* and sent in fetters to *Aden* to be shipped back to *Egypt* and though the queen repented and was desirous to have him back, his keepers left *Adan* by ship for *Sawākin* (*Suakim*) but the ship was wrecked on the voyage and all on board drowned. After the fall of *Ibn Nadjib al-Dawla* the queen appointed one *Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusain al-Ḥamīdī*, but learning of the death of the caliph *al-Āmir* she replaced him by *Saba* b. *Abī Su'ūd*, the first ruler of the *Zurai'i* dynasty [q. v.] who were the successors of the *Şulaihis* until the conquest of the country by *Tūrānshāh*. The queen survived for some years and died in the year 532 (1138) when the dynasty of the *Şulaihis* came to an end. Some of the princes held isolated fortresses and as late as 569 we find a princess *'Arwa*, daughter of *'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad*, in possession of the castle of *Dhū Djibla*.

It would be wrong to assume that the *Şulaihis*, except under the first ruler, were in possession of the whole of the *Yaman*. The *Abyssinian* dynasty of the *Banu 'l-Nadjdjāh* was practically the whole time in possession of *Zabid* and the lowlands, while *Adan* and other important points of the country were ruled partly independently, partly in semi-independence by various smaller princes. The historians do not give many details about the *Zaidī Imāms* who had their headquarters in the town of *Sa'da*, but they too seem to have enjoyed unrestricted rule. Though the *Şulaihis* were the actual representatives of the *Fātimid Shī'a* caliphs of *Egypt*, there remained a large following of the *Sunni* doctrines as is exemplified by the temporary seizure of the fortress of *Ta'kar* by the *Shāfi'i* tribesmen of *Khawlan*. The chief historian of the dynasty, *Umāra*, is unfortunately far from lucid in his account, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, and the later chroniclers follow mostly in his footsteps. The account given by *Ibn Khaldūn* is, as so often with him, very fragmentary and full of errors.

Bibliography: Yaman and its early History by *'Omāra al-Hakamī*, ed. Kay, London 1892; *Ibn Khallikān*, Cairo 1310, i. 368; *Djanadi, Sulūk*, MS. Paris 2127; and the manuscripts enumerated by Kay in the Introduction of the *History of 'Omāra*. There is in the John Rylands Library in Manchester a large history of the *Yaman* by a *Zaidī Imām* which may throw further light upon this period but I have unfortunately not been able to make use of it.

Muḥammad



(F. KRENKOW)

SULAIM B. MAṢʿUR. This powerful and energetic tribe belonged to the group of ʿKaisis or ʿKais-ʿAilān [q. v.]. It does not appear in Arab history until the middle of the vith century A. D. Its lands lay along the frontiers of Naǧd and the Ḥiǧjaz and were bordered on the north by the territory of Medina and on the south by that of Mecca. On the east its neighbours were its relations, the tribes of Ḡhaṭafān, Hawāzin and Ḥilāl. Down to the end of the Omayyad period the district of the Sulaimis seems to have enjoyed very considerable prosperity. It was a succession of volcanic *ḥarras*, of mining centres and wooded hills and of oases which were intelligently exploited; some of these were al-Rabadha, famous for Abū Dharr's [q. v.] sojourn there, Farān, Ma'dīn al-Borm, Ṣo-faina, Sawārikiya, etc. The two last named still exist. The oasis of Sawārikiya stretched for a length of several day's journey with its banana and pomegranate-trees, and vines, not to speak of palm-groves. The Sulaim had numerous horses, which in the desert is another sign of prosperity.

They were on good terms with the Jews of Medina. In Mecca the Kuraishī financiers and business men early realised the necessity of cultivating the friendship of the Sulaimis, who possessed mineral resources and commanded the road to Medina as well as access to Naǧd and the Persian Gulf. Many Meccan families had joined them as *ḥaliḥ* and jointly with the Sulaimis exploited the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country. Evidence of the latter is found in the frequency of the name *ma'dīn* (mine) in Sulaimi place-names.

Their main mineral wealth lay in gold and silver. Tradition asserts that a Sulaimi "companion" used to send Muḥammad a tithe of the precious metals extracted from his mine. In the mining district of Sulaim we find in the caliphate of Abū Bakr a resumption of activity and the mines continued to be exploited under the Omayyads whose treasury derived an appreciable revenue from them.

The Sulaimis held in reverence a stone or betyl called Ḍamār. Having common interests with Mecca, they were at first hostile to the Prophet, but when they saw that the triumph of Islām was assured, these practically-minded Beduins professed it ostentatiously. In the year 8 (629/630) a strong Sulaimi contingent took part in the easy conquest of Mecca after the battle of Ḥunain. Their chiefs after the victory claimed as the price of their assistance among others the poet 'Abbās b. Mirdās [q. v.], son of the poetess al-Ḳhansā' [q. v.].

During the troubles which marked the reign of the third caliph, the Sulaimis as a rule took the side of 'Uṭhmān. This attitude earned them the favour of the Caliph Mu'āwīya I, who numbered among his best lieutenants the Sulaimi Abū 'l-A'war [q. v.]. It was part of the policy of the Omayyads to conciliate this proud tribe, settled along the route of the pilgrimages and in the neighbourhood of the holy cities, the rebellious populations of which they could keep a watch upon. This entente lasted until the death of Mu'āwīya II. Along with the other ʿKaisis, the Sulaim refused to recognise his successor Marwān I and proclaimed for the anti-Caliph 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair. The defeat of the ʿKaisis at Mardī Rāhiṭ [q. v.] provoked the definite split between Yemen and ʿKais and opened a war to the death between these two sections of the Arab race. Two Sulaimis, 'Umar b. al-Ḥubāb and Ḍaḥḥāf b. Ḥukaim,

distinguished themselves in it for their ferocity rather than their valour. The poems of Akḥṭal [q. v.] preserve the memory of this merciless feud.

After the Ḥiǧra a part of the tribe settled in western Mesopotamia. In 109 (727) a hundred Sulaimi families were allowed to go to Egypt and they soon multiplied there. In 230 (844/845) the Sulaim of Arabia along with their cousins of Ḥilāl sacked the town of Medina and brought a bloody retribution upon their heads. In the time of the Fātimid Caliphs of Egypt, they took the side of the ʿKarmaṭians and attacked the pilgrim caravans. This was the beginning of a period of anarchy in which the Sulaimi part of Arabia suffered a great deal. In Egypt their ʿKarmaṭian sympathies embroiled them with the Caliphs of Cairo. In 444 (1052) the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir, anxious to get rid of these troublesome Beduins, sent them with the Ḥilāl to the conquest of North Africa where many of the tribes are connected with the Sulaimis. For the long fighting in which they were there engaged, cf. the article ḤILĀL.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭikāḥ*, p. 187—189; al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuv. Guest, p. 77, 297; Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ii. 63; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 132, 154, 170, 171, 183, 185, 205, 220; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 403; iv. 572; v. 865; Yāḳūbi, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 335; Wüstenfeld; *Register genealogisch. Tabellen*, p. 426—430, Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p. 68; Blau, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxiii. 586; Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 99—100, 136; do., *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, p. 196, 197, 198 (extract from *M.F.O.B.*, ix., fasc. 3); do., *Etudes sur le règne du calife, Mo'āwīya Ier*, p. 43, 337, 423; do., *Le Chantre des Omayyades, notes sur le poète arabe Akḥṭal*, p. 133 etc. (extract from *J. A.*, 1894); G. Gabrieli, *I tempi, la vita ed il canzoniere della poetessa araba Al-Ḥansā'*, Florence 1899, p. 11 sqq., 67 sqq. (H. LAMMENS)

SULAIMĀN B. 'ABD AL-MALIK, Umayyad Caliph. Sulaimān was born in the year 60 (679/680); his mother was Wallāda bint al-'Abbās b. Ḍjaz'. After the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān [q. v.], his brother, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, had homage paid to his sons al-Walid and Sulaimān as heirs-apparent. Towards the end of his reign, al-Walid wished to make an arrangement with al-Ḥadīdjādī b. Yūsuf [q. v.] and Ḳutaiba b. Muslim [q. v.] governor of Ḳhorāsān to exclude Sulaimān from the succession in favour of his own son 'Abd al-'Azīz, but he died before the necessary steps had been taken, so that Sulaimān succeeded him in Ḍjumādā II, 96 (end of February 715) as Commander of the Faithful. When Sulaimān heard of his brother's death, he was in al-Ramla, which he himself had founded when commanding the Muslim troops in Palestine and which continued to be his headquarters. As soon as he had assumed the reins of government, the supporters of al-Ḥadīdjādī, now dead, had to pay for the enmity between him and the new Caliph. In the very same year, 'Uṭhmān b. Haiyān al-Murri, the governor of Medina was dismissed and the same fate threatened the doughty Ḳutaiba b. Muslim. Relying on the fidelity of his troops, he tried to persuade them to rise against Sulaimān; but the daring plan came to nothing and Ḳutaiba was surprised and killed. Yazid b. al-Muhallab

was appointed governor of al-ʿIrāq in place of Yazīd b. Abī Muslim in 96 (715); he had been one of al-Ḥaǧǧīǧāǧī's bitterest enemies and persecuted his supporters with the greatest ardour. But as he feared that his strict principles of taxation, which could not be altered without affecting the revenues of the state, would make him as hated as al-Ḥaǧǧīǧāǧī had been in his day he asked the Caliph to relieve him from financial administration, whereupon Sulaimān appointed one of al-Ḥaǧǧīǧāǧī's financial officers named Šāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to the head of the treasury. But the latter's economy did not suit the extravagant Yazīd, so that in 97 (715/716) he contrived to persuade the Caliph to let him have the governorship of Khorāsān along with that of al-ʿIrāq. From there he conducted an expedition next year against Ḍurǧǧān and Ṭabaristān but with very little success. Sulaimān treated the conqueror of Spain, Mūsā b. Nušair, with great severity and according to some he was even responsible for the murder of his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q.v.]. Sulaimān continued the war against the Byzantines with great energy although fortune did not particularly favour the Muslim arms. In autumn 97 (715) Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿOmar b. Hubaira took the field against the Byzantines. The Arabs besieged Amorium but without success. After ʿOmar and, according to one statement Maslama also, had wintered in Asia Minor, military operations were resumed in the following summer when Maslama took Pergamos and Sardes. The Arabs also began the siege of Constantinople. By August Maslama appeared before the city and the Muslim fleet arrived a fortnight later. The siege lasted about a year; the Arabs suffered much from the cold and want of supplies and had no kind of success. An army which invaded the land of the Bulghārs was also driven back with considerable losses. In Šafar 99 (Sept.-Oct. 717) Sulaimān died in Dābiḳ and the siege was raised about the same time. Although his brother Yazīd had been designated his successor by ʿAbd al-Malik, Sulaimān had homage paid to his own son Aiyūb as heir-apparent. But when the latter was dying, he arranged with the influential theologian Radjā b. Ḥaiwa that his cousin ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz renowned for his piety should succeed him, and therefore received the title of "Key of Goodness" *Miftāḥ al-Khair*. From the statements of the Arab historians however it is very evident that Sulaimān, in spite of a certain piety, was cruel and devoted to sensual pleasures.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SULAIMĀN B. AL-AŠḤATH. [See ABU DĀWŪD.] **SULAIMĀN** B. DĀWŪD, the biblical King Solomon, is an outstanding personality in Muḥammadan legends. There were, as the Arab histories recount, four great world-rulers, two of whom were infidels, Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar; and two of whom were believers, Alexander the Great and Solomon. Of these the last was the most resplendent figure. Special emphasis was placed on his wonderful powers of magic and divination. The most puzzling riddles and the most abstruse subjects were within his ken. Perspicacity and discernment dwelt in his eyes; wisdom and justice were graven on his forehead. His knowledge was deeper than the Jordan Valley. In the Qurʾān itself he is frequently mentioned, and along with Alexander enjoys the distinction of being designated a true Apostle of Allāh, a divine messenger and prototype of Muḥammad. The Qurʾānic passages tell how at an early age he even surpassed his father David in skilful administration of justice (xxi. 78, 79). And when David died Solomon was chosen from amongst the other sons as successor (xxvii. 16). He had admirable endowments. God had granted him esoteric knowledge. He was acquainted with the speech of birds and animals (xxvii. 16, 19), a tradition based on I Kings iv. 33. A strong wind was subjected to him (xxi. 81; xxxviii. 36). It blew in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month, while a fountain of molten brass was made to flow for his benefit (xxxiv. 12). At his command were legions of satans to do whatever he wished. They were employed, for example, in diving for pearls (xxi. 82; xxxviii. 37). The *ǧinn* were forced to work his will. If they disobeyed they were threatened with the pains of hell (xxxiv. 12). They constructed for him shrines and statues and costly vessels (*ibid.*, 13). His armies were recruited from men and *ǧinn* and birds. The hoopoe (*ḥudḥud*) was the first to bring him tidings of the kingdom of Saba and of its illustrious queen, Bilqīs [q.v.]. Solomon, as a prophet, corresponded with her and summoned her to Islām. And after an exhibition of his strength and wisdom, she submitted (xxvii. 20-44). The devils frequently sought to convict him of infidelity, but in vain (ii. 101). On a certain occasion he failed in the observance of his religious duties, and that was when his admiration for his stud of horses led him to forget his prayers. In atonement he sacrificed them, cutting their legs and necks (xxxviii. 31-33). For a time he seems to have lapsed into idolatry. As a punishment he lost his kingdom, his throne being occupied by some one in his own likeness. When he had asked forgiveness, he was restored to his place, and promised divine favour in Paradise (xxxviii. 34, 35, 40). When he died he was resting on his staff, and no one knew of his death until a worm bored its way through the prop and the body collapsed. Then the *ǧinn* were released from their labours (xxxiv. 14).

Later legendary lore has magnified all this material, which is chiefly Rabbinic in origin. Solomon's control over the *ǧinn* and his use of them in his building operations are derived from the *Midrash* on Ecclesiastes, ii. 8. His kingdom is even made universal, perhaps after the analogy of that of the 40 (or 72) kings of the Pre-Adamic *ǧinn*, who were each named Solomon (Lane, *Arabian Nights*, Introd., note 21; d'Herbelot,

Bibliothèque Orientale, v. 372). His renowned wisdom included "the wisdom" for which Egypt was famous, i. e. occult science. Pythagoras is said to have received his knowledge from Solomon in Egypt (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara fī Akhbār Miṣr*, i. 27). Solomon is said to have been the pupil of Mambres the Egyptian Theurgist (G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice-Greatest Hermes*, iii. 283, note). Hence his reputation in tales as a magician. This magic power of his was effected by means of a talismanic ring engraved with "the most great name" of God. Permission to use this was also vouchsafed to his wazīr, Āsaf b. Barkhiya [q. v.], who transported the throne of Bilkis from Sheba to Jerusalem in the twinkling of an eye. Solomon was in the habit, when he performed his ablutions, of laying aside this ring from his finger, and entrusting it to one of his wives, Amina. Šakhr, one of the Satanic spirits, assumed the form of the king, purloined the magic seal, and for forty days ruled, while Solomon was forced to wander as an outcast. The demon, however, lost the ring in the sea, whence Solomon recovered it when he cut open a fish which had swallowed it. Thus he regained his throne. It is said he was punished in this way, because of the idolatry of the royal consort, Djarāda, the daughter of the king of the Sidonians. Some say the counterfeit body that occupied his throne was his son who died. The 13th of the month is regarded as unlucky because on that day Solomon was exiled by God. The Persian *Nawrōz* festival and its customs are said to date from the restoration of Solomon to his kingdom (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed. Sachau, p. 199). Because he boasted that 1,000 wives would bear him 1,000 warrior sons, he had one son only who was misshapen, with one hand, one eye, one ear, and one foot. Then in humility he prayed to God, and his son was made whole. In his capacity of warrior, he conquered many kingdoms (Baidāwī, v. 19).

Some of the marvellous works of Solomon may be briefly mentioned. Shortly after his accession he was in a valley between Hebron and Jerusalem, when he received his authority over winds, water, demons and animals from the four guardian angels in charge of these spheres. Each one gave him a jewel which he placed in a ring composed partly of brass and iron. With the brass he sealed his orders for the good *djinn*, while with the iron he sealed his orders for the evil *djinn*. The seal is said to have held a mandrake (Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 390). Solomon's seal (*Khatam Sulaimān*) is a common charm, in the form of a six-pointed star, often inscribed on drinking cups. The Table of Solomon (*Mawḍiʿat Sulaimān*) and other marvellous relics, according to legend, found their way to Spain where they were discovered by Ṭāriq at the capture of Toledo. They had been taken from Jerusalem as booty (Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *Annales du Maghreb*, ed. Fagnan, p. 37 sqq.; Ṭabari, *Chronique*, ed. Zotenberg, iv. 183; Dozy, *Recherches*³, i. 52). The Table was made of green beryl, had 360 legs, and was inlaid with pearls and rubies. There was also a magic mirror which revealed all places in the world (Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé des Merveilles*, p. 122).

The blocks of stone for the building of the Temple were hewn by means of the miraculous pebble Samur (*Šamir*) which the demon Šakhr procured from the sea-eagle. Solomon sheltered

himself from the heat of the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him. On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afghanistan by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile *djinn*. They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs. Various relics of these operations are pointed out in Palestine, Arabia and elsewhere (see *Revue des traditions populaires*, ix. 190; Nāṣir-i Khosraw, *Sefer-Nāma*, p. 56, 76, 84, 85). He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (Ṭhaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ*, p. 204). Besides the building of the Temple, during which he outwitted the *djinn*, the Farther Mosque is likewise claimed as his work (Mirkhond, *Rawdat al-Šafā*, ii./i. 76). He is even credited with founding a mosque in Alexandria (Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i. 37). Part of his leisure time was spent in acquiring the art of basket-weaving, that he might have some means of earning a livelihood if the need arose (Mirkhond, *op. cit.*, p. 79). The tradition seems Rabbinic in character. His throne was constructed of pure gold. The whole natural world was so completely under his sway that on one occasion the sun stood still to enable him to say his evening prayers. The evil *djinn* he imprisoned in vessels of lead (cf. *Zachariah*, v. 8). 'Aidhāb, on the Red Sea, was assigned by him as a place of incarceration for the demons (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, *op. cit.*, p. 297). His knowledge of the speech of the animal world enabled him at times to display his clemency. Once he turned aside his armed hosts in order to avoid smashing the eggs of a bird; while on another occasion, he had compassion on a colony of ants (Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 199; Sūra xxvii. 17, 18).

A claim is put forward that he invented the Arabic and Syriac scripts, and that he was the author of many Arabic treatises on magic. He is compared with Djamshīd, and there were, undoubtedly, Iranian influences at work in the Solomon Saga. His personal appearance is variously given, e. g. as "a large-headed man riding on a horse" (Mirkhond, *op. cit.*, ii./i. 83), and as being "fair, well-built, of lustrous beauty, with a plentiful supply of hair, and clothed in white garments" (Ṭhaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, p. 254). When he died he was aged 53, having reigned for forty years. The exact location of his tomb is uncertain. Some place it in Jerusalem, in the Kubbāt al-Šakhra; others, near the Sea of Tiberias. The Prophet said (according to Ṭabari, *Chronique*, i. 60) it was "in the midst of the sea . . . in a palace excavated in a rock. This palace contains a throne on which Solomon is placed with the royal ring on his finger appearing as though he were alive, protected by twelve guardians, night and day. No one hath arrived at his tomb except two persons, Affān and Buluḳiya" (Lane, *op. cit.*, xx. 96; see Mirkhond, *op. cit.*, p. 102—103). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (*Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 134). Solomon has found his way into Malayan folk-lore. Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, iii. 418; *Folk-Lore in the O. T.*, ii. 476 sq.). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W. B. Stevenson in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow 1920, p. 104 sq. and the references therein. The Ethiopic Legends of Solomon

and Makedā, Queen of 'Azēb, may be found in Bezold, *Kebra Negast*, and in Wallis Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menyelik* (see art. BILKIS). Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in Tha'labi, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Jacques de Vitry, *P. P. T. S.*, p. 17.

Bibliography: besides the works mentioned in the text, consult the Kur'an commentaries; a great many Solomonic legends are contained in Tha'labi, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 200 sqq.; see also Tabari, ed. de Goeje, index; *Chronique*, ed. Zotenberg, index; Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 140, 173, 188; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī* i. 110 sqq.; al-Hamdāni, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, p. 141; Abu 'l-Fida', *Tārīkh*, p. 25, 67; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musulmänner*, p. 247 sqq.; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, p. 189 sqq.; Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage in der semit. Lit.*; Salomos Tempelbau und Thron in der semit. Sagenliteratur; R. Färber, *König Salomon in der Tradition*; W. A. Clouston, *Flowers from a Persian Garden*, p. 215 sqq.; Baring-Gould, *Myths of the Middle Ages*, index; Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*; Wallis Budge, *Alexander the Great*, index; Seymour, *Tales of Solomon*; J. C. Mardrus, *The Queen of Sheba*; John Freeman, *Solomon and Balkis*; Gabrielli, *Fonti semitiche d'una leggenda Salomonica*, *J. A.*, 1868, p. 475; 1881, p. 59; De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jerusalem*, p. 13; R. Basset, *Mille et Un Contes, Récits et Légendes Arabes*, i. 356; do., *Contes populaires berbères*, p. 27.

(J. WALKER)

SULAIMĀN B. ẸUTULMISH, ancestor of the Saldjūks in Asia Minor. After Kutulmish had fallen in 456 (1063/1064) in battle against his relative Alp Arslān, his son Sulaimān became chief of the Saldjūks of Asia Minor and in a few years succeeded in founding an independent kingdom. Malik Shāh who had succeeded his father Alp Arslān in 465 (1072) entrusted him with the conduct of the war against the Byzantines and he was given the supreme command of all the Saldjūk troops in Asia Minor. Here a considerable part of the poor peasantry in Asia Minor had come completely under the power of the rich landowners and many estates were worked by slaves. Sulaimān declared them freemen on payment of a certain tax and he thereby won their active sympathy while misfortune followed the Byzantines. Their general Isaac Comnenos was weakened by a mutiny of his Norman mercenaries and then defeated and captured by the Saldjūks near Caesarea. When his successor Caesar Ducas tried to deal with the Norman mutineers, they took him prisoner. They then won him over to their side and persuaded him to rebel at their head against his nephew, the Emperor Michael VII. There was nothing left for the latter but to appeal for assistance to the Saldjūks and in 1074 (466/467) he concluded a treaty, approved by Malik Shāh, with Sulaimān, who promised to send forces to assist the Emperor and in return was given the Byzantine provinces at that time in Saldjūk occupation. Ducas was captured by the Saldjūk auxiliaries; but a few years later Michael abdicated and retired to a monastery. In 1079 (471/472) Nicephoros Melissenos rebelled. To strengthen his position, he made an alliance with Sulaimān and concluded a treaty with him by the terms of which Sulaimān,

in return for troops, was to receive the half of any towns and provinces taken in the war against the Emperor Nicephoros III. Cyzicus and Nicaea fell to the Saldjūks at the beginning of the year 1081 (473). Sulaimān chose the latter as his residence. In 477 (1084/1085), he also took the city of Antākiya. The Greek governor, Philaretos, who paid tribute to the 'Ukailid Muslim b. Ẹuraish, had gone on a journey and in his absence his son, whom he had thrown into prison, came to an arrangement with his deputy and opened the city gates to the Saldjūks. Sulaimān then came into conflict with Muslim about the payment of tribute and there was a certain amount of raiding on either side. Finally in Ṣafar 478 (June 1085) there was a battle near Antioch in which Muslim fell. Sulaimān then advanced on Aleppo and laid siege to it but had to return after a few weeks without attaining any success. After some time he again demanded that the governor there, Ibn al-Hutaiti al-'Abbāsī should surrender the town to him; but the latter delayed replying, under the pretext that he wanted to get Malik Shāh's approval, until the lord of Damascus Tutush b. Alp Arslān and the Emīr Ortoḡ b. Aksab were able to come up. When Sulaimān met them, his troops took to flight and he himself perished (479 = 1086). Whether he was slain by the enemy, or as some say, killed himself with his dagger, is uncertain.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTĒN)

SULAIMĀN B. MIHRĀN. [See AL-A'MASH.]

SULAIMĀN B. ṢURAD AL-ḲHUẒĀ'ī, a Shī'ī. He was originally called Yasār; but when he adopted Islām he received from the Prophet the name Sulaimān. He enjoyed great prestige in his tribe and when the Muslims began to settle in Kūfa, Sulaimān also migrated thither. In the battle of the Camel and at Shiffin, he fought on the side of 'Alī. After the death of Mu'āwiya in Rajab 60 (April 680) he showed himself one of the most ardent supporters of Ḥusain [q. v.] but he did not maintain his first enthusiasm. He was one of those who invited Ḥusain to come to Kūfa to lead them against the Umayyads but when Ḥusain was approaching the town in answer to the invitation, Sulaimān did nothing to help him. After Ḥusain had fallen at Kerbelā' on 10th Muḥarram 61 (Oct. 10, 680) the Kūfans who had enticed him from Mecca regretted their cowardice and inactivity and considered themselves sinners, whose guilt could only be wiped out by avenging his murder so that they received the name *al-Tawwābūn* "the penitents". After some time they organised themselves and chose Sulaimān as their commander-in-chief. None of the party was under 60 years of age; they had not agreed upon any definite measures and "vengeance for Ḥusain" was simply a rather obscure aim which they never clearly visualised. Sulaimān wrote to Sa'd b. Ḥudhaifa b. al-Yamān in al-Mada'in and al-Muthannā b. Mukharriba b. al-'Abdī in Baṣra and secured their cooperation. But as long as Yazīd was alive however, they worked in secrecy; it was only after his death in

Rabī I, 64 (Nov. 683) that the movement sought wider scope. But when Sulaimān's followers wanted to drive out of Kūfa 'Amr b. Huraiṭh al-Makhzūmī the deputy of the governor 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād who lived in Baṣra, Sulaimān refused to allow it and advised caution. Nevertheless 'Amr b. Huraiṭh was expelled by the Kūfāns. They then paid homage to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair as Caliph, whereupon he appointed 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī as governor of Kūfa. In Ramaḍān 64 (May 684), the latter arrived in Kūfa, but al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubaid [q.v.] had already entered the town a few days earlier. The latter wished to expel Sulaimān and he was suspected by the Shī'īs on account of his inactivity. Many left Sulaimān and joined al-Mukhtār. When Sulaimān finally came out openly and asked his followers to take the field against 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād, who was in Syria with a large army, the governor 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd placed no obstacles in his way and even promised to support the Shī'īs; but no active cooperation took place between Sulaimān and the governor. The Shī'īs proved less enthusiastic than Sulaimān had hoped. When he appeared on 1st Rabī II, 65 (Nov. 15, 684), in al-Nukhaila near Kūfa, instead of the 16,000 men who had promised to follow him there were only 4,000. Messengers were at once sent to all Shī'īs who had promised their help and gradually reinforcements came in. On the 5th Rabī II (19 Nov.) they set out. They spent 24 hours in Karbalā' at Ḥusain's tomb, confessing their guilt and giving evidence of their penitence. They then continued their march. Reaching Karkisiyā they were supplied with provisions by Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, who was in command there and obtained information regarding the movements of 'Ubaid Allāh, who was in al-Raḡḡa. Sulaimān then continued his march till he met the enemy at 'Ain al-Warda under the command of Ḥusain b. Numair. The battle began on 22nd Djumādā I, 65 (Jan. 4, 685) and lasted three days. Sulaimān fell on the third day at the age of 93 and the fiercely contested battle ended in the complete route of the Shī'īs. Their supporters from al-Mada'in and Baṣra, who did not arrive in time, had to go back without striking a blow for the cause.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SULAIMĀN B. WAḤB B. SA'ĪD ABU AIYŪB, an 'Abbāsīd vizier. He belonged to a family which had originally been Christian but had later gone over to Islām. His father had been in the service of the Barmecide Dja'far b. Yahyā [q.v.] and later in that of al-Faḍl b. Sahl [q.v.]. On the latter's death he was given the governorship of Fārs and Kirmān. At the age of 14 Sulaimān became secretary to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn; he later entered the service of the generals Itākh and Ashnās, the former of whom held several important offices in the reign of al-Mutawakkil but finally was sacrificed to the cruelty of the Caliph. We

find Sulaimān mentioned as vizier as early as al-Muhtadī (255—256 = 869—870) and in *Dhu 'l-Hijda* 263 (Aug. 877) al-Mu'tamid gave him the same office. But he did not hold this office long, being dismissed in *Dhu 'l-Kāda* 269 (beg. Aug. 878). Sulaimān died in prison in Ṣafar 272 (Aug. 885); according to another statement he died in the preceding year.

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2. The son of the preceding, 'UBAID ALLĀH B. SULAIMĀN, who also began his career in the public service as a secretary, was promoted to be vizier of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid in Ṣafar 278 (June 891) and filled the office in the reign of al-Mu'taḍid also. He died in 288 (900—901).

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3. Sulaimān's grandson ABU 'L-ḤUSAIN AL-ḲĀSIM, succeeded his father 'Ubaid Allāh as vizier and took the title of *Walī al-Dawla*, "administrator of the kingdom". Even before the death of al-Mu'taḍid in 289 (902) al-Ḳāsim was conspiring against his son, the heir-apparent al-Muktafi, and on the latter's accession he had the governor of Fārs, a freedman named Badr, put to death because he had been a confidant of his and he was afraid he might betray him. Al-Ḳāsim died in 291 (903/904).

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SULAIMĀN I, the tenth and the greatest of the Ottoman Sulṭāns, reigned from 1520 to 1566. The Turks call him KĀNŪNĪ SULṬĀN SULAIMĀN and western authors SOLIMAN THE MAGNIFICENT. Some Western historians like Leunclavius and, more recently, Jorga call him Sulaimān II, the first Sulaimān having been, according to them, the son of Bāyazīd I who lived at Adrianople. In Turkey however the opinion that Sulaimān the Legislator is the first of the name has prevailed; he is always called SULAIMĀN KHĀN AWWAL and the ten *sherfe* of the four minarets of the Sulaimāniya mosque signify, according to the *Ḥadiqat al-Djawāmi'* (p. 16) that Sulaimān is the tenth Sulṭān. A very special symbolical significance has even been credited to the number ten in the life of the Sulṭān (*G.O.R.*, iii. 4) and the name Suleimān was also regarded as a national and religious symbol; in the documents issued by Sulaimān we frequently find allusion to passages in the Qur'ān where the royal prophet Solomon (Sulaimān) is mentioned.

Sulaimān was born in 900 (1494/1495), the son of Sulṭān Salīm and 'Ā'isha Sulṭān (d. 940 = 1533, cf. *Sidjill-i 'Othmāni*, i. 49), daughter of Mengli Giray, Khān of the Crimea, celebrated for her beauty. In the reign of his grandfather Bāyazīd, Sulaimān had held the sandjaq of Kaffa and under

Salīm I he had lived in Maghnīsā as governor, without playing any important part in the state. No one therefore had any idea what to expect of the new sovereign when he arrived in the capital on Sept. 30, 1520, eight days after his fathers' death.

The most striking feature in the career of the Sultān, by nature peace-loving according to the Venetian reports, is that he took part in person in thirteen great campaigns — ten in Europe and three in Asia — which were so many stages in the extension of the power and territory of the Ottoman empire so that their enumeration coincides for the most part with the very important military history of the empire in his reign. The first campaign was that of Belgrade which was provoked by the ill-treatment inflicted by the king of Hungary on the Turkish envoys who had come to demand the payment of tribute by him. The capture of Belgrade by the grand vizier Pīrī Pasha (Aug. 29, 1521) was preceded by the taking of Sabacz (Turkish: Bögürdelen) on the Danube and was accompanied by the devastation of Syrmia by the Turkish troops. On Aug. 30 the Sultān made his entry into the conquered city which received a garrison under a Sandjak-beg. In the following year took place the conquest of the island of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John, who had long been a menace to Ottoman power because they supported the Christian corsairs. Sulaimān left Constantinople on June 15, 1572 and crossed Asia Minor to the port of Marmaris; the fleet sailed under the vizier Muṣṭafā Pasha and was reinforced by an Egyptian contingent sent by Khair Beg of Egypt. The siege inflicted great hardships on the Turkish troops and towards the end of October the fleet had to take refuge in Marmaris. But in December the Grand Master of the Order, Villiers de l'Isle Adam (called by the Turks Miḡāl Mastūri, from the Greek Megalomastra), capitulated and soon afterwards left the island. A son of Djem, brother of Bāyazīd II, who was in the Christian army was killed. Shortly after the return of the Sultān to Constantinople, he deposed the grand vizier Pīrī Pasha and replaced him by his favourite Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v.] (June 27, 1524), who remained the faithful companion of Sulaimān on all his campaigns until his sudden execution in 1536. The bond between the two was strengthened in 1524 by Ibrāhīm's marriage to the Sultān's sister. In 1525 new military preparations were made, without their object being revealed; negotiations with Poland and France, guerilla warfare in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (especially the exploits of the Pasha of Bosnia who tried in vain to take the town of Jaice) and a mutiny of the Janissaries in the capital had been further indications of a great military enterprise. In April 1526 Sulaimān set out with Ibrāhīm; they arrived at Belgrade on July 15 whither a fleet had also gone by the Danube. On July 30, Ibrāhīm took Peterwardein (in Turkish: Wārādin). The army then crossed the Drave at Eszek and met the Hungarian army, weakened by the number and quarrels of its commanders at Mohács. Here on August 28 was fought the battle which cost Louis of Hungary his life and destroyed the power of Hungary to resist further, so that it was henceforth open to Turkish invasion. The Sultān and Ibrāhīm immediately resumed their advance and on Sept. 11 occupied the capital Buda (in

Turkish: Budin or Budun) which became a prey to the flames in spite of orders to the contrary. This occupation of the capital was however only temporary. The Turkish army crossed the Danube and returned by Szegecin, laying waste the country and crushing the resistance offered by several forces that met them. In November Sulaimān was back in Constantinople, where he had to deal with trouble in Asia Minor. For the two and half years that elapsed before the second Hungarian campaign, the war continued in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia; at the same time broke out the rivalry between Ferdinand the "Roman King" and John Zápolya, the voivod of Transylvania (Erdel Bān) for the Hungarian crown. Both sent an ambassador to Constantinople. Zápolya's envoy was able to secure the goodwill of the Sultān who set out in May 1529 for his new campaign, the Vienna campaign. On Aug. 10 they reached Mohács, where Zápolya recognised by Sulaimān as king of Hungary (Kṛāl Yānūsh), came to pay homage to his suzerain. Ibrāhīm Pasha was now appointed ser-asker and the Sultān set out to install his new vassal in his capital which was occupied by Ferdinand's troops. On Sept. 8 Buda capitulated and Sulaimān had Zápolya installed as king of Hungary without himself being present at the ceremony. On Sept. 27, the Turkish army began the famous siege of Vienna but was forced to retreat on Oct. 15 and to begin to retreat, not without ravaging the environs of the town. In the two years following, the war with Austria continued and the various embassies from king Ferdinand had no success. In 1532, Sulaimān then undertook what the Turkish sources call "the German campaign against the king of Spain" i. e. Charles V, who claimed the *ṣāhib-ḡirānī* (Chronicle of Rustam Pasha). The most remarkable event of this campaign was the taking of Güns (Turkish: Kösek) after a long siege (Aug. 21). During the next few months Sulaimān was in Styria, where his armies ravaged the country without meeting an army of the emperor. The Sultān's return to Constantinople in November was soon followed by an armistice with Austria, concluded on Jan. 14, 1533. Sulaimān's sixth campaign was directed against Persia. It was caused by the Turkish claims to possession of Bitlis (the governor of which, Ulama, had abandoned the Turks) and Baghdād. The grand vizier Ibrāhīm occupied Tabriz in July 1534 while the Sultān himself entered it in September. From Tabriz the army set out for Baghdād by way of Hamadān without Shāh Tahmāsp offering any resistance. Baghdād was left defenceless; Ibrāhīm occupied the town and a few days later Sulaimān made his ceremonial entry into it on Nov. 30, 1534. During the four months that he spent there he built the mausoleum of Abū Ḥanīfa and the sources mention a large number of holy places which the Sultān visited at Baghdād, Nedjef, Kūfa and Kerbelā. As the Persians had regained the greater part of the Turkish conquests, Sulaimān set out for Persia again, this time by Arbīl and Marāgha to Tabriz. The Shāh continued to avoid a battle and the Turks were able to take the strongholds of Ādhar-bāidjān and 'Irāk-i 'Adjamī. The only fighting was during the return march when the rearguard had occasionally to fight the Persians, for example at Wān. On Jan. 17, 1536, the Sultān was back in Constantinople and two months later (March 15)

there took place the disgrace and death of Ibrâhîm, grand vizier and intimate favourite of the Sultân and up till then this companion on all his campaigns. His place was taken by Âyâs Pasha. In 1537 the Pâdishâh accompanied the expedition against Corfu but stayed himself at Walona. The Turks were forced to raise the siege of the citadel of the island which was defended by the Venetians on Sept. 7. This campaign is specially remembered for the raids made on the coast of Apulia led by Lutfî Pasha [q. v.]. In the following year a rebellion by the voivod of Moldavia forced the Sultân to military intervention in which he also took part; it ended in the capture of the capital Suçâwa; after the installation of a new voivod and a new delimitation of his frontiers Sulaimân returned to Adrianople. The two following campaigns, those of 1541, and 1543, took him again into Hungary where the war had broken out again after the death of Zápolya in 1540.

The widow of the latter was incapable of defending the rights of her infant son against the claims of Ferdinand of Austria. Sulaimân arriving before Buda — which had just been besieged in vain by the Hungarian Peter Perenyi — in August 1541, annexed it along with the kingdom of Zápolya with the exception of Transylvania which was to be left to the queen dowager Isabella; henceforth Buda was the residence of a beglerbeg and Turkish administration was introduced into Hungary. Ferdinand's claims were of no avail and his attempt to take Pest in 1542 also failed. Sulaimân's campaign in 1543 brought a number of conquests, Valpo, Siklós, Fünfkirchen (Peč) and other towns. The Pâdishâh then went to Buda, after which Gran (Esztergom, in Turkish *Usturgân*) and Stuhlweissenberg (Ustun-Belgrade) were taken in September. The Sultân returned to Buda, where he crossed the Danube and returned to Constantinople on Nov. 11. This last campaign was followed by a pause of five years in the military activity of Sulaimân. The grand vizier Sulaimân Pasha, who had succeeded Lutfî Pasha in 1541, who had in turn succeeded Âyâs Pasha (d. 1539) was dismissed and replaced by Rustam Pasha who had married Mihr-u Mâh, daughter of Sulaimân and Khurram Sultân; it is from this time that harem influence begins to be active in politics. As a result of this, relations with Persia became more actively hostile, while the Hungarian war was terminated by a treaty making a seven years' truce with Ferdinand of Austria, who promised to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats. The campaign of 1548/49 of Sulaimân against Persia was provoked by Elkâs Mirzâ, brother of Shâh Tahmâsp, a refugee at the Ottoman court. The Sultân went to Erzerûm and then to Tabriz without the Shâh offering any resistance. But circumstances forced the Turkish army to retire to Diyâr Bakr, while the Persian army ravaged the frontier towns. Sulaimân spent the winter at Aleppo and passed the following year in inactivity also; the vizier Ahmad made some conquests in Georgia. In December Sulaimân was back in Constantinople. The following years were occupied with military operations provoked by Austrian intervention in Transylvania, the only part of Hungary which so far had never seen a Turkish army. The Sultân took no part in these operations, the control or which was taken by Şokolli Pasha [q. v.], beglerbeg of Rûm and future grand vizier (taking of Temesvár

in 1551). Sulaimân had not intended to take part in the new Persian campaign of 1553 either; Rustam Pasha had been appointed Ser-asker for it. But the rumour which reached him — through the intermediary of Rustam — of a rebellion said to have been organised by prince Muştafâ, the governor of Amasia, decided the Sultân to rejoin the army in person. He set out on Aug. 18, 1553, accompanied by prince Salim. At Eregli in Karmania took place the sudden and tragic execution of prince Muştafâ who had come to greet his father (Oct. 16). One result of this act of violence, inspired by harem intrigues, was the temporary replacement of Rustam Pasha by Ahmad Pasha (until his execution on Sept. 28, 1555). Military operations on a large scale did not begin till 1554 and resulted in the destruction of Nakhçevân, Eriwân and Kara Bagh (in July). In September negotiations for peace began at Erzerûm but it was not till May 29, 1555 that a treaty — the first Persian peace — was concluded at Amasia. In this last town the Sultân received the famous Austrian embassy under Busbecq which could only obtain an armistice. In August, Sulaimân returned to Constantinople. Ten years passed before his thirteenth and last campaign, that of Szigeth. In spite of the uninterrupted negotiations of Busbecq, the war in Austria went on because the Turks insisted on their claims, notably for Szigeth, besieged in vain in 1556. The grand vizier Rustam proved a particularly difficult person to negotiate with. It was only after his death (1561), that peace was concluded by his more amenable successor 'Alî Pasha in 1562. Austria had to abandon Transylvania and after the death of Ferdinand (1562) this peace was renewed by Maximilian. The last years of Sulaimân's life were darkened by the death of Khurram Sultân (April 1558) and by the war between the princes Salim and Bâyezîd, which ended in the execution of the latter (cf. SELIM II). In 1565 hostilities with Austria were resumed and the Christians gained some successes. This gave the aged Sultân a reason for taking the field once more at the head of his armies. He left Constantinople on May 1, 1566, with the new grand vizier Mehmed Şokolli (appointed in June 1565 after the death of 'Alî). At Zemlin, John Sigismund, son of Zápolya was received with remarkable honours. Although the original plan had been to attack Erlau (Egri), the information he received decided the Sultân to lay siege to Szigeth (Sigetwâr) defended by Nicolas Zriny. The siege began on Aug. 2 and on Sept. 8 the town fell before the Turkish assault but the great Sultân, who had died on the night of Sept. 5/6, did not live to witness its capture. The death of Sulaimân was kept secret by Şokolli for three weeks to prevent trouble in the army and to give Salim II time to gain possession of the throne. Salim met the army near Belgrade; the body of Sulaimân (his heart was buried in the mausoleum near Szigeth, cf. Jacob, *Aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, p. 24) was sent in advance of the army to Constantinople, where it was buried in his *türbe* in the Sulaimâniya mosque.

This résumé of the campaigns of Sulaimân I reveals the extraordinary energy of this, the greatest, Sultân of the Ottoman Empire but does not give a complete picture of his personality. Unfortunately the sources do not supply us with sufficient data to reconstruct this personality. The Turkish sources

rarely contain anything but exaggerated praises, while the European sources, although more critical, are less well informed and often biased. There is however no lack of brief personal touches, such as the short but fervid prayer which Sulaimân uttered before the battle of Mohács (*G. O. R.*, iii. 59) the humility with which he assisted the bearers of the bier of Gül Baba after the occupation of Buda in 1529 (Ewliyâ, vi. 248). His piety is shown by the eight copies of the *Qur'an* copied by Sulaimân himself and kept in the Sulaimâniya, while his Muslim orthodoxy is evident from several *ghazal* in the *Diwân* composed by him. The chroniclers further describe him as an ardent lover of the chase. In any case Sulaimân must have been a born ruler, of remarkable dignity, a striking figure in the midst of his brilliant court, on such occasions of ceremony as the festivals of the circumcision of his sons as in 1530 or the marriages of the princesses, his sisters. His great affections were in his youth for Ibrâhim Pasha and for his favourite Khurram Sultân [q. v.] whose influence made itself felt in politics, but it was not the latter's children that Sulaimân loved best (the princes Salim, Bâyezid and the princess Mihr-u-Mâh). It was rather prince Muḥammad, who accompanied him on several campaigns and of whose death he learned (Nov. 6, 1543) on his return from the campaign, who was his favourite son. In memory of this prince he built the *Shâhzâde Djâmi'i* in Stambul (finished in 1553). In memory of prince Djahângir (d. in 1553 soon after the execution of his brother Muṣṭafâ and also buried in the *Shâhzâde Djâmi'i*) another mosque was built on the heights of the Top-khâne.

In the history of the Ottoman empire the name of Sulaimân is greater than that of any of the other sultâns; the name marks an epoch, the epoch during which the empire became an undisputed power, in the Christian world as well as that of Islâm, and one which left its stamp upon later political and cultural developments. The part played by Sulaimân himself in this development is difficult to determine; we may note however that during his reign Turkey possessed a large number of able and remarkable men, like the *Ķapudân Pasha Khair al-Din* [q. v.] Barbarossa, the *mufti Kemâl Pasha-Zâde* [q. v.], the architect Sinân [q. v.] and many others, but that each of them seems to have played his part in his own proper sphere. There seems to have been a lack of great personalities in the immediate entourage of the Sultân, with the possible exception of the grand-vizier Ibrâhim Pasha.

On the other hand, the development of the Ottoman empire under Sulaimân may perhaps be largely explained by the internal political system of the state. The foundation of this development had been laid by earlier sultâns but under Sulaimân the state institutions had been perfected to such a pitch that we may with justice speak of a system. Following the principle of his predecessors, Sulaimân elaborated this system by the promulgation of the *Ķânûn* [q. v.] which were later collected into the different *Ķânûn-nâme* (cf. the *Bibliography*).

It is this legislative activity which has gained him the epithet *Ķânûnî*. The *Ķânûn* dealt mainly with the organisation of the army and military feudality, the laws of landed property, the police and the feudal code; one of the principles

of the "system" was the exploiting of the Christian element in the empire through the *Dewshirme* and the entrusting of high offices of state to renegades. This was not without influence on the cultural developments which were the result.

The elaboration of the new ideal of the Ottoman state was not realised, however, without a certain amount of opposition from representatives of the old order of things, in the newly acquired provinces as well as in Asia Minor. Among these demonstrations which broke out mainly at the beginning of the reign may be mentioned the last remnants of independence shown by the *Dhu 'l-Ķadroghlû*, suppressed by Farhâd Pasha in 1522, and the rising in 1527 in Iç Ili and the rebellion of *Ķalenderoghlu* in the same year put down by Ibrâhim Pasha; the mutiny of the Janissaries in 1525 in Constantinople falls into the same category. In the provinces peace was broken in 1521 by *Ghazâlî*, governor of Syria, and in Egypt by the attempt to regain independence under *Ķânsûh* and later in 1524 under the governor Aḥmad Pasha. The government further had to intervene on several occasions in the dynastic troubles in the Crimea and in the principalities of the Danube.

The enormous expansion that the empire underwent under Sulaimân was also a result of the system, especially of its military side. For, as contemporary writers (e. g. Dernschwam) make him say, permanent peace is an impossibility; the country would have had nothing to support itself upon or to pay the Janissaries and the other turbulent soldiery. At the same time the great victories brought about a fundamental change in the place of the empire in international affairs. The Christian states had lost all hope of driving the Turks out of Europe; it was in the reign of Sulaimân that the famous alliance with Francis I of France was concluded which led to negotiations when he was in Italy as a prisoner of Charles V. One of the consequences of this alliance was the famous capitulation of 1535 which settled the privileges of the French in the Empire, notably consular jurisdiction. This capitulation is the starting point for the capitulations between the Christian states and Turkey in the centuries following, although similar privileges had already been granted by Ottoman Sultâns, notably to Venice. Another consequence of the French alliance was the great naval activity of the Turkish fleet in the Mediterranean against the Spanish fleet under Andreas Doria and against the African, Italian and Dalmatian coasts especially after *Khair al-Din Barbarossa* had become *Ķapudân Pasha* (1536—1546); it was under him that the Franco-Turkish expedition against Nice took place in 1543. In the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, a Turkish fleet under Sulaimân Pasha waged war on the Portuguese (siege of Diu in 1538). This expedition secured to Turkey possession of 'Aden and the Yemen. From 1550 it was the *Ķapudân Piyâle Pasha* [q. v.], *Torghud Re'is* and *Şâlih Re'is* who spread the fame of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean especially in the ports of the Maghrib. In 1565 took place the great expedition against Malta in which *Torghud Re'is* was killed. The Turkish fleet did not succeed in taking the island. To the same period belong the expedition and adventures of *Piri Re'is* and *Sidi Re'is* in the Indian Ocean.

Alongside of these political developments at home and abroad, the Empire experienced a cultural

advance which may be said to be more independent than that of preceding centuries. Ottoman civilisation gained its own special character in the field of literature as well as that of art. Sulţān Sulaimān played a part in the literary life of his time as a poet under the *tahkalluṣ* of Muhibbî and as a patron of the great poets of his time. In another way he and his glorious reign contributed to the development of literature by inspiring poets like Bākî to write panegyric *kaşidas* and various *shāhnāma*, and prose-writers to write histories (cf. the *Bibliography*). But it is in the field of architecture especially that Turkish culture owes much to the initiative of Sulaimān. Of the mosques which he built in the capital first place must be given to the Sulaimāniya built between 1550 and 1556 and containing the *türbe* of Sulaimān (Sulaimān II and Aḥmad II are also buried here); next comes the Salimiye built in memory of Salīm I and finished in 1522; the *Shahzāde* *Djāmi'i* built between 1547 and 1548 in memory of prince Muḥammad, also contained the tomb of the prince Djahāngir; the mosque founded in memory of the latter at *Topkhāne* is now destroyed; the *Khaṣṣaki* *Djāmi'i* was built in 1534 in memory of *Khurram* Sulţān; lastly may be mentioned two mosques built, one at Sтамбул and the other at Skutari, in memory of princess Mihr-u-Māh, wife of Rustam Pasha. With the exception of the Salimiye all these mosques are the work of the architect Salīm Sinān [q. v.] who also built a large number of other mosques in the capital and elsewhere, for the grandees of the empire who followed the Sulţān's example. Among other buildings of Sinān for Sulaimān are the aqueducts of the capital and the palace at Skutari.

Of the edifices erected throughout the provinces in large numbers by Sulaimān's orders, the most remarkable are the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa at Baghdād; the mosque over the tomb of *Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī* at Konia, the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem (cf. AL-ḲUDS), the restoration of the Kab'a (after authorisation by a *fatwā* of Abū 'l-Su'ūd, q. v.) and of the aqueducts of Mecca.

Bibliography: The contemporary Turkish sources which have been printed or translated are the *Chronicle* of Muḥyī 'l-Dīn which forms the last part of the *Tawārīkh-i āl-i Oṯmān*, publ. by Giese, Breslau 1922, p. 138—153 (to 960 A.H. [1553]); *Kemāl Pasha Zāde*, *Ghāsewāt-i Muḥāc* or *Muḥāc-nāme*, publ. and transl. by Pavet de Courteilles, Paris 1859; Rustam Pasha, *Tārīkh-i āl-i Oṯmān*, transl. by L. Forrer, *Die osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pasha* (to 1561) in *Türkische Bibliothek*, Leipzig 1923, vol. 21; the last years of the reign are described in Selānikī, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1281 (from Sept. 1563); the "Journal of Sulaimān" describing day by day the last eight campaigns is given in Feridūn, *Munshā'āt-i selāṭīn*, Constantinople 1275, i. 507 (Belgrade campaign), p. 529 (Rhodes), p. 554 (Mohács), p. 567 (Vienna), p. 577 (Güns), p. 584 (Tabriz and Baghdād), p. 598 (Walona), p. 602 (Moldavia); the Vienna campaign was publ. and transl. by F. A. Behrhauer, *Suleiman des Gesetzgebers Tagebuch auf seinem Feldzuge nach Wien*, Vienna 1858; the *Munshā'āt* of Feridūn also contain many documents of the reign of Sulaimān (i. 500—ii. 86). There seems to be a more complete collection in MS. No. 327 of the National Library of Vienna (Flügel, p. 293): *Munshā'āt we-bā'iz waḳā'i-i Sulţān*

Sulciman Khān, which von Hammer considered the eleventh vol. of the original compilation by Feridūn (cf. Selānikī, p. 137). Other contemporary sources not yet published are: the *Tārīkh* of Luṭfī Pasha (only MS. in Europe at Vienna, Flügel, No. 1010); the last part of 'Alī, *Kunh al-akhbār*; *Djalāl Zāde* Muṣṭafā Ćelebi, *Tabaḳāt al-mamālik wa-darajāt al-masālik* (to 962 [1554]; No. 1010); Ferdi, *Tārīkh Sulţān Sulaimān* (to 949 [1552]; Flügel, No. 998); several *Tārīkh-i feth-i Rodos* (von Hammer knows those of Ramaḍān and of Waisi, cf. also Flügel, No. 1067); *Ghazewāt-i usturghāu wa-ustūn Belghrād*, by Sinān Ćawuṣh (also von Hammer, cf. Flügel, No. 1003); lastly various *Shah-nāma*, of which von Hammer cites those of Shamsi, Aḥmad Parapara-zāde and Maḥramī. Another *Shah-nāma* is that of Iḫlāṭūn (quoted by Aḥmad Refik in *Şokollî*) and a poem *Djāmi' al-maknūnat* in the Library of Leyden (Cat., iii. 26); a *Tārīkh-i Sulţān Sulaimān* at Vienna (Flügel, No. 1006) is rather legendary in its matter and belongs to the xviith century. The most important writers since the death of Sulaimān are: Pećewi, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1284; *Ḳara Ćelebi Zāde*, *Sulciman-nāma* (written as a continuation of the *Taḳd al-tawārīkh* of Sa'd al-Dīn), Bülāk 1248, and by the same author, *Rawḍat al-abrār*, Bülāk 1248; Merāḫī, *Fath-nāma-i Sigetwar*, G. O. R., iii., p. vi. and Flügel, No. 1002; finally the historical works of Şolāḳ Zāde, Hādjdjī *Ḳhalifa*, Munadjdjim Bashi, etc. Ewliya Ćelebi is also sometimes a source for the life of Sulaimān.

For state institutions in the time of Sulaimān an important source is the *Āṣaf-nāma* of Luṭfī Pasha, publ. and transl. by R. Tschudi in *Türkische Bibliothek*, No. 12, Berlin 1910 and the *Ḳānūn-nāma* of Sulaimān. These *Ḳānūn-nāma*, which have been collected are edited at different times and found in large numbers in the Libraries of Constantinople; editions are: 'Arif Bey, *Ḳānūn-nāma-i āl-i Oṯmān (ikindji)*, ed. by the Nishāndjī Sidi Beg, in T. O. E. M., No. 15—19 (Aug. 1912—Avril 1913) and *Oṯmānī Ḳānūn-nāmaleri* (ed. by Abū 'l-Su'ūd and the Nishāndjī Ramaḍān-Zāde Muḥammad) in *Milli tettebb'lar madjmi'ası I*, Constantinople 1331; translations in A. L. M. Petis de la Croix, *Canon du Sultan Soliman II, représenté à Sultan Mürad IV pour son instruction, ou état politique et militaire tiré des archives les plus secrètes des princes ottomans et qui servent pour bien gouverner leur empire*, Paris 1735; *Canoun-name ou édit de Sultan Soliman concernant la police de l'Égypte* in Digeon, *Nouveaux contes turcs et arabes*, Paris 1781; partially in von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815, i. 384—427; other documents in Aḥmad Refik, *Onundjī 'aṣr-i hiḡride Istanbul hayātī*, Constantinople 1333.

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The modern historians beginning with von Hammer have also used, sometimes almost exclusively, western sources (Hungarian, Austrian, Roumanian, etc.): von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 1—495; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, Gotha 1854, ii. 611—936; iii. 1—380; Kupelwieser, *Die Kämpfe Österreichs mit den Osmanen vom Jahre 1525—1537*, Vienne 1899; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1909, ii., iii. Modern Turkish works are: *Thuraiyā Efendi, Sijḍill-i 'othmāni*, i. 143; Nāmīk Kamāl, *'Othmānī tārīkhī*, Constantinople 1326—1328; Khair Allāh, *Dewlet-i 'othmāniye tārīkhī*, Constantinople 1292, vol. xi; monographs by the historian Aḥmad Rafik: *Şokolli, Kadınlar Saltanatı*, 'Ālimler wa-Şar'at-kārlar; Mehmed Zākī, *Maḥṭūl shahzādelar*, Constantinople 1336.

A. H. Lybbyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleimān the Magnificent*, Cambridge Mass. 1913; E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1904, iii. 1—9; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain al-Aiwānsarāyī, *Ḥaaiḳat al-djāwāmi'*, Constantinople 1281, i. 14, 15, 16, 101; ii. 72, 100, 186. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SULAIMĀN II, twentieth Ottoman Sultān, reigned from 1687 to 1691. He was born in 1052 (1642) (on 15th Muḥarram = April 15, according to von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, the *Sijḍill-i 'Othmāni* gives the 25th Şafar = May 25), and was the son of Sultān Ibrāhīm; from the accession of his brother Muḥammad IV he lived the life of a prisoner in the palace with his brother Aḥmad. On the deposition of Muḥammad IV, the result of the defeat of the Turkish army at Mohács, Sulaimān was placed on the throne on Nov. 8, 1637, mainly through the efforts of the *kā'im-makām* Köprülü Muṣṭafā Paṣha. In the precarious position of the empire, great hopes were placed upon a second Sulaimān but the latter had not the necessary qualities. He is described as being of a resolute and warlike character, and indeed he twice took the field at the head of the army; a weak constitution however prevented him from carrying out his good intentions. Soon after his accession the mutinous army returned from Hungary, invaded the capital and committed unprecedented excesses in which the new grand vizier Siyāwush Paṣha was killed (Nov. 24, 1688). A spontaneous rising of the population of the capital finally suppressed the rebellion and the aged Nishāndjī Ismā'il Paṣha became grand vizier (Jorga, iv. 227, speaks of another grand vizier the Sipāhī 'Alī Agha, as holding the office between these two, but he is not mentioned in the *Ḥāḍikat al-Wūzāra*). A new mutiny of the troops however put an end to Ismā'il Paṣha also. His successor was the ex-Janissary Takfur Daghlī Mu-

ṣṭafā Paṣha (May 1688). Meanwhile the Turkish arms suffered defeat after defeat in Hungary (loss of Erlau in Dec. 1687) and in Dalmatia, while Yegen 'Othmān Paṣha, Beglerbeg of Rūm-ili was in rebellion against the government; in Anatolia he had a supporter in Gedük Aḥmad Paṣha. After great effort to raise the necessary money, an army left the capital in July 1688. The Sultān set out with it, but went no farther than Adrianople, for in the meanwhile, the Austrians and their allies had taken Belgrade (Sept. 6) and Semendria. In September the Porte sent Mavrocordato and Dhu 'l-Fakīr Efendi to Vienna with the task of negotiating a peace; but fighting went on as the negotiations were prolonged. The rebels Gedük Aḥmad and Yegen 'Othmān were finally defeated and slain. In Dec. 1688 a great council of war was held which decided among other things, to enrol in the army a certain number of the inhabitants of Constantinople; on the other hand the assistance of France who attacked the Emperor in Germany gave the Turks a chance to re-organise their forces. In June 1689, Sulaimān again put himself at the head of an army which he only accompanied as far as Sofia, having heard of the loss of Szigeth; Rādjab Paṣha became Serasker. After some initial successes this campaign ended in a great Turkish defeat near Niş on Sept. 14, a result of which was the execution of Rādjab Paṣha, and the dismissal of the grand vizier in favour of Küprülü Muṣṭafā Paṣha (Nov. 7). The latter took energetic steps to re-establish order in the army and the finances; for example he levied a series of new taxes. In 1690 fortune turned in favour of the Turks assisted by a Tatar army. They retook Niş, Semendria and Belgrade (Oct. 8) as well as several towns in Transylvania.

In Albania the Venetians had to give up their conquests. The campaign of 1691 thus started very favourably but it ended with the defeat at Szalánkemen, in which Muṣṭafā Küprülü [q. v.] lost his life. But the Sultān was already dead (June 23, 1691; the *Sijḍill-i 'Othmāni* gives the date 15 Shawwāl = July 12). He was succeeded by his brother Aḥmad II. Sulaimān II was buried in the *türbe* of Sulaimān I in the Sulaimāniye in Constantinople. Two of his sons became sultans: Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmad III.

Bibliography: The principal Turkish source is Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople, 1282, ii. 15—159 and several works not yet printed: — Defterdār Muḥammad Paṣha, *Zubdat al-Waḥā'iāt* (Flügel, Vienna Catalogue, N^o. 1079); *Şulḥ-nāma* of Dhu 'l-Fakār Efendi (Flügel, N^o. 1078); 'Abd al-Ghaaffīr Kīrimī, *'Umdat al-Tawārīkh wa'l-Akhbār* (Library As'ad Efendi in Constantinople, N^o. 2331). Also Thuraiyā Efendi, *Sijḍill-i 'Othmāni*, i. 44; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vi. 499—560; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, v. 145—150, 243; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv. 225—254. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SULAIMĀN, MAWLĀY ABU 'L-RABī' B. MUḤAMMAD, 'Alawid Sultān of Morocco, reigned from Rādjab 1206 (March 1792) to 13th Rabī' I 1238 (Nov. 28, 1822). The son of Sultān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'il and a free woman of the Arab tribe of Ahlāf, he spent his youth in Sidjilmāsa where he devoted himself to study without taking part in politics. When on the death of his father in Rādjab 1204 (March—April 1790) the power passed to his brother Yazīd, Sulaimān came

from al-Tāfilālat escorted by the Arab and Berber tribes of the Sahara to bring him the *baʿa* of the people of Sidjilmāsa. After the death of Mawlāy Yazīd, killed near Marrākesh (end of Djumādā II 1206 = Febr. 1792) fighting against Mawlāy Hishām, one of his brothers who had rebelled against him, Morocco fell into anarchy. The people of al-Hawz of Marrākesh remained faithful to Mawlāy Hishām but those of al-Hibt and al-Djabal proclaimed Mawlāy Maslama, uterine brother of Mawlāy Yazīd. The people of Fās, the tribes around the capital and the 'Abid, Wadāya and Berbers proclaimed Mawlāy Sulaimān whose learning and piety particularly distinguished him. Soon afterwards the 'Abid of Miknās and the Berbers of the region joined them and the new Sulṭān received their oath of allegiance in the sanctuary of Mawlāy Idris, on Monday 17th Radjab 1206 (March 12, 1792). Later he was also recognised by the Banū Ḥasan and the other tribes of al-Gharb, as well as by the people of Sale and Rabat.

He had hardly been proclaimed, when M. Sulaimān had to fight his brother and rival, M. Muslama, who was soon defeated and went to live in the east. At the end of 1206 (1792) M. Sulaimān made an unsuccessful expedition with the object of chastising the Angād, an Arab tribe around Ujdja, who plundered caravans and convoys of pilgrims. In al-Hawz of Marrākesh however M. Hishām was still supreme. At the end of 1207 (1793) M. Sulaimān sent his brother M. al-Taiyib against the Shāwiya but he was defeated. In 1208 (1793—1794) the Djabāla, the tribes inhabiting the mountainous massif of the northwest (Akhmās, Banū Yadar, Banū Gurfut, Ghazāwa etc.) rebelled on the invitation of a *qālīb*, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām Zaiṭan al-Khumsī. After his defeat in the first encounter, the troops of M. Sulaimān ultimately crushed the rebels and Zaiṭan, captured and pardoned, was appointed governor of the tribe and became one of the strongest supporters of the government.

M. Hishām was always powerful in al-Hawz of Marrākesh, where the tribes of Dukkāla, 'Abda, Aḥmar, Shayādhima, Hāha and Raḥāmīna followed him; but discord was not long in breaking out among them and M. Sulaimān seized his opportunity. He began by attacking a section of the Shāwiya whom he defeated. In 1210 (1795/1796) the Raḥāmīna sent him a deputation inviting him to march on Marrākesh and he took the field against the Shāwiya whom he routed, then invaded the territory of the Dukkāla and took Azammūr in 1211 (1796/1797). He then turned his attention to Marrākesh; on his approach, M. Hishām fled from the town to the Atlas; M. Sulaimān occupied the capital of the south and extended his authority over the tribes of al-Hawz, al-Dair, al-Sūs, the Hāha and the town of Mogadar. A little later, the *ḥā'id* of the 'Abda, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Nāṣir who had been one of the most faithful auxiliaries of M. Hishām submitted to the Sulṭān and M. Hishām now alone, soon followed his example. M. Sulaimān was now undisputed sovereign of all Morocco.

His authority once well established, M. Sulaimān undertook several secondary expeditions to assure the security of the frontiers of his empire. The Turks of Algiers had seized Ujdja and extended their authority over the tribes in the neighbourhood of this town. In 1211 (1796—1797) M. Sulaimān sent troops who reconquered the territory without

difficulty. In 1213 (1798—1799) there was an expedition to al-Sūs, in 1215 (1800—1801) the unfortunate campaign against the Berber tribe of Ait-Umālū, in 1216 (1801—1802) an expedition against the land of Dar'a (Drā) and in 1217 (1802—1803) against the Rif to collect taxes. In 1218 (1803—1804) there was the campaign against the Ait Idrāsan of the Central Atlas and against the tribes of the Sahara (Tudgha, Farkala, Ghāris and Tāfilālat).

The power of M. Sulaimān had now reached its zenith and Morocco enjoyed several years of peace and prosperity. This period unfortunately did not last and the Sulṭān had to spend the last years of his reign in almost annual expeditions. In 1222 (1807—1808) there was an expedition against the Tādla and the Gurāra; in 1223 (1808—1809) a new campaign against the Ait Umālū, who were forced on this occasion to pay tribute; in 1224 (1809—1810) there was an expedition against the Tādla and against the Ait Isrī; in 1225 (1810—1811) there was an expedition against the Rif.

Very soon afterwards the situation changed. The nationalist rising of the Berbers in the Central Atlas, exasperated by the oppression of the central arabicised power imperilled the empire and brought Morocco to the verge of anarchy. In 1226 (1811—1812) the Garwān and the Ait Umālū rebelled under the chief Āmhāush; the first expedition sent against them was routed at Azrū. In 1227 (1812—1813) the Sulṭān sent to the Rif an expedition to punish several eastern tribes notably the Gal'iya, who, in spite of his prohibition, were selling wheat to the Christians. This campaign was crowned with success but had no permanent results so that the very next year in 1228 (1813—1814) the Sulṭān, accompanied by Arab contingents from the Banū Malik and the Sufyān had to go in person to the Rif which he ravaged with fire and sword. In 1230 (1814—1815) there was an expedition to the region of Marrākesh to punish the turbulent tribes of Dukkāla, 'Abda and Shayādhima. In 1231 (1815—1816) the Sulṭān sent his son M. Ibrāhīm to punish various Arab and Berber tribes of the Sahara, the Ṣabāh and the Ait 'Atṭā who had seized fortresses (*kusūr*) built in their land by M. Ismā'il; the expedition was a failure and the Sulṭān had to undertake a second one in person which was quite successful.

But the enemy who caused the greatest trouble to Sulaimān was the Berber bloc of the Central Atlas, which rebelled on several occasions against the Arab yoke, frequently threatening the town of Miknās. The Sulṭān never succeeded in taming them and their stubborn resistance was the cause of the internal dissensions which troubled the close of his reign. The Ṣanhādja of the Central Atlas and especially the confederation of the Ait Umālū of Fāzāz refused to submit to the central power. In 1234 (1818—1819) the Sulṭān decided to subdue them with Arab and Berber contingents (Zammūr, Garwān and Ait Idrāsan), but as a result of the defection of the Zammūr, the Sulṭān's son M. Ibrāhīm was mortally wounded and the Sulṭān himself was captured by a Berber who however ultimately released him. This success inflamed the national ardour of the Berbers who rose under a local *murābiṭ* Muḥammad U-Nāṣir Āmhāush, to fight against the whole Arabic speaking element in Morocco. The checks suffered by M.

Sulaimān had destroyed his prestige and the end of his reign was simply a series of risings which he had great difficulty in putting down. While the Sultān was at Miknās defending it against the Berbers, the people of Fās rose against his governor, al-Ṣaffār. He therefore returned to Fās and on the way his army was attacked by the Berbers. In 1235 (1819–1820) he went to pacify al-Hibṭ and then to Marrākesh. During his absence the Wadāya plundered Fās, discord broke out among the people of the town who ultimately asked the help of the Berbers against the Wadāya. Soon the people of Fās by arrangement with the Berbers abandoned M. Sulaimān and chose as ruler M. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, who was also recognised by a part of the people of N. W. Morocco, notably the inhabitants of Tetwān; returning to the town, M. Ibrāhīm died and his brother M. Sa'īd was proclaimed in his stead. The Sultān M. Sulaimān then left Marrākesh and laid siege to Fās. The siege lasted till Raddjāb 1237 (March–April 1822). During this period the Sultān sent an expedition to attack Tetwān and pacified the district of Tāza.

Having retaken Fās and settled the situation in the north M. Sulaimān set out for the south where he had to fight against the Arab tribe of the Sharārida, who lived near Marrākesh. Wearing with ruling M. Sulaimān was thinking of abdicating in favour of his nephew M. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām, when he died on 13th Rabi' I, 1238 (Nov. 28, 1822) at Marrākesh, where he was buried.

In spite of his unfortunate reign, M. Sulaimān left a great reputation for piety, justice and benevolence; for example he abolished the non-Islāmic taxes (*mukūs*). He was also a great builder.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zaiyānī, *al-Turajjūmān al-mu'rib*, ed. Houdas, text, p. 92; transl., p. 169; Muḥammad Akansūs, *al-Djaish al-'aramram*, lith., Fās 1336, i. 181; Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *al-Istiqṣā'*, iv. 129–172; transl. in *Arch. Marocaines*, ix. 384–399, x. 1–105. — Sulaimān al-Ḥawwāt wrote poems in praise of Mawlāy Sulaimān, but the collection, of no historical value, is still in manuscript.

(GEORGES S. COLIN)

SULAIMĀN, AL-MAHRĪ, a sailing-master (*mu'allim al-bahr*) and author of "Sailing Instructions" in the first half of the xvth century.

MS. N^o. 2559 of the Arabic collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains several nautical treatises in prose and verse on the Indian Ocean, the sea of Western China and the seas of the great Asiatic Archipelago. The treatises in verse are by the *mu'allim* Ibn Mādjīd (cf. *SHIHĀB AL-DĪN*). The five treatises in prose have been prepared by another sailing-master called Sulaimān b. Aḥmad al-Mahrī al-Muḥammadi (fol. 59b) or Sulaimān b. Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Mahrī (fol. 155a, here wrongly written al-Mahrī). In either case he would be son or grandson of Mahrī, i.e. of a member of the tribe of the Mahara of Southern Arabia. Sulaimān is otherwise unknown. The "Sailing Instructions" of which he is the author contain no biographical information. His Turkish translator, the admiral Sidi 'Alī who wrote the *Muḥit* in 1554, mentions that he was dead by then (cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Nov. 1834, p. 548). One of the nautical treatises is dated 1511; it is therefore probable that the texts in question were prepared in the first half of the xvth century.

MS. 2559 is a small 4° of 215 × 150, 187

folios with 15 lines to a page. The five treatises by Sulaimān contained in it are as follows:

I. *Risāla kilādat al-shumūs wa-'stikhṛādī ḡa-wā'id al-usūs*, folio 1b to 3b. At the beginning the text says: "The object of this epistle is to make known the [different kinds of] known years and their use by all the world; these years are the lunar, solar, Byzantine (*rūmīya*), Coptic and Persian. The epistle contains a short introduction of 10 lines and 6 *faṣl* or sections. The first deals with the lunar year, the second with the basis of the solar year; the third with the solar year; the fourth with the Byzantine year; the fifth with the Coptic year and the sixth with the Persian year". Not dated. On folio 1a where the titles of the treatises contained in the manuscript are given in another hand, this text is entitled: "Epistle dealing with the science of eras, i.e. with the knowledge of the principle of years, the use of which is found throughout the world".

II. *Kitāb tuḥfat al-fuḥūl*, from folio 4a to 10a inclusive. On 1a this text is entitled: "Epistle of the gift to men of energy to facilitate the knowledge of the principles [of astronomical-nautical science]". This treatise is divided into 4 lines of introduction, 7 chapters and a conclusion. Chapter i. deals with the description of the spheres and the stars which they contain; chapter ii. treats of the division of the circle which those learned in nautical astronomy are agreed to divide into 32 parts called *khann* "celestial rumb", by analogy with the rumb of navigation. Chapter iii. deals with *zām* = 3 hours sailing at sea; chapter iv. with the two kinds of sailing at sea, i.e. following the coast line or crossing the high seas; chapter v. with the altitudes of the stars to determine the latitude of a port; chapter vi. with the distances between two ports estimated in *zām*; chapter vii. with the winds. The conclusion of this treatise is as follows: the art of navigation is based on a double foundation, good sense and experience.

This text is not dated but it is later than iv. which is quoted on folio 7a, line 1 and than iii. which is mentioned in folio 5b, line 11 which puts its date after 1512.

Folios 10b and 11a are blank in the MS.

III. *Al-'Umdat al-mahrīya fī ḡabī' al-'ulūm al-baḥriya*, from folio 11b to 59a inclusive. It is divided into 7 chapters which are subdivided into sections.

Chapter i. deals with the principles of nautical astronomy. It contains the following sections:

(a) To know the rumb; (b) to know the distance of the stars at the equator; (c) to know the parallels (*madārāt*) of the stars expressed in degrees; (d) to know the stars which are in horizontality (*'itidāl*) (observed on a single planchette); (e) to know the *zām*; (f) to know the guide to the exact number of *zām* between the rumb; (g) to know the exact number of *tirfāt* (co-efficient indicating the length of the voyage to be covered to a given cape to get the same displacement in latitude sailing straight north); (h) to know the basis (for calculation) of the altitude of a star; (i) to know the distances.

Chapter ii. deals with the names of the stars and allied matters. It has two sections (a) to know the number of *iṣba'* = 1° 37' that are one between the North Pole and the *ḡāh* or Pole Star, the great *farḡad* or β of Ursa Minor, the *mikh*,

lit. = knot = 122 (Piazzi) of Cepheus; and (ò) to know the circle described by the great *farḳad* around the pole.

Chapter iii. deals with sea routes in the regions to windward and under the wind (i. e. in the author's particular terminology, to the east and west of Cape Comorin). It contains 7 sections: (a) routes of the *Hidjāz*; (b) route along the south coast of Arabia; (c) route along the north-west coast of India; (d) route along the east coast of Africa from Bāb al-Mandab (var. of Bāb al-Mandab); (e) route past the *Khūriyā* (cf. above, ii., p. 975, where these islands are wrongly called *Khūriyān-Mūriyān* from an erroneous reading of several Arab geographers) from the south coast of Arabia to Soḳotrā; (f) routes under the wind on the east coast of India; (g) route from the coast of Siam (i. e. west and east coast of the Malay peninsula which used all to belong to Siam), along the coasts of Siam proper of Indo-China and western China.

Chapter iv. deals with the routes along the coast of the following islands: *Ḳomr* or Madagascar, the archipelago of the Comoros (which includes 4 islands: *Angazidja* or Great Comoro, *Mulāli* or *Moheli*, *Dumūni* or *Anjuan* so-called from its capital, and *Mayotte*); the small islands to the east of Cape Ambre and Cape St. Mary (the two Capes at the north and south ends of Madagascar); the *Zarīn* Islands or Seychelles; *Soḳotrā*; the *Fāl* or Laccadives; the *Dīb* or Maldives; Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands; the islands along the coast of Siam (i. e. west coast of the Malay Peninsula); Sumatra, Java; the south-east islands: *Gilolo*; *Fariyūk* (the *Perioco* of the *Commentarios* of Albuquerque, vol. iii., ch. xviii. (?)); *Ghūr* = north part of Formosa, the Maluccas, Macassar = Celebes, the islands of Banda, *Timūr-Lawt* or *Timūr* of the Sea, *Timūr-Kidul* or *Timūr* of the south, Brunei or Borneo).

Chapter v. deals with latitudes ascertained from the altitudes of the *gāh* or Pole Star, the *farḳadain* = $\beta \gamma$ of Ursa Minor and of the *na'sh* = $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta$ of Ursa Major. It contains 7 sections indicating the latitudes of the ports of the Red Sea, of the eastern coast of Arabia and the western coast of India; of the east coast of Africa and the west coast of India and Ceylon; of the east coast of Africa to the south of Guardafui; of the Gulf of Bengal; of the island of Ceylon, of Sumatra and Java. It also deals with *bāshi* (the correction to be made according to the elevation of the Pole Star), the 28 lunar mansions and the altitudes of the known stars.

Chapter vi. deals with the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, the dates of which are expressed in the Persian reckoning. The monsoons are divided into two categories. The first is divided into two classes. The first of these is called "head of the wind" and includes the following monsoons: monsoon of 'Aden which takes one to the west coast of India, the monsoon of *Shihr* [q. v.] for the same destination; monsoon of *Zufār*, monsoon of the *Sawāhil* or of the eastern equatorial coast of Africa for the same destination; monsoon of the *Sawāhil* to the south coast of Arabia; monsoons of Gujarat, of the Konkan, of Malabar, of the Maldives, of *Shihr*, of *Zufār*, from *Maskat* to Malacca, Sumatra, Tenasserim and Bengal. Monsoon from *Zailā'* and Berbera to the South Arabian coast; monsoon from 'Aden to Hormuz.

The monsoons of the second class of the first category are the monsoons from Mecca (i. e. from *Djedda*), *Sawākin*, *Zailā'*, 'Aden, *Shihr*, *Mashḳāṣ*; *Zufār* and *Ḳalahāt* to the west coast of India.

The monsoons blowing towards the lands "under the wind" (i. e. to the east of Cape Comorin) are the monsoons from 'Aden, *Shihr*, *Mashḳāṣ*, Gujarat, the Konkan, Sumatra, Tenasserim, Malabar and Bengal; the monsoon from Bengal towards the west coast of the Malay Peninsula; the monsoon from the east coast of Africa to the Maldives; the monsoon of the *Sawāhil* to the south Arabian coast.

The second category of monsoons includes the monsoons from Gujarat, the Konkan and Hormuz to the coast of Arabia; from Gujarat to the east coast of Africa, from Bengal, Malacca and Tenasserim, Martaban and Sumatra to Mecca (i. e. *Djedda*), 'Aden and Hormuz; from Sumatra to Bengal; from the Maldives to 'Aden and the whole Arabian coast; from *Diyūl* in Sind to the Arabian coast; from Malindi in East Africa to Madagascar; from *Kilwa* to *Sofala* and from *Sofala* to *Kilwa*.

Chapter vii. deals with voyages. It begins by describing in detail the islands along the Arabian and African shores of the Red Sea. Then follow itineraries extremely in detail in the following regions: from Bāb al-Mandab to mount *Zuḳur* and *Saibān*, in the south of the Red Sea; from *Saibān* to *Djedda*; from *Saibān* to *Sawākin*; from *Djedda* to 'Aden; from *Sawākin* to 'Aden; from *Zailā'* to Gujarat; from *Berbera* to Gujarat; from *Kishin* to the south Arabian Coast of Gujarat; from *Ḳalahāt* to Gujarat; from *Zufār* to Gujarat; from *Ḳalahāt* to Gujarat; from *Maskat* to Gujarat, to the Konkan and Malabar; from 'Aden to Malabar; from 'Aden to Hormuz; from *Rās al-Hadd* to *Diyūl* in Sind; from *Diu* to *Mashḳāṣ*; from *Diu* to *Shihr* and 'Aden; from *Mahā'im* and *Shayūl* (the Chaul of our maps) and the vicinity to the Arabian coast; from *Diu* to the Maldives; from *Dābūl* to the Maldives; from *Diu* to *Maskat* and Hormuz; from *Cambay* to 'Aden at the end of the monsoon; from *Goa-Sindābūr* to 'Aden at the end of the monsoon; from *Honūr* and *Bāḡkalā* to 'Aden at the end of the monsoon; from *Calicut* to *Guardafui*; from *Diu* to Malacca; from *Diu* to Bengal, i. e. to *Shātigām* (sic); from Malacca to 'Aden; from *Shātigām* to the Arabian coast. — In the conclusion (*khātima*) the author enumerates the ten dangers to be avoided by sailors.

This treatise is dated in figures, 21st Rabi' II, 961 = March 27, 1554; but according to the *Muḥit* of *Sidī 'Alī*, it was compiled in 917 (1511–1512) (cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Nov. 1834, p. 548), and this is the date which should be adopted as correct. The Turkish admiral actually collected the Arabic documents which he translated during his sojourn on the Persian Gulf in 1553. The date given in MS. No. 2559 is no doubt that when the copy was made as Sulaimān was already dead in 1554.

IV. *Kitāb al-minhādī al-fākhir fī 'ilm al-baḥr al-zākhir*, from fol. 59a to 93b, 1.3 It is divided into an introduction, 7 chapters and a conclusion. The introduction deals with *sām* and *tirfāt*; chapter i. with the sea routes on the coast of Arabia, *Makrān*, Sind, Gujarat, the Konkan, *Tulwān*, Malabar; on the Somali coast and the east coast of Africa; the east coast of India, Bengal and Siam (= west coast of Malay peninsula), and of Malacca; on the west coast of the Malay

Peninsula, Indo-China, Western China, and some routes on the high seas.

Chapter ii. dealing with the latitudes (*ḵiyās*, lit. "measure") of the ports on known and inhabited coasts: "Know", says the author, "that as regards the observation of the Polar Star, there is a difference between the people under the wind and those of the lands in the wind of Cape Comorin, as far as certain capes are concerned. The result is differences between the people of Western India (*al-Hind*, this is how we must take it in nautical terminology) and the Arabs as regards the fundamental measure (i.e. the measure of the height of the Pole Star). In my book entitled *al-ʿUmda* (cf. above col. 2) [the latitudes given] are in conformity with those of the Čolas; in the present book, I have reproduced the opinion of the older masters of navigation for all the coasts because [as to these latitudes] I have verified them from certain capes which I supposed to have been situated above their true latitude..." Then come the sections where they are indicated: (a) a great number of latitudes furnished by observation of the Pole Star, (b) of the *farḵadain* ($\beta\gamma$ of Ursa Minor), (c) of the *naʿsh* $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ of Ursa Major, (d) the altitudes of the known stars.

Chapter iii. contains the description of the coasts of the large known inhabited islands: Madagascar, the Seychelles, Soḵotrā, the Laccadives, the Maldives, Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Takwa Islands on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and the northeastern islands (Timor, the Sandalwood Islands, Banda, the Moluccas, the island of Likyū [Arabic transcription of the Chinese *Lieou-ḵieou* also called *Ḡhūr* — north of Formosa], Gilolo, Fariyūḵ [?], Borneo and Macassar = Celebes).

Chapter iv. deals with the distances between Arabia and Western India, the ports of the Bay of Bengal, the east coast of Africa and certain ports of Sumatra, Java and Bali.

Chapter v. deals with the winds, cyclones and the dangers to which ships are exposed. Chapter vi. treats of the landings and landmarks of western India, the Arabian coast and the east coast of Africa. Chapter vii. deals with the entrance of the sun and moon into the signs of the Zodiac. The conclusion contains the following detailed itineraries: from Diu to Malacca, from Malacca to the Maldives, from Diu to the west coast of Sumatra and back to Martaban und Tenasserim and to Bengal.

This text is not dated but it mentions *al-ʿUmda* (iii.) in folio 64a, l. 13; it is therefore later than 1511. It also mentions ii. which is quoted on folio 60b, l. 9.

Folios 93b to 151a contain nautical treatises in verse by Ibn Māǧǧid, which have already been discussed (cf. above, p. 364 sq.). Folios 151b to 154a are blank.

V. *Kitāb sharih tuḥfat al-fuḥūl fī tamhīd al-aḡūl* from folios 155a to 187b and last. At the end of several lines of introductory matter the author says: "I have extracted [the substance] of this book from different sciences and collected the contents [by borrowing] from my own works and those of my brethren [of the brotherhood of sailing masters] (folio 155a, l. 3 *infra*).

Chapter i. deals with the description of the celestial spheres and the stars which they contain (spheres of the moon, of Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the fixed stars), the load-

stone and the compass. Chapter ii. deals with the division of the circle. "I say", says the author (f. 161a, l. 3) "that this chapter ii. of this book contains the description of the circle. The word *circle* here means the circle of the horizon divided into 360 parts, each part of which is considered a degree by observers i.e. astronomers. I say that those learned in nautical science are agreed to divide the circle (of the horizon) into 32 parts. I say that the masters of navigation of the ocean of Western India agree. There are the Arabs, the people of Hormuz, the people of Western India, the Čolas and the Zengs (or Zendjs). It is the same for masters of navigation of the west, like the Maghribis, the Franks, the Byzantines (Rūmiya) who also divide the circle into 32 parts. As to the Chinese and Javanese — these are the people of the islands of the south — they divide the circle into 24 parts. It is the same with the people of the non-Arab countries like *Ḵhorāsān* and the non-Arab lands adjoining it and the masters of navigation have called each of these parts *ḵann* by analogy with the *ḵann* (or rumb) of navigation". The same chapter then deals with the *iṣbaʿ* (lit. finger = $1^{\circ} 37'$). Chapter iii. is devoted to the *zām*; chapter iv. to the routes along the coasts and on the high seas; chapter v. to the altitudes of the stars; chapter vi. to the distances between two points; chapter vii. to the winds. The book ends with a general concluding chapter.

This last nautical treatise which is not dated is later than the *Kitāb al-minḥādī* (iv.) quoted in f. 173r, l. 8 and 184a l. 11; and than the *al-ʿUmda* (iii.) mentioned in folio 165a, l. 9; 165b, l. 8; 181a, l. 13 — l. 14. *The Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* of de Slane wrongly says that the text of this treatise is written in red ink; the titles of the chapter, sections, and paragraphs alone are written in red ink; the text itself is written in black ink like the rest of the manuscript.

Without going into details we may here mention the main rules used by Arab seafarers in the xvth—xvith centuries. According to the nautical texts of Ibn Māǧǧid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī the latitudes of the parts of the Indian Ocean in the wide sense, i.e. the ports of all the coasts between Southern Africa and the Chinese province of Fou-Kien (coasts of the mainland and islands of the Indian Ocean in the strict sense, of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the sea of ʿOmān, the Bay of Bengal, of the Sea of western China, and the Seas of the Great Asiatic Archipelago), are determined by observation of three stars or groups of northern stars: *gāh* = Pole Star; the Guards, in Arabic *al-farḵadain*, "the two calves" = $\beta\gamma$ of Ursa Minor; the tomb, in Arabic *al-naʿsh* = $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ of Ursa Major. The latitude of the harbours between the parallels of $32^{\circ} 48' N.$ = $17\frac{1}{2}$ *iṣbaʿ* and 6° north = about 1 *iṣbaʿ* from, the *gāh* is determined by the observation of the Pole Star; that of the ports situated between the parallels of $5^{\circ} 21'$ south = about 1 *iṣbaʿ* from the *farḵadain* by observation of the Guards of Ursa Minor; and that of the ports between the parallels of $6^{\circ} N.$ = 1 *iṣbaʿ* from the *gāh* or 8 *iṣbaʿ* from the *farḵadain* and of $5^{\circ} 21'$ south = 1 *iṣbaʿ* from the *farḵadain* or 13 *iṣbaʿ* from the *naʿsh* and about $25^{\circ} 16'$ south = $\frac{3}{4}$ *iṣbaʿ* from the *naʿsh*, by observation of *al-naʿsh* of Ursa Major. The result of these observations has been laid down in the *Sailing Instructions* in the following form: Ibn Māǧǧid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī give first

of all the parallel in question and then mention all the points which are found on this latitude, the one from east to west and the other from west to east. For example in fol. 64b, l. 8 of MS. 2559 we are told:

"[There where] the *gāh* is 11 *isba'* [above the horizon = about 21° 14' N. are]: the harbour of

Kawshī (arabised form of the Chinese 交趾

Kiao-če near the modern Hanoi in Tonkin) which is in China (sic), this is the port of the Sultān [of the country]. Then *Shatigām* = Chittagong in Eastern Bengal (= west coast of Burmah); then Rās al-Kanfār on the west coast (of the Bay of Bengal = east coast of India); then Kanbāya (in the bay of this name, on the west coast of India); then Rās Dījad (the west point of the peninsula of the Kathiawar); then Rās al-hadd (south-east point of Arabia); then al-Kahhāz [a cape] on the coast of the Hidjāz; off this cape is a reef [called] al-Būm; then [cape] Dawā'ir on the African coast [of the Red Sea] . . .". The list goes on by $\frac{1}{4}$ *isba'* from north to south to $1\frac{1}{4}$ *isba'* from the Pole Star which section ends in the parallel of 6° N. Lat. The next section is entitled "Section dealing with the altitude of the *farḡadain* of the place where the Pole Star is at 1 *isba'* to the end of the observations made with the two stars". Practically 1 *isba'* from the Pole Star = 8 *isba'* from the Guards of the Ursa Minor; these two expressions are interchangeable. It is at this parallel of 8 *isba'* = 6° N. that the section begins:

"[There where] the *farḡadain* are at 8 *isba'* [above the horizon are]: Kēlantān in China (read: on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula); then Kēdah on the east coast (of the Bay of Bengal = west coast of the Malay Peninsula); then the island of Perak (off the preceding harbour); then the islands of Mās-fula and Gāmis-fula and the north-west cape of Sumatra; then Aīṭam on the east coast (lit. on the back) of Ceylon; then Tūtāgām on the west coast of Ceylon; then the island of Kandikāl of the Maldives; then the beginning of Saif al-Tawīl (lit. the long bank) on the east coast of Africa . . .". The enumeration continues by $\frac{1}{4}$ *isba'*'s to 5 *isba'*; then following the parallels of 4, 3, 2, 1 *isba'* the section ends at 1 *isba'* = 5° 21' S. L. The next section is entitled:

"Section dealing with the altitude of the *na'sh* in the Southern Isles [of Indonesia], Madagascar and on the coast of Zeng (or Zandj)". 13 *isba'* from Ursa Major = 1 *isba'* from the Guards. The text of this section does not begin till the following parallel:

"[There where] the *na'sh* are at 12 *isba'* [above the horizon = 7° South are]: the port of Surabaya which is on the west coast (this is an error for north) of the island of Java; then [the island of] Sumbava [which produces] sandalwood and is situated west (read: east) of Java; then Monfia (the Mafia of our maps) on the coast of the Zeng . . .". The enumeration goes on by *isba'* (Java being always inaccurately orientated N.S. instead of E.W.) to 1 *isba'* and alternately $\frac{3}{4}$ *isba'* = about 25° 16' south. On the parallel of 1 *isba'* the text says: [There where] the *na'sh* are 1 *isba'* [above the horizon are]: the harbour of Kūs (?) on the east coast of Madagascar; then the bay of Kūrī (?) on the west coast of the same island; then the port of al-Shadjara (or port of the tree) on the (east) coast (of Africa)"; and the author adds: "According to the early (i.e. writers on navigation), [this port] is the last of the

islands (sic) of the coast of Zeng; but the Franks say that the [west] coast [of Africa runs to the north and] continues to the place where the *na'sh* are 7 *isba'* in the water (= 15° 07' south). But Allāh knows best". Ibn Mādjid expresses himself more clearly in this connection in section 9 of the *Hawīya*, a poem on navigation dated September 13, 1462 (MSS. 2292, fol. 112a), where he says: "... the harbour of al-Shadjara which is well known lies 1 *isba'* from the *na'sh*. The learned give this as the position of this port. There are no others having a name . . . And there is nothing south of these lands, for it is there the land of Zeng ends (on the east coast of Africa) and there is the strait [that leads] to the land of the west and of the Franks. There is nothing to the south [of Africa] except reefs and darkness which the Creator [alone] knows. Some say that there are islands and that the extreme end of the coast is 5 *isba'* (18° 21' S.). — O thou, the best informed! But the stories of the authorities do not agree. We ask Allāh to pardon our errors". — I have discussed this passage in the *J. A.*, for Oct.-Nov. 1922 (p. 307-309) and came to the conclusion that the harbour of al-Shadjara must be identified with Lorenzo Marques.

We have seen that several sections aim at making known the distances between two fixed points. The following on fol. 81b, l. 8 *sqq.* is particularly important because it deals with parts situated at the two ends of the Indian Ocean and with the navigation of the high seas from end to end without altering one's course:

"Section dealing with the distances [between the ports whose altitude is known] by observation of the *farḡadain* [ports which are situated] on the coast of Zeng [on the one hand] and in the island of Java and Sumatra [on the other]:

"By 7 *isba'* from the *farḡadain* = 4° 24' N.: of the atoll (*fusht*) of Muḡbil (on the African coast) to Mākūfāng (the *Mançôpa* of the early Portuguese travellers; cf. Barros, Dec. iii., Bk. v., Ch. i; on the west coast of Sumatra), it is 234 *zām* = 29 days 6 hours.

"By 6 *isba'* from the *farḡadain* = 2° 47' N.: from Mrūtī (on the African coast) to Pančūr (lit. Fanšūr or Baros on the west coast of Sumatra), it is 248 *zām* = 31 days.

"By 5 *isba'* from the *farḡadain* = 1° 10' N.: from Brāwa (or Brāva of the African coast) to the harbour of Priaman (on Sumatra), it is 264 *zām* = 33 days.

"By 4 *isba'* from the *farḡadain* = 0° 30' south: from Malwān (on the coast of Africa) to Indrapura (on Sumatra), it is 278 *zām* = 34 days 18 hours.

"By 3 *isba'* from the *farḡadain* = 2° 07' south: from Kitāwa (on the African coast = Quitau in Barros, Dec. ii., Bk. i., Ch. ii.) to Sunda-bārī (lit. the straits of Sunda or of Sonde), it is 292 *zām* = 36 days 12 hours.

"By 2 *isba'* from the *farḡadain* = 3° 44' south: from Mombasa (on the African coast) to Sunda (west coast of Java), it is 306 *zām* = 38 days 6 hours.

"By 1 *isba'* from the *farḡadain* = 5° 21' south: from the Green Island (Arabic name for Pemba on the coast of Africa) to the island of Bālī (east of Java), it is 317 *zām* = 39 days 15 hours".

The "Sailing Instructions" of Sulaimān al-Mahri contain a certain number of detailed itineraries which are remarkably accurate. We give as an

example the itinerary from Diu to Malacca (fol. 88a, l. 15 to fol. 90a, l. 3) translating the Arabic nautical terms in the text by their English equivalents:

"Voyage from Diu to Malacca. When you leave Diu steer on the pole of Canopus, i.e. to the south for 2 *zām* (= 6 hours sailing); then to sunrise (*al-fā'ir* = to the east), keeping 8 *zām* (= 24 hours sailing) from the west coast of India. Keep your course towards Canopus (= south) until you reach 9 (sic) *iṣba'* from the *farḡadain* (= 7° 37' N. circa). Then steer for the rising of the Scorpion (S. E.) until you reach a point a little less than 7½ *iṣba'* from the *farḡadain* (= 5° 12' N.). Then steer to the fundamental rising (*maṭla' al-aṣṭi* = due east) for 12 *zām* (= 36 hours), then to the rising of *al-simāk* (= E.N.E.) until you arrive at 8½ *iṣba'* (6° 33' N.); then due east [still] and you will strike land south of the island of Sargal (in the archipelago of the Nicobars). When you strike land, leave the island on the left (i.e. on the north) and when you have passed it, steer for the rising of *al-tīr* (= E. S. E.) for 4 *zām* (= 12 hours); then steer for the rising of *al-iklīl* (= S. E. ¼ E.) until you reach 8 *iṣba'* from the *farḡadain* (= 6° N.). Then steer due east and pay attention at the same time to the flood tide to strike the beginning of the island of Perak, which is a little island lying at 8 *zām* (= 24 hours) from the coast. From Perak steer a course due eastward [until] you are in sight of the island of Pulo Pinang. If the flood tide is not running north and if you see the flood tide, steer from there to the rising of *al-tīr* (= E.S.E.) and you will reach Penang which is an elongated island of which the two coasts are identical: it is black and is seen from afar. When you are near it steer for the rising of Canopus (= S.S.E.) up to the island (read: islands) [called] Pulo Sēmbilan which [in Malay] means the "nine islands". You will [then] distinguish on the coast two mountains which resemble the island of Pinang and which might be taken for two islands. They lie between the island of Pinang [and the islands of] Dingding and the two mountains are called Fān-kūra. After these two mountains you reach Dingding. They are two great elongated islands of the same size. After these lie the island of Tanbūrak which is a little round island".

"Know that the island of Pinang and [those] of Dingding lie near the mainland and there is a reef there. After Dingding you come to the islands of Sēmbilan which are islands with high mountains; some of these islands are small. When you arrive there, when you have taken in water and resumed the voyage, steer for the pole of Canopus (= south) for 6 *zām* (= 18 hours) and you will arrive at the island [called] Pulo Djumur. Between [the islands] of Sēmbilan and Djumur the sounding indicates 35 fathoms until you come to the island of Djumur where there are great depths. The depth is near to 40 or 50 fathoms. When you are near Djumur you see the part of the land on the coast of the sea but you do not see the [adjoining] coast of Sumatra. In clear weather you see the outline of the coast of Siam (= west coast of the Malay Peninsula) [and] the mountains [from which] tin [is obtained]. When you approach Djumur, coasting along the island steer for the rising of *al-iklīl* (= S.E. ¼ E.) for 1 *zām* (= 3 hours); then towards the rising of *al-tīr* (= E.S.E.). Know that at the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.) from the island

of Djumur lies a reef on which the waves break. Keeping your course E.S.E. the depth diminishes to 18 fathoms roughly. Continue to steer E.S.E. When [you are far from the island] of Djumur and it appears to you level with the surface of the sea, you have before you (lit. in front of the ship) the mountain of the island of Pāsālār. Keep your course E.S.E. The sounding then gives 16 to 17 fathoms. When the sounding is less than 15 fathoms turn to the right (i.e. to the west). If it becomes more than 18 fathoms turn to the left (i.e. to the east). Such is the route that you must follow. Take care of the tide if you have the flood against you with a *shawār* wind (= whirlwind); otherwise the flood tide will carry you on to the reef. When you are near the island of Pāsālār and land appears to the south turn towards the reef for 8, 7, 6 fathoms of depth. The sounding sometimes gives about 9 fathoms. The point for which you are making is in this place. There is the bank of Kafāṣī (= *Capacia* of the *Commentarios* of Albuquerque, Vol. iii., Ch. xvi. and xlii.; Barros, Dec. ii., Book vi., Ch. ii.) and [there are] reefs. When you are on this route continue in the same direction keeping the *sanbūk* (here "small boat") in front of you [to show the way], from the time you leave Djumur; and keep on taking soundings. I mean that when you reach the place where the reef lies — where the sounding gives about 7 to 8 fathoms — and when you follow the route already indicated, then after having doubled the reef, sounding increases to 15, 20, 25 fathoms. Know that [all danger] has now disappeared and that you are near the land. Then follow the route along the coast and steer towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.) in 25 fathoms. Sometimes the sounding gives 30 fathoms, sometimes 25, 20. It diminishes or increases at each sounding from 5 to 6 fathoms. I think that the bottom varies in level on this route. When the tide turns against you with a *shawār* wind, slacken sail. [When you resume the voyage] follow the route [already indicated] until you reach Malacca; opposite this point lie the islands of Pulo Sinā and the island of Pulo Anī (? the name is written without diacritical points — it is perhaps the Pulo Aniol of our maps 8½ miles from Malacca). The *sanbūk*'s will come to meet you. Make your arrangements for entering".

Chapter iii. of the same *Kitāb al-Minhādī* (iii.) contains the description of the principal islands of the Indian Ocean. The island of Sumatra for example is thus described (fol. 78a, l. 10 to 79b l. 6):

"Section to make known the island of Sumatra. Sumatra begins in the northwest where the *farḡadain* are a little less than 8 *iṣba'* in altitude (= a little less than 6° north). The island of Gāmis-fula is west of this cape. Near this cape i.e. the [north] cape of Sumatra, lie the islands of Mās-fula. These are large and small islands. As to the southern latitude of the island of Sumatra there are several opinions which I have given in [the work entitled] *al-'Umda* (iii., f. 27b, l. 6 *sqq.*). The most popular belief is that the island ends at the place where the *farḡadain* are 3½ *iṣba'* in altitude (= 1° 17' south, which is inaccurate, the south part is about 6° south). This is the route to follow on the west coast, from Gāmis-fula to Mākūfāng, towards the rising of Canopus (= S. S. E.); from Mākūfāng to Pančūr (or Baros) towards the rising of *al-ḥimūrian* (= S. E. ¼ S.); from Pančūr to the

south end of the island, towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.). This is the route to be followed on the east coast: from Gamis-fula to Mās-fula, due east; from Mās-fula to the port of Sumatra (also called port of Pasè; cf. *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, Vol. i., p. 45), the rising of *al-djawwā* (= E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.E.); from the port of Sumatra to Pulo Barhala towards the rising of *al-iḡlū* (= S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.) — the *farḡadain* are there 7 *iṣba'* in altitude (= 4° 24' N.) —; from Pulo Barhala to the island of Djumur also towards the rising of *al-iḡlū* (= S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.). This route is [called the route] across; the route along the east coast to Sumatra is as follows: from [the port of] Sumatra to 'Ārūh (sic) where the *farḡadain* are 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *iṣba'* in altitude (= 3° 34' N.) towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.); from 'Ārūh to the neighbourhood of Rēkan to the rising of *al-djawwā* (= E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.E.) — the *farḡadain* here are 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ *iṣba'* in altitude (= 3° 02' N.). From Rēkan the land runs in the direction of the [south] pole, from there to the end of the island. This is said, but other statements are also made.

The known harbours of the west coast of the island are: The harbour of Pančūr (or Baros); this is the port for camphor (*al-ḡaiy*) (sic), gold and other products; the harbour of Priaman, famous among men, [which lies in the land] of Mankabwa (= Minangkabaw); it is the port for gold-dust and aloes; the harbour of Indrapura which is now no longer known (i.e. at the beginning of the xvth century) but which was at one time famous.

The harbours of the east coast are: the harbour of Pedir under Mount Lāmuri; it is the port for pepper; the harbour of Sumatra (= Pasè); it is the most famous of the harbours of the island. It is a large town. It is the port for pepper, silk and gold; it is a busy harbour; the harbour of 'Ārūh, also small. The port of Palembang is also small. Among these small harbours are those for benzoin, and other products of these regions. As to the latitudes of these ports, I have given them in the chapter on latitudes and there is no need to return to the subject here.

NOTA BENE! (this is written in red ink to call special attention to the passage, just as it is printed in heavy type for the same reason in our modern Sailing Instructions). Know that on the coast of Sumatra which faces the high seas, the west coast, there is a series of islands. [This is] the route along them: from Gāmis-fula to the islands of Indrasābūr which are the first and beginning at the north [the route is] towards the setting of Canopus (= S.E.) — these islands are opposite Mākūfāng —; the distance between these two points is 8 *zām* (= 24 hours). Then to the south a large island with large (read: numerous) creeks and harbours called Miḡamārūs were the *farḡadain* are 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *iṣba'* (= 4° N.) in altitude. This is the land to which belong the cannibal Batak. We seek pardon and safety from Allah! — Between this island and the west coast of Sumatra is also 8 *zām* (= 24 hours). If from this island you sail towards the rising of *al-djawwā* (= E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.E.) you arrive at a group of islands which include: Pulo Bāni (read: Banyak), Pulo Lunbū, Pulo Lūlū, the island of Talāḡih and the desert islands close to the coast. On the coast is the harbour of Shinkel (sic) where the *farḡadain* are 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *iṣba'* (= 3° 34' N.) in altitude. This is a place with reefs of rock. After these islands

sailing towards the south lies an island opposite Pančūr (or Baros) — between these two points there are about 8 *zām* (= 24 hours) sailing; this island is called Mankārūsh (sic). Know that the route from Mankārūs (sic) to Pančūr is towards the rising of *al-tīr* (= E.S.E.); but take good care of the unhealthy parts of these regions.

"Among the known islands [of the region of Sumatra are the following]: the island of Nias which lies to the south of (lit. below) the harbour of Pančūr (or Baros); the island of Pāsālār which is to the south [of the island] of Pančūr (same name as the preceding harbour on the east coast). In this island is a stream of water which never dries up. But how many other islands and reefs exist besides those we have mentioned!"

We see from certain latitudes that the coast of Sumatra and especially the south side of the island was not well known by Arab sailors. Sulaimān refers to the direction which he has given in *al-'Umda* (iii.) on the subject of the south point. It is evident that he did not himself visit this region and that he is content to reproduce information from other sources contradictory and inaccurate. "The island of Sumatra, he says (fol. 27^b, l. 7 *sqq.*), ends in the south at Tikū-tarmad (?). Opinions differ regarding the latitude of this place; some say that it is 4 *iṣba'* from the *farḡadain* (= 0° 30' S.) — this is the opinion of the majority of the people of Western India — others say a little less than 4 *iṣba'* — this is the view of the Arabs and Ḳolas — and others again who have verified this latitude say 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *iṣba'* (= 1° 16' S.). Some say that the south end of Sumatra is 3 *iṣba'* (= 2° 07' S.)."

On several occasions the author mentions the opinion of the Ḳolas about the latitudes of certain harbours. He had in mind the Sailing Instructions of Coromandel, more or less identical with his own. None of the Indians or Hindus whom I have consulted in this respect knew of any such document in existence or having existed. It would be extremely useful if a search could be made in India to try to find these documents the existence of which is proved for the xvth century (cf. particularly 64^a, l. 13 *sqq.*).

In fol. 5^b, l. 1, the author says that the circle of 360° is divided into 224 *iṣba'*, which gives 1° 37' for the *iṣba'*, 3° 14' for 2 *iṣba'* and so on. In the last treatise (fol. 162^b, l. 1), we are told on the contrary that the circle is divided into 210 *iṣba'* or 1° 42' for the *iṣba'*. Sulaimān also says that the first division into 224 *iṣba'* is that of the ancients but that in his time, i.e. at the beginning of the xvth century, this division was reduced to 210 *iṣba'*. The first division is thus justified by Shihāb al-Dīn b. Mādjīd: "there are", says this *mu'allim*, "7 *iṣba'* from one rumb to the other and 8 *iṣba'* from one lunar mansion to the other", which gives the figure 224 for the circumference: 7 × 32 rumb = 8 × 28 lunar mansions = 224 *iṣba'* = 360°." This conversion is thus perfectly coherent but we do not see on what basis the division of the circle was later reduced to 210 *iṣba'*. All the altitudes in *iṣba'* mentioned in the present article have been converted into degrees at the rate of 1° 37' = 1 *iṣba'*.

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p. 805–812; 1838, p. 767–780; 1839, p. 823–830; L. Bonelli, *Del Muhiṭ o descrizione dei mari delle Indie dell' ammiraglio turco Sidi 'Alī detto Kiātīb-i Rūm*, R. R. A. L., 1894, p. 751–777; do., *Ancora del Muhiṭ o descrizione dei mari delle Indie*, *ibid.*, 1895, p. 36–51; M. Bittner, *Zum Indischen Ocean des Seidi 'Alī W. Z. K. M.*, x.; M. Gaudesfroy-Demonbynes, *Les sources arabes du Muhiṭ turc*, *J. A.*, xth series, xx., 1912, p. 547–550; G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, ii., Paris 1914, p. 484–541; do., *Les instructions nautiques de Sulaymān al-Mahri (XVI^e siècle)*, in *Annales de géographie*, Paris 1923, p. 298–312; do., *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des X^e et XVI^e siècles*, vol. ii: *Le pilote des mers de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Indonésie par Sulaymān al-Mahri et Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad bin Mājīd*, arabic, Paris 1925; do., *L'élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des X^e et XVI^e siècles*, *J. A.*, 1924, p. 193–257; M. Bittner and W. Tomaschek, *Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Muhiṭ*, Vienna 1897. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

SULAIMÂN ÇELEBİ (Emīr), son of Yīl-dīrfm Bāyazīd I, was ruler of Sarukhān and Karas; after the defeat at Angora he came to Adrianople. He was ruler of Turkey in Europe and in 1403 concluded treaties with the Emperor of Byzantium and with Venice. From 1406 he was engaged in Anatolia fighting his brother Mehmed Çelebi and in Turkey in Europe fighting his brother Mūsā Çelebi. Abandoned by his followers he was killed on Feb. 17, 1411 in the village of Dugundjilar. His brother Mūsā had his body brought to Brusa, where he was honourably buried beside his father. Although he ruled for over seven years in the European part of the empire, he is not reckoned among the Ottoman Sultāns.

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(ETTORE ROSSI)

SULAIMÂN ÇELEBİ also called SULAIMÂN DEDE is the earliest Ottoman poet of whom an original poem written in Turkish has survived and who is still known and popular at the present day. Turkish poems of earlier date are either translations like the *Suheil u-Newbehār* of Mes'ūd b. Ahmed (viiith century A. H.) published by Mordtmann in 1925, or they seem to have been completely lost, like those of Mewlānā Niyāzi and those of the grandfather of our poet Shaikh Mahmūd Efendi, who wrote a *tahniya* (congratulatory poem) for the Shehzāde Sulaimān Pasha b. Orkhan on the conquest of Rumelia.

Little is known of the life of Sulaimān Çelebi. He flourished in the time of Sultān Bāyazīd Yīl-dīrfm (d. 805 = 1403); he was born in Brussa, as son of Aḥmad Pasha, Murād I's vizier and was Khalifa to the celebrated *Khalwati* Shaikh Amīr Sultān (d. 833 = 1429). Later he was Imām to the imperial *diwān* under Bāyazīd and after his death became Imām at the great Bāyazīd mosque in Brussa. There he died in the year 825 (chronogram *rāḥat-i Erwāḥ*) and was buried outside the town on the road to Çekirdje.

His only famous work is the *Mewlid-i Nebī* or *Mewlid-i Peighamberi*, called *Wasīlet al-Nadājāt*. It is the oldest Ottoman example of this kind of panegyric on Muḥammad, and in the course of the next five centuries had almost countless (over a hundred are mentioned) imitations which according to the unanimous opinion of the Turks all fall a long way behind this, the oldest, *Mewlid*. It is therefore almost exclusively recited at all *mewlid* festivals on 12th Rabī' I (cf. MAWLID).

The sources tell a story about the origin of this poem which, while not without legendary features, is interesting for the difference between Arabs and Turks in those days. A khaṭīb in Brussa expounded Sūra ii. 285 to mean that God did not prefer one prophet to another, not for example Muḥammad to Jesus. This was fiercely refuted, notably by an Arab from Syria who did not rest till he got a *fatwā* against it from home and finally killed the Brussa khaṭīb. This conflict is said to have been the cause of first a verse, then of a whole poem, the leading idea of which is the unique position of Muḥammad.

The poem written in *mathnawī* verses, contains about 600 couplets and is divided into 18 sections. It describes not only the birth of the Prophet but in a prologue, after the usual exordium, develops the theory of light, of the migration of the divine light from Adam through the whole series of prophets to Muḥammad. The main part deals with the marvels which foretold the birth of Muḥammad, the joy of the angels, the birth itself, Muḥammad's parents, etc., the popular miracles wrought by him, such as the cleaving of the moon, the fact that his body threw no shadow, that roses grew where his breath fell. The ascent to heaven (*mī'rādī*) is then fully dealt with and finally his last illness and death.

The style is very simple and for this reason attractive and very effective; the language is pure Othmanli in the Brussa dialect. There exist numerous manuscripts, in European libraries also, but unfortunately there seem to be none very old, which might form a sound basis for linguistic study. There are also translations of the poem, which are listed by Tāhīr (see below): a Bosnian, a Greek, two different Albanian and one Circassian.

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(WALTHER BJÖRCKMAN)

SULAIMĀN PASHA (1316–1359), the eldest son of the second Ottoman Sultān, Orkhan (1326–1359), and of Nilüfer (Lülüfer) daughter of the Greek lord of Yar Hışār. His younger brother was Murād Khān afterwards Sultān. Only Greek sources record a third brother Khalil and his romantic abduction by a Greek corsair (cf. J. I. Hodji Efendi, *Shehzāde Khalilün Sergü-dheshti*, *Revue Historique*, i., No. 4, p. 239; No. 7, p. 436, Constantinople 1328/1329). The title pasha which he bore, according to ancient custom, marks him as the elder brother, as is the case also with 'Alā al-Din Pasha (in old chronicles often called simply 'Alī Pasha) who has the title pasha in contrast to his younger brother Orkhan (Nāmīk Kemāl, *'Osmanlı Tārikhi*, Constantinople 1326, i. 137; Ahmad Djawād, *Tārikh-i 'Askari-i 'osmāni*, Constantinople 1299, p. 5).

According to the usual tradition Sulaimān Pasha was the second grand vizier of the rising Ottoman kingdom, succeeding on the death of the first grand vizier his uncle, the above mentioned 'Alā al-Din Pasha, who had resigned his claim to the title Sultān or rather Beg due to him after the death of 'Osmān I. But this can hardly be right, as the oldest sources (Neshrī, 'Ashīk Pasha-zāde, the anonymous chronicler ed. by Giese) only talk of the older brother's renunciation of the throne by his father's orders on account of his unwarlike temperament and inclination for the contemplative life of a dervish and of his express refusal of the vizierate which was then offered to him. The reforms recorded by the chroniclers as suggested by him in the army, dress and coinage, may readily be attributed to proposals of the older brother.

In any case the alleged grand vizierate of Sulaimān Pasha is not at all in keeping with the later conception of this office. From the very first his father gave him a share in the development and expansion of the kingdom in keeping with his military inclinations and abilities, especially as a leader in the field in military operations, as they became necessary — there was not yet the later traditional objection to the Sultān's sons filling important offices — from the taking of Iznikmid and Iznik (Nicaea) in 1331 to the inclusion of the European coast of the Dardanelles in the Ottoman sphere of influence. Sulaimān is said to have been the first to hold the title Ser 'Asker. He led the Ottoman forces independently, especially as Orkhan latterly never took the field at all.

As is to be deduced from the absence of any reference to military operations, after the voluntary alliance of Orkhan by treaties and matrimonial links with the Greek ruling house, there seems to have been a pause for about twenty years in the policy of conquest, which was used for consolidation in internal affairs until Sulaimān Pasha put an end to this stagnation and by a bold coup resumed the expansion of Ottoman power, skilfully taking advantage of the discord in the Greek empire in which three claimants were fighting for the throne, and giving as an excuse the combination of the Byzantines with the Genoese and Venetians.

At his father's suggestion in 758 (1356), Sulaimān had only 80 followers (including Ewrenos Beg, Hādjdī İlbegī, Adje Beg, Ghāzī Fāzil Beg) crossed, for want of boats, on rafts from the peninsula of Cyzicus (Kapu daghī) to the European shore of

the Dardanelles and took by surprise the fortress of Čemeni (Tsympe), the modern Wirandje Hışār. After some 18 Turkish corsair raids on Europe, this was the first crossing with permanent results. Sulaimān at once sent for troops and Muslim settlers from Asia Minor and extended his success by taking further strongholds, notably that of Gallipoli, the key to the Dardanelles, and the whole of Rumelia, which was surrendered to him after a battle with the Greeks, Malghara, Ipsala, (Kypsele), Bulair, Tekfur daghī (Rodostō), etc. The Byzantine story of an earthquake destroying the walls and rendering the fortresses defenceless is obviously an attempt to conceal the disastrous results of Greek policy.

Sulaimān took up his residence in Bulair where he built a mosque and a palace (he had also erected mosques in Brussa and Iznik). But before he could set in motion his further extensive plans for the conquest of Rumelia, he was suddenly carried off by death in 760 (1359); while he was out hawking near Bulair his horse fell and he was mortally injured (Neshrī, *Djihan-numā* and Kātīb Čelebī, *Takwīm al-Tawārikh*, Constantinople 1146, p. 94 give the year 760, while the anonymous chronicler ed. by Giese and Leunclavius 759 and 'Osmān-zāde Tā'ib Ahmad, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarā'*, Constantinople 1271, p. 5 gives the year 761).

In keeping with a wish he is said to have expressed in his lifetime, Sulaimān was buried in Bulair, being the first Ottoman prince to be interred on European soil. This was a symbol of the firm resolve never again to abandon the new won ground. The existence of his tomb made impossible the idea of going back to Asia Minor which arose in the minds of several of his comrades-in-arms immediately after his death. They successfully drove off the attacks of the combined Christian forces.

Sulaimān's tomb has penetrated to the very soul of the Turkish people; it was and still is one of the holiest places of national pilgrimage, a fact that found particular expression, when the national hero of the Turkish liberation movement, Nāmīk Kemāl [q. v.], was interred here.

The tomb of a daughter of Sulaimān is in Aqshehir (Ahmad Tewhīd in the *Revue Historique*, Constantinople 1907, No. 44, p. 106).

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Kāmūs al-A'lām, Constantinople 1311, iv./i., 2618; Hammer-Purgstall, *G. O. R.*; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*. (TH. MENZEL)

SULAIMĀN PASHA, known as **KHĀDIM**, the "eunuch", a Turkish general and statesman of the time of Sulaimān the Great. He began his career in the Imperial Harem, which he left with the rank of *wazīr* to take over the governorship of Syria. As *Mir-i Mirān*, he was then summoned to the important office of governor of Egypt which he filled for ten years (931—941 = 1524—1534) with vigour and circumspection. He was the first to send to the Porte the yearly revenue from Egypt, the so called Egyptian treasure, later so important for Turkey.

In reply to the appeal of the Sultān of Guġjarat he was ordered by Sultān Sulaimān to equip a considerable fleet at Suez and to strengthen Turkish power in the Red Sea and to drive the Portuguese out of India. This was the period when Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa [q. v.] was extending Turkish power in the Mediterranean. Sulaimān Pasha succeeded in adding 'Aden and the whole of Yemen to the Ottoman Empire. He appointed Muṣṭafā Beg, son of Bīyīklī Mehmed Pasha, first governor of Yemen. But his efforts in India proved fruitless as he was not properly supported by the Indian rulers.

Returning to Constantinople, he became a member of the Council of Viziers which consisted of four viziers and governed the country (Luṭfi Pasha, Sulaimān Pasha, Mehmed Pasha and Rustam Pasha). After the fall of Luṭfi Pasha he became grand vizier. He filled the office in an important period (Hungarian campaign), for four years (948—951 = 1541—1544) until he came into conflict with the vizier Khosraw Pasha over a faithless page. The mutual reproaches about various derelictions of duty ended in both being deposed and an investigation ordered. Sulaimān Pasha was banished to Malghara where he died in 955 (1548). He was able, vigorous and just, which contradicts the low opinion usually held of a eunuch.

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SULAIMĀN PASHA, MALAṬĪALĪ ERMENI, a Turkish general and statesman under Mehmed IV (1648—1687). A native of Malaṭia, of Armenian origin, he rose from page to *siliḥdār* and became governor of Erzerūm and Siwās with the rank of *wazīr*. He married 'Ā'ishe Sultān. In 1065 (1655) he was appointed grand vizier in succession to Murād Pasha but he only held office for ten months on account of the confusion in the empire as a result of the mutinies in the army and the complete financial ruin. He was several times banished and again recalled to high office. In 1098 (1687) he died in Scutari at the age of 80 and was buried there.

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(TH. MENZEL)

SULAIMĀNĪYA (SULĒMĀNĪ), a town and district in southern Kurdistān. A distinction must be made between the *qaḍā* of Sulaimānīya proper (the canton of Sar-ĉinār) and the territory formerly ruled first by hereditary *pāshās* and later by the Ottoman mutāṣṣarifs of Sulaimānīya.

The historical region of Sulaimānīya lies between the Persian frontier, the Diyāla [q. v.], the lands that go with Kirkūk [q. v.] and the little Zāb and occupies the group of mountains from which flow rivers to the east (Sirwān; cf. SHAHRIZŪR), the south ('Aḍaim, q. v.) and the north and northwest (left bank tributaries of the Little Zāb; cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀK).

Orography. The mountain chains which separate these three basins of the left bank tributaries of the Tigris, rise gradually from the Mesopotamian plain and have the general direction N. W. to S. E. like all the ranges of western Irān. Different summits in the southern barrier are called Bāziān, Bā-Sirrā, Segirma, Ķara-dagh and Pāi-Kūli. To the S. W. of this line on the upper waters of the 'Aḍaim lie the districts of Ćamĉamāl (this is also the name of the district in Persia which includes Bisutūn), Ribāt, etc. The second range of mountains includes peaks like Tokma, Tashludġa, Darmāzala (Gilzarda) etc. Between the first and second chains lie to the west the upper waters of the Ta'uk-ĉai and to the east the plateau of Naw-kopī, the canton of Ķara-dagh, etc. which are watered by the Āwi-dēwāna, which flows into the Diyāla (Sirwān). The third chain includes Āzmīr, Gwōza etc. It forks towards the west (along the little Zāb); on the southern arm of the latter is the summit Pīr-'Omar-Gudrūn (8,000 feet) which is visible from a long way off and seems to form the centre of all this mountainous region. The area between the second and third barrier is drained towards the west by the Tābin-ṣu (Dola-dreḡ), which runs into the little Zāb and to the east by the Tandġa-rō (Tāġġ-Rūd) which flows into the Sirwān. On the upper waters of the Tābin which rises behind Pīr-'Omar-Gudrūn lies the canton of Sūrdash; the Tandġa-rō waters the canton of Sar-ĉinār in which lies the town of Sulaimānīya. The chain of Āzmīr sends out spurs to the east, the Kuri-Kāzāw, Kal'a-Sārīm etc. which rejoin the Awrāmān chain (cf. SENNE). To the south of this spur lies Shahrizūr [q. v.] in the strict sense of the word. To the north of Āzmīr lie the cantons of Serōĉik and Shara-bāzar (Ķara-ĉwolān). The river of the latter (Gawgasur) rises in the depths of Awrāmān (in the valley of Pīrān) and receives on its left bank the waters of Serōĉik and on the right the waters of Ķīzlġdġa. This latter canton lies north of the mountain (Sar-Sir) which rises from the right bank of the Ķara-ĉwolān. Its administrative centre is Pendġwīn from which one can reach Persian territory. Before regaining the Ķara-ĉwolān the river of Ķīzlġdġa receives on the right bank the river Tatan which drains the canton of Shīlēr (Taratūl) which lies inside the curve here made by the Persian frontier, and the waters of the canton of Siwēl, the administrative centre

of which is *Shiwa-kal*. Contrary to the indications of the maps, the combined waters of the *Qara-çwolan* and the *Kîrîldja* flow into the little *Zâb* in the canton of *Mâwat* (a short distance below *Teyet*; cf. *Çirikow*, p. 556; *Khurshid Efendi*, p. 398; cf. *SÂWDJ-BULÂĞ*). The part of the territory of *Sulaimāniya* lying between the left bank of the *Qara-çwolan* and the chain of *Âzmir* (the districts of *Sargalu*, *Marga*) is not yet well known. The little *Zâb* forms the natural frontier between *Sulaimāniya* and *Köi-sandjak* but the canton of *Pîzdar* (*Kalfa-Diza*) lying on the right bank of the little *Zâb* (between *Raniya* and the *Qandil* range) regularly formed part of *Sulaimāniya*. The *Bābān pāshās* also often seized the adjoining cantons (*Khurshid Efendi*, p. 246: the cantons of *Agh-djalar*, *Askar*, etc. went with *Köi-sandjak*) and sent governors to *Köi-sandjak* etc. (*Rich*, i. 157, 313, 384).

History. The district of *Sulaimāniya* is known from the earliest times. Mount *Nisir* (in *Lullu*: *Kiniba*), where according to the Babylonian epic the ship of *Gilgamesh* rested during the Deluge, can only be *Pir-Omar-Gudrūn*. The region of *Sulaimāniya* corresponds to the land of *Zamua* occupied by the *Lullu* people, the southern frontier of which was on the col of *Babite* (the modern *Bāziān*). In 880 B. C. *Assur-nāṣir-pal* conquered all the kings of *Zamua*. A stele found at *Darband-i Gawr*, north of *Qara-dagh* seems to belong to a *Lullu* king. *Brzezowski* mentions another ancient bas-relief at the entrance to the defile of *Derbend* through which the little *Zâb* forces a passage, to the extreme northwest of the territory of *Sulaimāniya*. *Herzfeld* (*Isl.*, xi. 127) mentions ruins at *Sitak* in the canton of *Sērōčik*. In 745 B. C. *Tiglat Pileser III* transplanted to *Maramua* (*Māt-Zamua*, *Forrer*, p. 43) *Aramaeans* who had lived in northern *Mesopotamia*. In the *Sāsānian* period we have in the extreme S. W. of the territory of *Sulaimāniya* the famous monument of *Pai-kūli* (cf. *SHAHRIZŪR*). In the history of the *Syrian* church the district of *Sulaimāniya* formed part of the diocese of *Bēth Garmai* (*Hoffmann*, *Auszüge*, p. 253).

In the *Muslim* period the history of the region was at first involved with that of *Shahrizūr*. *Sulaimāniya* had a more or less autonomous existence from the end of the xith (xvith) century to 1267 (1850). The local dynasty was called *Bābān*. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 280—288) the first chief and the eponym of this family was *Pir Būdāk Babē* (probably about 1500). The home of this tribe seems to have been to the west of *Qandil* (cf. *SÂWDJ-BULÂĞ*). The direct descendants of *Babē* were soon supplanted by their subordinates but this second line disappeared also and about 1005 (1596) the tribe had no recognised chief. A new line (of the clan *Sakir* of the tribe of *Bilbās*; *Rich*, i. 270) came from the village of *Darishmāna* to the canton of *Pîzdar*; it had a legendary genealogy claiming descent from a young "Frank" woman called *Kēghān*, whom their ancestor had taken prisoner in a battle. The true founder of this third dynasty, *Bābā Sulaimān*, came to the front 1088 (1677) and in 1111 (1699) took service at the Ottoman court. *Rich* (i. 381—385) gives a list of his descendants, who include 17 *Bābān Pāshās*. The representatives of this local dynasty cleverly maintained their position between the two rival powers, *Turkey* and *Persia*, but they were really under the *Pāshās* of *Baghdād*, who

themselves held a very subordinate position with respect to the *Sublime Porte*. *Mahmūd Pāshā* who received *Rich* on his memorable journey through *Kurdistan* and in whom *Rich* (i. 302) tried to arouse the *Kurd* national pride finally submitted to the *Persians*. The latter invaded *Sulaimāniya* in 1843 to re-establish *Mahmūd Pāshā* but by the treaty of 1847 *Persia* withdrew all claims on the town and *sandjak* of *Sulaimāniya* in favour of the *Turks* (text in *Çirikow*, p. 631). The last ruler of the family of *Bābān*, *Abd Allah Pāshā*, was deposed by the *Turks* in 1267 (1850) (*Khurshid Efendi*, p. 209).

It may be mentioned that the *Bābān* family was simply a conquering and warrior caste. Alongside of the *Bābān* and under their suzerainty lived several other warrior tribes (*qazîrîzî*) of which lists are given by *Rich*, i. 280 and *Khurshid Efendi*, p. 217. The principal of these tribes was *Djaf* (cf. *SEVNE* and *SHAHRIZŪR*). Later we often find mentioned the turbulent tribe of *Hamāwand* of *Çamtamîl* which claimed to have come from *Persian Kurdistan* (its name resembles those of the *Lūr* tribes). The *Hamāwand* in the course of their *razzias* used to come down as far as the banks of the *Tigris* (*Cholet*, *Arménie, Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, Paris 1892, p. 295—311).

Beside the clans which had kept their tribal organisation there were in *Sulaimāniya* as elsewhere in *Kurdistan*, the peasants (*gōwān*, *kūm-spi* "white caps", according to *Rich*, i. 80).

At first the capital of the *Bābāns* was at *Shara-Bazār* (*Shahr-i bāzār*) in the first valley conquered by *Pir Būdāk Babē* but *İbrāhîm Pāshā* moved his residence to the canton of *Sar-čînār*, where he founded about 1199 (1784) (*Rich*, i. 387) the town of *Sulaimāniya* on the site of the village of *Malik-Hindî* (*Malik-Kendi*?) built around an ancient mound which had to be cleared away on the occasion. The town was called after *Büyük Sulaimān Pāshā* (of the family of *Georgian Mam-luks*, governor of *Baghdād* in 1780—1802 (*Haart*, *Histoire de Baghdad*, Paris 1901, p. 150). Towards 1820 the town had 2,000 households of *Muslims*, 130 of *Jews*, 9 of *Chaldean Catholics* (who had a little church) and 5 of *Armenians* in all 10,000 souls. There were 5 mosques in *Sulaimāniya*. In 1808 *Lycklama* estimated the population at 6,000 *Kurds*, 30 families of *Chaldeans* and 15 of *Jews*.

Under *Ottoman* rule *Sulaimāniya* remained the nursery of an indefinite *Kurdish* movement. The local *Kurds* supplied *Turkey* with a large number of officials and particularly army officers. Several *Bābāns* became distinguished in *Constantinople*, like *İsmâ'il Hakkî Pāshā*, unionist minister and diplomat in 1909—1914. After the deposition of the *Bābāns*, a great part in politics was played by the family of religious *Shaykhs* of the family of *Barzanjia*, whose ancestor *Hâjgî Kaka Aḥmad* enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity and is buried at *Sulaimāniya*.

Although the conquerors in 1918 had only talked of independence for *Arabs* and *Armenians* at first, the idea of *Kurd* emancipation made wide progress between 1917 and 1920. *Sulaimāniya* was eventually to be included in "Southern *Kurdistan*" the autonomy of which was provided for in Articles 62—64 of the treaty of *Sèvres* (Aug. 10, 1920). However, as a result of long negotiations about the willayet of *Mûşul*, this latter territory including the *sandjak* of *Sulaimāniya* was

definitely included in the new state of 'Irāk. By the same decision of the Council of the League of Nations of Dec. 16, 1925 a certain local autonomy was granted to the Kurds (administrative officers of Kurdish origin, official use of the Kurdish language and Kurdish schools).

The official negotiations were accompanied by considerable local complications. Not only did Sulaimāniya in Jan. 1921 refrain from taking part in the plebiscite for the election of King Faisal but numerous disturbances broke out in the district. The principal instigator of the insurrectionary movement — Muslim in character and obviously aiming at the creation of a Kurd state — was Shaikh Maḥmūd Barzandja. He rebelled on May 21, 1919 and was supported by the chief of Awrāmān (cf. SENNE). By June 18, Sulaimāniya was re-occupied by British troops and Shaikh Maḥmūd deported to India. However when under the threat of risings in Čamčamāl and Rāniya, Sulaimāniya had to be abandoned on Sept. 5, 1922, Shaikh Maḥmūd was permitted to return. In October he proclaimed himself "Ḥukmdār" of all the Kurds of the 'Irāk. His suspicious attitude caused Sulaimāniya to be bombed from the air on March 3, 1923 and Shaikh Maḥmūd then retired to Sūr-dāsh. Re-occupied on May 26, 1923, Sulaimāniya was again evacuated and on July 11, Shaikh Maḥmūd returned for the third time and was recognised by the authorities at Baghdād. An attempt on his part to occupy a detached canton of Sulaimāniya provoked new air raids (Aug. 16, Dec. 25, 1923 and March 25, 1924). Shaikh Maḥmūd's headquarters were destroyed and he himself driven back on the Persian frontier. As a result of all these events the urban population of Sulaimāniya in July 1924 had been reduced to 700 persons but by November it had risen again to 20,000. The liwā of Sulaimāniya consisting of 6 qaḍās viz.: Sulaimāniya, Čamčamāl, Halabdja, Ka'la-Diza (Piždar), Ka-ra-dagh and Shara-bazar — which are again divided into 17 nāhiya — had in 1924 a total population of 189,900 Kurds, 1,550 Jews and 75 Arabs.

Bibliography: See the articles SAWPJ-BULAK SENNE, SHAHRIZŪR. For the ancient period: Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania*, Leipzig 1898; Streck, *Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien*, Z. A., esp. xv., 1900, p. 257, 268, 275; E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 43, 88; C. J. Edmonds, *Two ancient monuments in Southern Kurdistan*, *Geog. Journ.*, Jan. 1925; the monument of Darband-i Gawr must be the same as that described by Jacquerez in V. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar janvier—avril 1814* (Derbend Giour). Tavernier's itinerary in 1644 is not clear, *Voyages*, Paris 1692, i. 197 sqq.; W. Heude, *Voyage up the Persian Gulf*, London 1819, p. 193 sqq.; Ibrāhīm-Khānī-Dolān-Sulaimāniya-Suza (?)-Koi-sandjak; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia etc.*, London 1822, ii. 453 sqq.; Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, i. 51—184, 260—327, ii. passim (fundamental work); Shiel, *Notes on a journey through Kurdistan*, *J. R. G. S.*, viii., 1836, p. 101; W. Ainsworth, *Researches in Assyria*, London 1838, p. 27 sqq.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix., Berlin 1840, p. 447—459, 565—639; Khurshid-efendi, *Siyāhet-nāme-i ḥudūd* (Russ. transl. 1877, p. 205—232); Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie etc.*,

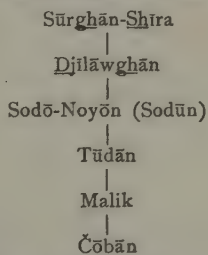
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Cartography: Haussknecht-Kiepert, Herzfeld (cf. SHAHRIZŪR); Brzozowski, League of Nations, C. 400, M. 147, 1925, vii.

(V. MINORSKY)

SULDŪZ (SULDŪS). 1. A tribe in Mongolia. According to Bérézine the Mongol form of the name would be Sultes (plural of *sulda*, "good fortune"). L. Ligeti (*Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgis*, Körösi-Csoma Archiv, Budapest 1925, i.) sees in the ending of Suld-uz, as in that of Kırk-lz the remains of an ancient Turkish plural suffix (cf. *biz*, "we", *siz*, "you", etc.) and as a hypothetical singular quotes the name of a Kırghız clan: Sult, Sultu. Rashid al-Dīn classes the Suldūz among the *dürükün* Mongols, i. e. of "common" origin, in contrast to the "pure" (*nirūn*), who however were descended from the *dürükün* through Alān Goā, the miraculous grandmother of Čingiz-Khān.

Sūrghān-Shīra Suldūs one day saved the life of Čingiz Khān while the latter was fighting with the Tāičiūt. This exploit gained the Suldūz great prestige with Čingiz Khān and his successors.



The children of Sodō came to Persia with Hū-lāgū-Khān whose wife Yesunčīn (mother of Abagha) was a Suldūz. Malik is said to have conquered the Persian Kurdistan. In 688 (1289), under the Ilkhān Arghūn, an act of bravery brought to the front Čobān, son of Malik (cf. i., p. 104a) and he afterwards distinguished himself in the reigns of Ghāzān and Uldjaitū. The history of the latter written by Kāshānī (Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers. 1419, fol. 6) in a list of the Amīrs mentions Čobān (*Amir-i buzurg muḥaddam-i Tāzik wa-Turk*) in the second place next to Kutluḡshāh Manḳūt but adds that in ability he is superior to all. There is a letter from Pope John xxii., dated Avignon, November, 12, 1321 addressed to "Zoban Begilay" (Čobān?). In spite of the Shī'a leanings of Uldjaitū, Čobān remained Sunnī. When the young Abū Sa'īd (716 = 1316) (cf. i., p. 103b) ascended the throne Čobān became regent and in 719 (1319) married Sāti-beg, daughter of Uldjaitū-Khān. The increasing influence of the family of Čobān and the evil conduct of some of its members aroused the monarch against

them. A series of persecutions began. Čobān took refuge in Herāt and was killed there in 728 (1327) by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kart.

A dynasty with a short but stirring life descended from Čobān (the Čübāni) arose in the period of troubles that marked the end of the line of Čingiz in Persia. Among the 18 children of Čobān the following are the best known: (1) Amīr Hasan; (2) Dimishk-Kh̄wādja, executed by Abū Sa'īd in 727 (1327); (3) Timūr-Tāsh, from 718 governor in Asia Minor, rebelled in 722, struck coins in his own name and even claimed to be the Mahdī; his father brought him back to obedience but after the death of Čobān, Timūr-Tāsh, went to Egypt where the Mamlūk Nāṣir, fearing his popularity and to please Abū Sa'īd had him executed in 728; (4) the beautiful Baghdād-Khātūn, wife first of Ḥasan Buzurg Djalā'ir [q. v.] and next of Abū Sa'īd; suspected of having poisoned the latter she was executed after the accession of the Ilkhān Arpā.

On Ḥasan Kūčik, son of Timūr-Tāsh, who ruled between 738 and 744 at Tabriz, Sultāniya, Hamadān, Kum, Kāshān, Raiy, Waramīn, Farāghān and Karadj, cf. II, p. 280b. His brother Malik Ashraf succeeded him. His oppressions provoked the migration of the Kādi Muhyi 'l-Dīn from Barda'a to Djāni-Beg, Khān of the Western Kipčāk. Djāni-Beg without delay attacked Malik Ḥasan who was defeated, captured and executed in Tabriz in 756.

The Suldūs (Suldūz) after this are only occasionally mentioned by the historians. Under 807 (1404) Mirkh̄wānd mentions the instructions given by Timūr to the Khaladj of Sāwa to reinforce the troops under Pir 'Alī Suldūz in Raiy. At the present day there is still a body of Suldūz in this region among the Shāh-sevān [q. v.] of Sāwa.

Several women of the Čübāni have had remarkable careers. Besides Baghdād-Khātūn we may mention: (1) Sātī-beg widow of Čobān, who was first the wife of the Ilkhān Arkā and in 739 was herself placed on the throne by the grandson of her first husband, Ḥasan Kūčik. Finally the latter married her to the new pretender Sulaimān who reigned from 740 to 744. (2) Dilshād-Khātūn, daughter of Dimishk-Kh̄wādja first of all married Abū Sa'īd (at the same time as her aunt Baghdād-Khātūn) and then Ḥasan Buzurg Djalā'ir. (3) Malik 'Izzat, wife of Ḥasan Kūčik, whom she killed in an indescribable and atrociously cruel fashion. She was executed by her husband's relatives. They cut her into pieces which they ate.

In Mongolia in the time of Čingiz the encampments of the Suldūz seem to have been not far from the river Onon. But in the time of Rashīd al-Dīn the yurt of the Suldūz was near the forests inhabited by the forest-dwelling Ūriānkit. The Chinese list of Mongol encampments published in 1867 (*Meng-gu-yu-mu-tsi*, Russ. transl. by P. Popov, St. Petersburg 1895) no longer mentions the Suldūz. In Turkestan the Suldūz with their subdivisions (?) Nukuz and Tamadur, are mentioned among the troops of Shaibāni [q. v.] at the beginning of the xth = xvth century. Later the Suldūz rejoined Bābur (*Shaibāni-Nāma*, ed. Melioranski, St. Petersburg 1908, p. 137, 176; cf. the *Scheibaniade* of N. Vambéry, Vienna 1885, p. 273, 350). According to information given me personally by Zekī Walidī Ōzbek genealogies (*Shadja*) mention the Suldūz among the 92 Ōzbek

clans; the people of the canton of Altūn-kul in Farghāna [q. v.] are Suldūz and there must be some in Khiwa (Kh̄wārizm) alongside of the Nukuz.

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Bérézine in *Trudy Vostoč. Otdēl.*, especially vii. (St. Petersburg 1861), p. 224 sqq. and indexes to Vol. v. (1858) and xv. (1888); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Défremery and Sanguinetti), i. 172, ii. 119—125. Other references in the article ḤASAN-BUZURG, i. 297 and E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, 1920, p. 54, 170. Later eastern writers recall the Suldūz origin of the Čübāni: Turk. transl. of Munadjjim-Bashī (Constantinople 1285), iii. 6: Asuldūz; Abu 'l-Chāzī (ed. Granmaison, St. Petersburg 1871), i. 166: Suldūz. — According to Vladimirtsev, *sūlde* means in Mongol: "le génie-protecteur habitant le drapeau".

2. A district in Ādharbāidjān, to the south-west of Lake Urmia, on the lower course of the Gādir-Čai, which here receives on its right bank the Bāizāwa and Mamad-shāh and flows into the Lake. To the west it is bordered by Ushnū which lies on the upper course of the Gādir from which it is separated by the Darband gorge through which the river runs; to the north it is bounded by the little district of Dōl (cf. Dōl-i Bārik in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 288) belonging to Urmia; to the south and the east by the cantons of Paswa and Shāri-wērān which go with Sāwdj-Bulāk [q. v.].

Suldūz is a fertile plain producing much wheat. It is often flooded by the waters of the Gādir, which near its mouth forms marshes and salt beds (*kopi*). On the south side Suldūz is bordered by the heights of Firangī at the foot of which are numerous springs impregnated with lime. The crest Bahrāmlū separating Suldūz from Shāri-wērān is also of limestone formation.

We know that in 703 (1303) Ghāzān distributed the land in fiefs. It is possible that it was at this time that the name of the tribe (Suldūz, in Kurdish: Sundūs) replaced the old name of the district now lost.

According to the *Sharaf-nāma* in the time of the Turkoman dynasties (about the xvth century), i. e. long after the Čübāni had disappeared, the Mukrī Kurds occupied the district the old inhabitants of which were probably reduced to servitude. The same authority (i. 280) in a sentence now mutilated in the MS., and undated, says that Pir Budāk of the Kurd tribe of Bābān (Babē) took Suldūz from the Kizilbāsh which may refer to one of these sudden outbursts of fighting on the frontier in the time of the Šafawīs.

In 1828 'Abbās-Mirzā gave Suldūz as fief to 800 families of Kara-papāk [q. v.]. The newcomers were allowed to levy and collect the taxes (12,000 tomāns a year) and in return had to maintain 400 horsemen at the disposal of the government. At this period there were in Suldūz 4—5,000 families of Kurds and Muḥaddam Turks but gradually the lands passed into the hands of new Shī'ī masters.

The divisions of the Kara-papāk are as follows: Tarkawūn, Sarāl, 'Arapli, Djān-Ahmadli, Čakhārli and Ulačli. Each has retained its hereditary chief. The principal division is the Tarkawūn to which the Khāns belong. Mahdī-Khān, son of Nakīkhān, had brought the Kara-papāk to Suldūz. His grandson Nadjaf-kuli was the chief

of the tribe before 1914 but another Khān actually exercised the functions of government. The division of Tarkawīn also included a family of *āghās*, inferior to that of the Khāns but quite important; Aras-Agha was lord of a hundred horsemen.

There are at present 123 villages and small towns in Suldüz with 8,000 families. The chief is Naghāda (Nahāda; Rawlinson writes: Nakhoda?) with a thousand houses. This little town lies on the bank of the Baizāwa around an ancient artificial mound. Another important centre is Rāhdāna (Rah-dahna) where there is a good bridge over the Gādir which provides communication between Urmia and Sāwdj-Bulāk.

The village of Khālīfalu is inhabited by Sunnī Kazakh who also came there in 1828 from the neighbourhood of Tiflis.

The south-east corner of the district is occupied by the canton of Mamad-shāh the name of which is mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 290). The present inhabitants are Shamsaddinlu Turks. With their chief Māsi-Beg they came into Persia at the same time as the Kazakh and received from 'Abās Mirza 3 villages with 100 families of Kurd peasants (*ra'iyat*).

The Sunnī Kurds of the tribes of Mamash, Zarzā and Mukrī number 2,000 families, or a quarter of the present total of the population. They entirely occupy 10 villages (Ghilwān, Wazna, etc.), and 11 others (Čiāna, Naghāda, Mammiand, etc.) they share with the Kara-papakh.

Suldüz like Ushnū is mentioned among the Nestorian bishoprics (Assemani, iv. 423; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, 1880, p. 204: Saldus, Saldös) but in 1914 there were only 80 Christian families left in Naghāda. The Jews are more numerous (120 families in Naghāda) and are probably the oldest element in the present population of the district.

Under the Turkish occupation of 1908—1912, the Shī'ī Kara-papakh suffered considerably as the Turks regarded them as Persian agents. The Turks, without success however, tried to destroy the tribal organisation and to emancipate the *ra'iyat*'s. During the Great War the village of Haidar-ābād (on lake Urmia) became a Russian naval base and a light railway was built through the district. Suldüz changed hands several times but since the departure of the Russians and Turks it has been able since 1919 to regain its status quo ante.

Bibliography: Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, J. R. G. S., x., 1840, p. 13—14; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix./ii., 602, 939; Minorsky, *Materialy po inu. Vostoka*, ii. (Petrograd 1915), p. 453—457. (V. MINORSKY)

ŞULĦ, composition, settlement, which is recommended as early as Kur'ān, iv. 127, is a contract of sale (*ba'i*) with the object of averting a dispute (cf. the Roman-Byzantine *transactio*, *δικαγωγία*; *Cod.*, 2, 4, 21; also *Dig.*, 2, 15, 1). The rules of *ba'i* hold for it, especially *kubūl* and *idjāb*. There are three kinds of settlements: the defendant either acknowledges the disputed point to be justified (*ikrār*) or he disputes it (*inkār*) or he says nothing (*sukūt*). The older jurists differ on the admissibility of these three kinds: al-Shāfi'ī and Ibn Abī Lailā demand definite acknowledgment, while Abū Ḥanīfa denies the possibility of a *ḡulḡ* in the case of *ikrār* (al-Shāfi'ī, *K. al-Umm*, iii. 203) and adduces the principal of Roman law: *confessus pro judicato habetur*

(*Dig.*, 42, 2, 3; cf. *Cod.*, 2, 4, 32). As to the competence to negotiate of the two parties (*muṣāliḡ*) the usual rules hold but it is not essential that they should have attained their majority (*bulūgh*) or be freemen. The thing which gives rise to the settlement (*muṣālah 'alaihi*) must be a *māl*, i. e. something about which an agreement of sale can be concluded, whether it is a thing, a claim or a usufruct. The disputed legal point (*muṣālah 'anhu*) raised by the settlement may concern a thing (*māl*) or a legal claim arising out of killing or wounding (*diya* and *ḡiṣās*), but a *ḡaḡḡ Allāh*, e. g. the *ḡadd* punishment for theft or incontinence, can never be settled in this way (cf. *Cod.*, 2, 4, 18). — The settlement is reached 1) by the will of the parties; 2) by giving back the thing given for the settlement on account of defects (*khiyār al-'aib*) and 3) if circumstances unknown at the time of the settlement afterwards show that the legal position could not be disputed (e. g. rediscovery of a bond). — The Shāfi'īs divide the settlement into *ḡulḡ al-ibrā'*, which is considered as a donation (*hiba*) (cf. *Dig.*, 2, 15, 1) and *ḡulḡ al-mu'āwada*, in which in place of the object claimed another is given.

The *Code Civil Ottoman*, art. 1531—1571 is practically the Hanafī teaching on the subject.

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AL-ŞÜLİ, ABŪ BAKR MUḡAMMAD B. YAḡYĀ, Arab chess-player, historian and man of letters, d. 335 or 336 (946). Like many distinguished men of his time he was not an Arab by race; according to one story he was descended from a certain Şul, who like his brother Firūz was a petty Turkish ruler (*mālīk*) in Djurdjān. Both adopted Islām under Yazid b. Muhallab with whom they were closely associated till his death in 102 (720). Their descendants were for the most part secretaries (*kātib*) in the service of the caliphs; the grandfather of our al-Şulī was specially famous, Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās (d. 243 = 857) whose poems were collected by his grandson (*Aḡḡanī*¹, ix. 21—35; Yaḡūt, *Irshād*, i. 260—277).

Abū Bakr was thoroughly arabicised; among his teachers the most notable were Tha'lab, al-Mubarrad, al-Sidjīstānī, Abū 'l-'Ainā [q. v.] and 'Awn b. Muḡammad. Ibn al-Mu'tazz had a very great influence on his literary tastes (cf. e. g. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Adab*, iii. 298 sq.). To his close connection with the court of al-Muktafi (289—295 = 902—908, he owed his skill in chess in which he defeated the *maestro* of the day, al-Māwardī. His name has not only become proverbial but a legend has been invented which makes him the inventor of chess (Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, 659, p. 52). A *Kitāb fi 'l-Shaḡ-randj* by him and his predecessor al-'Adlī exists in two manuscripts (Cairo and Constantinople; A. van der Linde, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels*, p. 21—22, 333—337. An edition was planned by A. Gies and van der Linde; A.

van der Linde, *Das erste Jahrtausend der Schachliteratur*, 948). From the time he defeated Māwardī he was a courtier (*naḍīm*) of the caliphs. He was specially intimate with his former pupil al-Rādī (322—329 = 934—940) (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, viii, 311, 339; al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, p. 145; cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, p. 132). But in the last year of his life he had to take refuge in Baṣra when he was prosecuted for a remark about 'Alī (al-Fihrist, p. 150, 26); there he died in hiding.

As a historian al-Šulī is best known for his 'Abbāsīd history, *Kitāb al-Awrāk fī Akhbār Āl-Abbās wa-Ash'ārikim*; the first part was arranged chronologically and the second gave a selection of the poetical works of members of the house of caliphs and of several others. The work which filled at least five or six volumes was never completed (al-Fihrist, p. 150, 27—151, 6) and is so far only known in a few fragments. There are manuscripts of the first part in Leningrad (Publ. Libr., years 227—256, *Zapiski*, xxi, 101—102), Cairo (Azhar, *Ta'rikh*, No. 443, years 295—318, *Zapiski*, ibid., p. 99—100), Constantinople (part iii., Rescher in *M. F. O. B.*, 1912, v/ii., p. 523) and Paris (Bibl. Nat., Fonds Arabe 4836, years 322—329); of the second in Cairo (Royal Libr., *Ta'rikh*, No. 594; Barthold in *Zapiski*, xviii, 0148—0153 = Azhar, *Adab*, No. 487, *Zapiski*, xxi, 98—99) and Leningrad (*Zapiski*, xxi, 102—113). Only a few parts of the *Kitāb al-Awrāk* have been published: e. g. *Akhbār al-Hallādī* (*Zapiski*, xxi, 0137—0141; fully analysed in L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallāj*, passim), some of the *Akhbār Abān al-Lāhiqī* (A. Krimsij, *Abān al-Lāhiqī*, etc., Moscow 1913, p. 1—43) and *Akhbār Ibn al-Mu'tazz* (*Zapiski*, xxi, 104—112). No less famous was the *Kitāb al-Wuṣarā'* of al-Šulī, so far only known from quotations (several times mentioned by himself in *al-Awrāk*; cf. also Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ii, 131—132; v, 320; cf. Amar, *al-Fakhri*, *Archives Marocains*, xvi., p. xxv.). Of his other works the *Adab al-Kuttāb* was recently published in Cairo by Muḥammad Bahḍjat from a Baghdād manuscript (1341 = 1922). The book was written in the reign of al-Rādī (p. 163) and is a handbook for the guidance of clerks in the chancelleries, a kind of literature which later became very popular and attained its apogee in the monumental *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā'* of Kaḷkashandī (it is noteworthy that Kaḷkashandī, although he knows al-Šulī well, never quotes this book).

In pure literature al-Šulī made a name by his edition of the *dīwān*'s of 'Abbāsīd poets. Like al-Sukkārī with the old poets, al-Šulī dealt with the *Muḥdathūn*. His *Akhbār Abī Tanmām* exists in manuscript in Constantinople (Rescher in *M. F. O. B.*, v/ii, 501—502). Among his editions of *dīwān*'s may be mentioned those of Abū Nuwās (E. Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Hamza al-Iṣḥāhānis*, Berlin 1909, 42 sqq.), Muslim b. al-Walīd (De Goeje's edition, p. viii.), Ibn al-Mu'tazz (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 81), al-Buḥturī [q. v.], Ibn al-Rūmī (extr. publ. in Cairo, 1924), al-'Abbas b. al-Ahnaf (*Aghānī*, viii, 15—25; xv, 141—144), al-Ṣanawbarī (Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, p. 250) and many others (al-Fihrist, p. 151, 15—16; 161, 16, 21; 166, 3). His *Akhbār Shu'arā' Miṣr* is quoted by Yāqūt (*Irshād*, ii, 5, 415—416; v, 454). He also wrote a dozen other works of which as is often the case we only know the names

(al-Fihrist, p. 151, 8—13; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, 659, p. 51; Hādjdī Khalīfa, ii, 598, 4095; iii, 144; al-Šulī, *Adab al-Kuttāb*, p. 175; Abu 'l-'Alā, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, p. 147, 8). Al-Šulī was not particularly renowned as a poet, but his verses are often quoted (specimens are given by M. Bahḍjat, *op. cit.*, p. 14—18).

Not a very favourable verdict is given on al-Šulī's honesty. The ironical verses on his library are well known (Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, p. 54); they show that all his learning was regarded by some of his contemporaries as merely a knowledge of other people's books. The *Fihrist* (p. 129, 27—28; 151, 6—7) and Yāqūt (*Irshād*, ii, 58) regarded his *al-Awrāk* as a plagiarism from the *Ash'ar Kurāish* of al-Marḥadī (so to be read in *Fihrist*, p. 151, 6 instead of al-Maridī) (but cf. the more favourable verdict in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, i, 16—17). Yāqūt calls him a liar (*Irshād*, ii, 10) and the *Fihrist* thinks his *Akhbār b. Harma* a failure (158, 29). His vanity and his bad taste are several times pilloried (e. g. al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wisāṭa*, p. 260; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, p. 289). His boasting is also known to Persian literature of the 11th century (Abu 'l-Faḍl Baihaḳī in Barthold, *Zapiski*, xviii, 0151). A large number of verdicts upon him have recently been analysed by L. Massignon (*La Passion d'al-Hallāj*, ii, 920 and passim). This all goes to show that al-Šulī cannot be considered an historian of outstanding merit. He was only an industrious compiler, not always able to distinguish his own work from that of others. But this did not affect his influence on literature; among his immediate pupils are mentioned al-Dārakutnī, Ibn Shadhān, al-Marzubānī, etc.; he is still more important as a source used by many Arabic historians and literary men. Even his younger contemporary al-'Arib [q. v.] several times copies him word for word. 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī quotes him over 250 times as a particularly valuable source for the history of the 'Abbāsīd poets (not noted in Guidi's *Tables alphabétiques*, as all *isnād*'s).

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History of Chess, Oxford 1913, p. 169—173, 176, 199—201, 235—240, 271—276, 306—317, 337. (IGN. KRATSKHOVSKY)

SULṬĀN (A.), i. a title which first appears in the fourth (xith) century in the sense of a powerful ruler, an independent sovereign of a certain territory.

The word is of frequent occurrence in the Qurʾān, most often with the meaning of a moral or magical authority supported by proofs or miracles which afford the right to make a statement of religious import. The prophets received this *sulṭān* from Allāh (cf. e. g. Sūra xiv. 12, 13) and the idolators are often invited to produce a *sulṭān* in support of their beliefs. Thus the dictionaries (like the *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, v. 159) explain the word as synonymous with *ḥudūdja* and *burhān*. There are also six passages in the Qurʾān where *sulṭān* has the meaning of "power", but it is always the spiritual power which Iblīs exercises over men (Sūra xiv. 26; xv. 42; xvi. 101, 102; xvii. 67; xxxiv. 20). Now it is this meaning of power or rather of governmental power which is attached to the word *sulṭān* in the early centuries of Islām. The word and its meaning were undoubtedly borrowed from the Syriac *šulṭānā*, which has the meaning of power, and, although rarely, also that of the wielder of power (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 4179; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p. 39). The Qurʾānic sense of the word may probably also be derived from the meaning of power (some lexicographers try to explain it as the plural of *salīf*, olive oil). Later an attempt was made to connect the title *sulṭān* with the meaning of argument, and it was paraphrased as *dhu 'l-ḥudūdja* (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, loc. cit.).

In the literature of Ḥadīth, *sulṭān* has exclusively the sense of power, usually governmental power („the *sulṭān* is the *walī* for him who has no other *walī*”, al-Tirmidhī, i. 204) but the word also means sometimes the power of Allāh. The best known tradition, however, is that which begins with the words *al-sulṭān zill Allāh fi 'l-ard*, "Governmental power is the shadow of Allāh upon earth" (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 61 and *Le sens des expressions ombre de Dieu, ékalife de Dieu*, in *R. H. R.*, xxx. 331 sqq.). Al-ʿUtbi quotes this tradition at the beginning of the *Ḥitāb al-Yamīnī* and his commentator al-Manīnī says that it was transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and others as going back to Ibn ʿUmar (*Sharḥ al-Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286, p. 21). This tradition later played a part in the theories of the Sultanate because an allusion to the title was wrongly seen in it. Apart from Ḥadīth, Arabic literature to the end of the fourth century only knows the word *sulṭān* in the sense of governmental power (among the many examples, cf. e. g. Yaʿkūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 346, 349; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 183, where it is said that in ancient times the residence of the Sulṭān of Ifrīkiya was Carthage and Ibn Hawḳal, p. 143 where al-Mawṣil is called the residence of the *sulṭān* and of the *dīwān* of al-Djazīra) or of the person who at a particular time is the personification of the impersonal governmental power, as opposed to *amīr* which is rather in the nature of a title. This last meaning, which is sometimes more completely rendered by *dhu 'l-Sulṭān* (e. g. in Ḥadīth), and is totally different from the first is found as early

as the Egyptian papyri of the first century (for the governor of Egypt, cf. Becker (*Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 90, note 6) and in the following centuries sometimes also for the Caliphs (the Caliph al-Manṣūr is called Sulṭān Allāh in a *ḫuṭba*, Tabarī, iii. 426); the Caliph al-Muwaffaq is called Sulṭān (Tabarī, iii. 1894; and again in 997 the Caliph al-Kādir, al-ʿUtbi, *op. cit.*, p. 265). This practice of designating a person by the word which indicates his dignity has parallels in all languages (cf. e. g. for the Turkish official language: H. Ritter, in *Islamica*, ii. 475); it even appears that the Assyrian form *siltān* was applied to foreign sovereigns (according to Ravaisse in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxiii. 330). The meaning of power, of government, has been maintained in Arabic literature to the present day.

The transition in meaning from an impersonal representative of political power to a personal title is a development, the stages of which are difficult to follow. Authorities writing later than this development make statements which can only be accepted with reserve. Thus Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolegomena*, ii. 8 in *N. E.* xvii.) says that the Barmecide Djaʿfar was called *sulṭān*, because he held the most powerful position in the state and that, later, the great usurpers of the power of the Caliph obtained *laḳab* like *Amīr al-umaraʾ* and *sulṭān*. The same thing is recorded of the Būyids (A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 568) and of the Ghaznawids. Ibn al-ʿAthīr (ix. 92) says that Maḥmūd of Ghazna obtained the title of *sulṭān* from the Caliph al-Kādir. This statement is not confirmed by al-ʿUtbi who, in giving the various *alḳāb* conferred on Maḥmūd by the Caliph (*op. cit.*, p. 317), makes no mention of this title. It is however true that al-ʿUtbi himself always calls Maḥmūd al-Sulṭān, giving in explanation the fact that Maḥmūd had become an independent sovereign (*op. cit.*, p. 311); but to al-ʿUtbi *sulṭān* cannot yet have been an official title since he gives the same epithet to the Caliph (cf. above). The first Ghaznawid on whose coins the title appears is Ibrāhīm (1053—1099). We find the Fāṭimids using the epithet Sulṭān al-Islām, Ibn Yūnus, Leyden MS.) and in the same period we find the *laḳab* of Sulṭān al-Dawla among the Būyids of Fārs (Sulṭān al-Dawla Abū Shudjāʿ, 1012—1024). The same *laḳab* was borne by the last Būyid al-Malik al-Raḥīm at Baghdad at the time when the usurping Saldjūk Tughril-Beg received from the Caliph in 1051 the *laḳab* al-Sulṭān Rukn al-Dawla (al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, G. M. S., p. 105; cf. also Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, p. 233).

Tughril-Beg was also the first Muslim ruler whose coins bear the epithet or rather title *Sulṭān* and that in the combination „al-Sulṭān al-Muʿazzam”. (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, iii. 28 sq.). This fact makes it very probable that the Saldjūks were the first for whom Sulṭān had become a regular title for a ruler; the qualification by *al-Muʿazzam* was necessary to lift the word definitely out of its use as a more or less impersonal common noun; this development would at the same time explain why the word *Sulṭān* immediately became the highest title that a Muslim prince could obtain, while in the centuries preceding any representative of authority could be so designated. The adjective *al-Muʿazzam*, essential for the title, was soon omitted

in unofficial language. Thus, with the Saldjūks, *Sulṭān* became a regular sovereign title. Neither the provincial dynasties of the Saldjūks (among whom however we find the proper name *Sulṭān-shāh*) nor the Aṭabegs after them bore the title *sulṭān*; they were content with titles like *malik* and *shāh*. It was only after the end of the Great Saldjūks in the middle of the xiith century that the *Kh̲wārizmshāhs* assumed it. The Caliph al-Nāṣir was however able to take advantage of the weakness of *Djalāl al-Dīn Kh̲wārizmshāh* to refuse to recognize his claim to this title (Nasawī, *Vie de Djelal-eddin Mankobirti*, ed. Houdas, p. 247). Soon the Saldjūks of Rūm also called themselves *Sulṭān* (on coins from *Ḳīlādj Arslān II*). Almost at the same time the title is applied in literature to the first Aiyūbid *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, ed. Wright and de Goeje, p. 40), although *Sulṭān* never appears on the coins of the Aiyūbids, whose official titles were all combined with *al-Malik*. By the literature of the xiiith century *Sulṭān* had become a title indicating the most absolute political independence. Ibn al-Aṭhīr (xi. 169) speaks of Baghdad and its environs as the territory where the Caliph reigned without a *Sulṭān*. It is not certain if in the last period of the 'Abbāsids in Baghdad, the Caliph was already regarded as the only authority who could confer the title *sulṭān*. We see however that after the fall of the Caliphate an increasing number of Muslim potentates arrogated the title to themselves. In official use, the title was very often followed by an adjective like *al-A'zam*, *al-ʿAdil* etc. (a complete list is given in O. Codrington, *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, London 1904, p. 81—82). During the xiiith—xvth centuries the *Sulṭāns* of Egypt added the greatest lustre to the title of *Sulṭān*; after them came the Ottoman *Sulṭāns*.

Sultans, having thus become potentates whose absolute independence was generally recognised, jurists and historians set themselves to construct theories to find a justification in law for the existence of such potentates for whom there had been no place in the old conception of the Muslim caliphate (cf. *KHALIFA*). We find these theories as early as al-Māwardī (who wrote in the time of the Būyids), for whom *sulṭān* had not yet any other meaning than governmental power, as is evident from the title of his book *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniya*. Al-Māwardī says (ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 30—31) that the Caliph may remain in office even if he is dominated by one of his subordinates provided that the latter's actions are in conformity with the principles of religion. Al-ʿUṭbī, who quotes the tradition that the *sulṭān* is the shadow of Allāh on earth (cf. above) does so very probably to justify the independent position of Maḥmūd of Ghazna to whom he always gives the epithet *al-Sulṭān*; but this allusion to the well-known tradition is perhaps rather a play upon words than the theory of a jurist. To al-Ghazālī the "Sulṭāns of his age" of whom he has a very low opinion (Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, p. 93) are in general the representatives of temporal power. It is only under the Mamlūk *Sulṭāns* of Egypt that a definite theory is laid down by *Ḳhalīl al-Zāhiri* (*Zubdat kashf al-Māmālik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 89—90) who says that it is only the Caliph who has the right to grant the title of *sulṭān* and that in consequence this title only belongs in reality to the *Sulṭān* of Egypt. The

Mamlūks called themselves in their inscriptions *Sulṭān al-Islām wa 'l-Muslimin* (van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*). About the same time Ibn 'Arabshāh in the biography of *Sulṭān Djaḳmaḳ* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 295 sqq.) calls the *Sulṭān* the *Khalifa* of Allāh on earth in affairs of government while the 'ulamā' are the heirs of the Prophet in matters of religion; this statement contains, like that of al-ʿUṭbī, an apt allusion to the tradition (in another form). Lastly al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 91 sqq.) gives a definition of the titles of *sulṭān* (he in whose possessions there are *maliks*) of *al-Sulṭān al-a'zam* and of *Sulṭān al-Salāṭin*, which is the highest title. In the time of the Mamlūks there were actually quite a number of Muslim potentates who called themselves *Sulṭān*; some of these, in keeping with al-Zāhiri's theory, had even asked the permission of the Caliph in Cairo to bear the title.

From the beginning of the use of the title we may say that all the great rulers who have borne it have been Sunnis, except the *Kh̲wārizmshāhs*. It is therefore not a mere coincidence that this development went parallel with the religious revival in Islām in the period of the Crusades; the great *Sulṭāns* became at the same time the defenders of Sunni Islām and the Mongol rulers, after having embraced this form of Islām, assumed this very title. This Sunni significance of the title is specially noticeable in the Ottoman *sulṭānate*. It appears that some coins of *Crkhān* already bear the title *sulṭān* (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. Or. Coins*, viii. 41) although the first Ottoman princes were generally regarded as *amir's* (Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 321). Bāyazid I is said to have been the first to obtain from the Caliph in Cairo the right to call himself *Sulṭān* (von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 235). After the taking of Constantinople, Muḥammad II assumed the title of *Sulṭān al-barrāin wa 'l-baḥrāin* (*G. O. R.*, i. 88) but even in the Ottoman empire itself as the title of the sovereign it has never been as popular as those of *Khunkhār* and of *Pādishāh*. In the official protocol on the other hand, it occupies an important place, e. g. in the formula *al-Sulṭān ibn al-Sulṭān*, etc. before the names of the rulers. After the extinction of the Mamlūk *Sulṭānate* by the conquest of Selīm I, Ottoman rulers had become indisputably the greatest *Sulṭāns* in Islām. The Safawids of Persia were called *Shāh* and the opposition *Sulṭān-Shāh* henceforth corresponded to that between Sunnis and Shī'is. It is true that officially the Safawids also called themselves *Sulṭān*, e. g. on their coins (R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887. Index, p. 313), s.v. سلطان but they were only known by the title of *Shāh*.

In Turkey *Sulṭān* has always been an elevated title. In addition to rulers, it was borne by princes and one of the causes, why the grand vizier and favourite of Sulaimān I Ibrāhīm Pasha, was disgraced is said to have been that he had taken the title of Ser'asker *Sulṭān* (*G. O. R.*, iii. 160). In the time of 'Abd al-Ḥamid II the petty chiefs who were appointed *sulṭān* in their own country (e. g. in Ḥadramawt) were not allowed to use the title when they visited Constantinople (information given me by Prof. Snouck Hurgronje). In Turkish the title *sulṭān* is always placed before the name of the sovereign or of the prince, which shows its foreign origin. The real popular use of the word

in Turkish is with the meaning of princess (cf. e.g. the story, *Söleime Sultān* in Jacob, *Hilfsbuch*, ii., p. 59 and the use of the word in erotic poetry and it is by this usage that the practice of placing sultān after the word when it means princess is to be explained (cf. also 'Āli, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 16). For the same reason Sultān is added after the name when it is applied to a mystic (cf. below).

In Persia on the other hand, Sultān was used as a title for officers and governors ('Āli, *loc. cit.*, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxx. 30). Ewliyā Ālebi, speaks of the Sultāns of Persia as minor governors (*Siyāhat-nāma*, ii. 299—305). The only case in which the sovereign has been given the title Sultān is that of the last Qādjar Ahmad I, who received it on his accession, after the revolution of 1908.

In Egypt, the title had disappeared with the last Mamlūks, but was revived for the short period (1914—1922) of the reign of Sultān Ḥusain and the beginning of the reign of Fu'ād (cf. the article *KHEDIVE*).

The number of dynasties, whose rulers have borne or bear the title Sultān is very great; only in North Africa it appears relatively late; in Morocco the dynasty of Filāliya *Shurafa'* (since the second half of the xviiith century) was the first to assume the title sultān.

2. Sultān is also a title given to mystic *shaikhs*. This use of the word is not earlier than the xiiith century and has spread particularly in Asia Minor and the countries influenced by Ottoman civilisation. The beginning of the development of the use of the word may have been titles like *Sultān al-'ashikīn* given to the mystical poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ and *Sultān al-'ulamā'* borne by Bahā' al-Dīn Walad, father of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. But this mystical epithet was no doubt also influenced in its development by the conception frequently expressed in mystical poetry that the mystic obtains the rank and power of a sovereign in the spiritual world. It is through the same order of ideas that the title of *Khunkār* (cf. *Khudāwendigār*) may be explained. Ewliyā Ālebi (*Siyāhat-nāma*, iii. 367—368) in bracketing the names of Sultān Muḥammad II and Bāyazid III with the names of two mystics says that all were great sultāns. This was the origin of names like Dedē Sultān and Baba Sultān. The *Shaikh* Badr al-Dīn, leader of the religious revolutionary movement in Asia Minor in the xvth century was also called Sultān by his adepts; Babinger (*Isl.*, xi. 74) sees in this an indication that he was considered a real sovereign. It appears that the surname of Sultān was especially borne by the Baktāshis; it did not however indicate a particularly high rank in the order; thus Babinger (*loc. cit.*) is probably right, in any case for the latter period, in regarding it as simply a "Kosename" or term of affection.

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The Caliphate, London 1924, esp. p. 202 sqq.; Paul Wittek, *Islam und Kalifat*, in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 1925, vol. liii., esp. p. 414 sqq. As it is impossible to study the history of the title Sultān completely without using the wealth of material in the inscriptions, it is to be hoped that the systematic publication of this material will not be long delayed.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SULTĀN AL-DAWLA ABU SHUDJĀ' B. BAHĀ' AL-DAWLA, a Būyid. After the death of Bahā' al-Dawla on Djumādā II, 5, 403 (= Dec. 22, 1012) in Arradjān, his son Sultān al-Dawla succeeded him as amir of Fārs and al-'Irāk. He at once left Arradjān for Shirāz and appointed his brother Djalāl al-Dawla [q. v.] governor of Basra and his other brother Abu 'l-Fawāris governor of Kirmān. The latter was persuaded by the Dailamī troops to rebel against Sultān al-Dawla; he went to Fārs and entered Shirāz but was immediately driven out of the town and had to retire to Kirmān. He then went to Khurāsān and asked help from Sultān Maḥmūd b. Subuktegīn, who was then in Bust. The latter placed an army under the command of the amir Abū Sa'īd al-Tā'i at his disposal. Abu 'l-Fawāris occupied Kirmān, then turned his attention to Fārs and entered Shirāz while Sultān al-Dawla was in Baghdad. On the latter's return a battle was fought in which Abu 'l-Fawāris was defeated; he fled to Kirmān (408 = 1017/18) pursued by Sultān al-Dawla's troops, who soon conquered the province, while Abu 'l-Fawāris sought refuge first with Shams al-Dawla b. Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.] and then with Muḥadh-dhib al-Dawla, lord of al-Baṭīha. After long negotiations an agreement was reached in 409 (1018/1019), by which Abu 'l-Fawāris was to retain the governorship of Kirmān while he bound himself to obedience to his brother. In the same year Ibn Sahlān was appointed governor of al-'Irāk. As he made himself much hated by the Turks, the latter complained to Sultān al-Dawla, who endeavoured to appease them and summoned Ibn Sahlān to him. Instead of appearing before his overlord he fled to al-Baṭīha and when Sultān al-Dawla demanded that he should be handed over, the lord of al-Baṭīha, al-Ḥusain b. Bakr al-Sharābī refused to do so. Sultān al-Dawla then sent an army against him; al-Sharābī was defeated and Ibn Sahlān fled to Basra to Djalāl al-Dawla. As the troops were discontented with Sultān al-Dawla and showed themselves inclined to recognise his brother Muḥarrif al-Dawla as their lord, the two brothers agreed that the latter should receive the governorship of al-'Irāk and neither should take Ibn Sahlān into his service. But after Sultān al-Dawla had gone to Tustar, in spite of the agreement he appointed Ibn Sahlān his vizier, which roused the wrath of Muḥarrif al-Dawla. Sultān al-Dawla then equipped an army and commissioned Ibn Sahlān to drive Muḥarrif al-Dawla out of al-'Irāk. But the latter took the field to meet him; Ibn Sahlān was defeated and fled to Wāsiṭ where after a long siege he had to surrender in Dhū 'l-Hijjida 411 (April 1021). After this victory Muḥarrif al-Dawla took the honorary title of *Shāhānshāh* "king of kings" and in Muḥarram 412 (May 1021) he dropped his brother's name from the *khutba* and replaced it by his own. In the same year Ibn Sahlān was seized and blinded by order of Djalāl al-Dawla

and Musharrif al-Dawla. In spite of Sultān al-Dawla's defeat a part of the Dailamis in al-Ahwāz declared for him, so he sent his son Abū Kalidjār [q. v.] thither to take possession of this province. In 413 (1022/1023) peace was made, the terms being that Fārs and Kirmān should be ruled by Sultān al-Dawla and all Irāk by Musharrif al-Dawla. Sultān al-Dawla, according to the usual statement, died in Shirāz in Shawwāl 415 (Dec. 1024/Jan. 1025) but according to one source he did not die till Sha'bān 416 (Sept./Oct. 1025).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aḥir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix., passim; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii. 25, 47, 51, 63, 65; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iv. 470—474; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Qazwini, *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, ed. Browne, i. 430 sq.; Wilken, *Gesch. d. Sultane aus d. Geschl. Bujeh nach Mirchond*, chap. xiii.—xiv.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 52—54; de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, p. 212 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN).

SULTĀN ISHĀK (more frequently S. Sohāk, S. Sohāk), an important personage in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq sect (popularly known as 'Alī Ilāhī; q. v.). The first manifestations of God (*Khāwandigār*, 'Alī, Bābā *Khoshin*) correspond to the stages of *shar'ā*, *ṭarīka* and *ma'rifa*, but it is the fourth avatar — Sultān Sohāk — which marks the highest degree of gnosis, the *ḥaḳīka* [q. v.].

Everything goes to show that Sultān Ishāk was a historical personage. The Ahl-i Ḥaqq put him in the xvth century. He is said to have been a son of a certain *Shāikh* 'Isā and *Khātūn Dāyira* (Dayarāk), daughter of Ḥasan Beg Djalā. By his wife *Khātūna-Bashir* he had seven sons who are called *haft-tan* (to distinguish them from another heptad called *haft tawāna*). Like each of the seven fundamental avatars Sultān Sohāk has a retinue of four (five) angels: Benyāmin, Dāwūd, Muṣṭafā, Dāwdān, Pir Mūsī (and *Khātūn Dāyira*) each of whom has his special duties.

An analysis of the proper and geographical names in the religious work known as the *Saran-djām* shows that the area of Sultān Ishāk's activity was the part of Kurdistān between the Zagros (Dālāhū) and the river Sirwān (Diyāla). According to the Turkish hymn called *Kuṭb-nāma*, Sultān Ishāk spoke the Gūrānī language which is still that of the inhabitants of this region, who, although Iranian by race, are not true Kurds from the linguistic nor probably from the ethnic point of view. The tomb of Sultān Ishāk and his companions is at Pardiwar on the right bank of the Sirwān in the Awramāni-Luhūn (cf. SENNA).

The polemical MS. in the O. Mann collection (Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Acc. MSS. 1904, N^o. 30, fol. 8) calls Sultān Sohāk *djāma-yi Ḥaqq* ("incarnation (dress) of God" and *muḳannin-i kāmūn-i ḥaḳīka* ("legislator of the law of the ḥaḳīka"). In fact it is to him that the majority of the rites of the sect are traced as for example the "recommendation of the head" [to a *pīr*] (*sar sipurdan*) which symbolises the contract which the divinity (the "King of the World") had made with Benyāmin before reappearing on earth in the form of Sultān Ishāk. Benyāmin was to assume the role of *pīr* and the "King of the World" that of *ṭalīb*, for he declared "the *ṭalīb* must obey the orders of his *pīr*; one may execute thy orders but, if I become the *pīr* and thou the *ṭalīb*, thou wouldst not be

able to 'execute what I tell thee'. This seems to be an echo of Ismā'īlī beliefs, according to which God is without attributes and creation returns to "Universal Intelligence" (*al-Malak al-'aṣīm*, 'aḳl al-kull'); cf. Guyard, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis*, Paris 1874, p. 43, 162.

Sultān Sohāk is recognised by all branches of the sect, who do not agree regarding later manifestations.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SULTĀN ÖNÜ, is the ancient name of the part of Phrygia in Asia Minor, situated to the N.W. of Eski Şehir, which was the birthplace of the Ottoman power. The name existed already in the time of the Seldjūks, for it is mentioned in the Chronicle of Ibn Bibi (Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, iii. 217) as a frontier district of the Seldjūk empire, the protection of which was trusted to frontier warders (*uç begleri*) such as Ertoghrl. Among the early Ottoman historians Neshri (ed. Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, xiii. 190) mentions Sultān Önü as the place where Ertoghrl and his little tribe went, after their stay in the *Ḳaradja Dağ* near Angora. But Neshri as well as Ibn Bibi write: سلطان

أوبوكنه (dative case). Hence the name is probably to be explained at the Sultān's tumulus (*öyük* or *oyuk*) and not as the Sultān's front, as was suggested by the later spelling اوكى (comp. Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, col. 107); moreover Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii. 324, 342) mentions two persons with the *nisba* السلطانيوكى and J. H. Mordtmann takes it that the place name In Önü, which occurs in the same region was originally In Oyüyük; the local name Boz Öyük is formed in the same way (Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz*, i. 122, note 1). The story told by von Hammer (*G. O. R.*, i. 45) about the reason why Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn called the region Sultān Önü does not seem to occur in any early historical work. In Ertoghrl's time, the towns of this part of the country were still held by Christian lords, but after these towns had been brought under the immediate rule of his successor 'Oṭmān, the region was made a *sandjak* under the name of In Önü and with *Ḳaradja Hişar* as capital. This *sandjak* was given to Orkhān and, afterwards, by Orkhān to his son Murād ('Ashīk Paşa Zāde, ed. Constantinople, p. 20, 38; *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i 'Oṭmān*, ed. Giese, p. 7, 13; Orudj Beg, ed. Babinger, p. 15, 87, 89; Neshri, ed. Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, xiii. 211). It seems that already in these chronicles, even as in later times, the place name In Önü was often used instead of the regional name Sultān Önü (the latter name only twice in the *Tawārīkh*, but both times in a poem; comp. also Taeschner, *loc. cit.*). In later centuries the *sandjak* of Sultān Önü bordered according to Ḥādīdji Khalifa, *Djihānnūma*, p. 631, to the S.E., upon the *sandjak* of *Ḳara Hişar Şahib*, and, to the N.W., upon that of *Khudāwendigār*; it contained, besides, the capital Eski Şehir [q. v.],

the *kaḍā's*: In Önü or Boz Öyük, Biledjik, Seidi Ghazi, Karadja Shehr, Ka'edjik, Sultân Önü and Ak Bilyik. In the sixth century the name was no more used and, by the new administrative division, Sultân Önü was divided over the sandjaks of Kutahiya [q. v.] and Ertoghul. A communication about a *wakf defteri* of Sultân Önü in the time of Muḥammad II was made by Ahmed Refik to *Türk Tarihî Endjümeni Mecmû'ası*, No. 3 (81) of May 1, 1924. (J. H. KRAMERS)

SULTÂN WALAD, eldest son of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and his second successor as head of the Mawlawi order, was born in Lāranda [cf. KARAMAN] in 623 (1226) before Djalāl al-Dīn's family had settled in Konya. He was called after Djalāl al-Dīn's father, Bahā' al-Dīn Walad, known as Sultân al-'Ulamā'. He was brought up among the Ṣūfis who surrounded his father and seems to have been particularly intimate with Shams al-Dīn Tabrizi, while his younger brother Čelebi 'Alā' al-Dīn was rather hostile to the latter's influence. Sultân Walad married the daughter of another of his father's disciples, the goldsmith Šalāh al-Dīn Feridūn of Konya. After the death of Djalāl al-Dīn, Sultân Walad did not at once succeed him but insisted on Čelebi Ḥusām al-Dīn, hitherto the *wakīl* of the master, assuming control. Eleven years later Ḥusām al-Dīn died and Sultân Walad succeeded and held office till his death on 10th Raddjāb 712 (Nov. 11, 1312). He was followed by his son Djalāl al-Dīn Amīr 'Arif.

Sultân Walad does not seem to have been a dominating personality like his father. Pious traditions about his life reveal him to us as a contemplative mystic; a certain manner of performing the whirling dance has been called after him, *Sultân Walad Dewri* (Brown, *The Darvishes*, ed. Rose, Oxford 1927, p. 252 sq.). He was also the author of a large *Mathnawī* called *Walad-nāma* and dedicated to the Mongol Sultân Uljāitū Khān, in three parts *Ibtidā-nāma*, *Intihā-nāma* and *Rabāb-nāma*, a voluminous *Diwān* and a work in prose called *Ma'arif*. The *Mathnawī* contains many data of importance for the biography of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and may be regarded as a kind of commentary on the *Mathnawī-i Ma'nawī*.

The works of Sultân Walad, none of which have been printed, are written in Persian. They have a special interest because they include verses written in Turkish and Greek. The Turkish verses are in the *Ibtidā-nāma*, the *Rabāb-nāma* and the *Diwān*; their importance lies in the fact that they are the first literary documents in Turkish written in Asia Minor and for this reason the language has been called the language of the *Seldjūk* Turks. The 156 *bait's* in Turkish from the *Rabāb-nāma* are all that have been published and studied so far (from the Vienna MSS., written in 767 [1366] and the St. Petersburg one, later in date) by von Hammer, Wickerhauser, Behrnauer, Radloff, Salemann, Kúnos, Smirnow, Foy and Gibb (cf. *Bibliography*). According to Köprülü Zāde Fu'ād Bey (*Ilk Mutaşawwifler*, p. 266 sqq.), the influence of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī on western Turkish literature begins with Sultân Walad. The latter is said to have been at the same time the first representative of the school of Turkish poetry under Persian influence, while the other category, that of popular mystic poets (*'āshik* as opposed to *shā'ir*), is represented about the same time by Yünus Emre. The Turkish verses of the *Rabāb-nāma* already

show an attempt at writing Turkish in the *ramai* metre in which the *Mathnawī* of Mawlānā was written. The language is archaic and represents an old form of the dialect of the Oghuz.

The 13 Greek *bait* of the *Rabāb-nāma* have been published from the MSS. in St. Petersburg, Budapest and Oxford (those in Munich and in Gotha do not contain them) by G. Meyer, *Die griechischen Verse im Rebāb-nāme*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1895, iv., p. 401 sqq.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

SULTÂNĀBĀD, r. capital of the Persian province of 'Irāk (popularly: 'Arāk). The town was founded in 1808 by Yūsuf Khān Gurdji in the S. W. corner of the plain of Farāhān. The town is built very regularly in the shape of a rectangle; its walls (2,000 × 2,666 feet) are each protected by 12 or 18 towers. The inhabitants number 25,000 (Stahl).

The province now bearing the name of 'Irāk ('Arāk) must not be confused with the extensive area to which the geographers of the Mongol period gave the name of 'Irāk 'Adjamī (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 185—186) which included Kirmānshāh, Hamadān, Raiy, and Isfahān. The present province of 'Irāk lies almost entirely within the bend formed by the Kara-su (Do-āb) south of Sāwa. It is bounded on the east by Kūm, on the north by Sāwa [q. v.], on the west by Malāyir (Dawlatābād) and to the south by Borūdjird (canton of Silākhōr) and the districts of Djāpalāgh and Kamara, mainly in the hands of local landlords of the Bakhtiyārī family of Čahār-lang.

The cantons of al-ʿIrāk are as follows: 1. Farāhān (Zulfābād and Mushkābād) with 144 villages forms the central plain, the scanty waters of which (Karah-rūd) flow into the salt lake without outlet which in the Mongol period was called Tsaghannaʿur = "the white lake". The old capital of Farāhān is Sārūkh, situated 25 miles N. W. of Sultānābād. Farāhān is an old Shīʿa centre; 2. Sharrāh (Čarrāh); 3. Bozčalu and 4. Wafs with 42, 52 and 12 villages respectively lie W. and N. W. of Farāhān; 5. Tafrīsh and 6. Ashṭiyān with 16 and 3 villages respectively lie to the north of Farāhān. Tafrīsh is a hollow surrounded by mountains on all sides. Ashṭiyān and Garakān are noted as the birthplaces of many Persian holy men and statesmen; 7. Rūdbār with 47 villages lies N. W. (?) of Farāhān; 8. Khalaḍjīstān with 90 villages lies in the direction of Kum and Sawa; 9. Kazzāz with 150 villages lies south of Sultānābād on the fan-shaped upper waters of the Kara-ṣu and on those of the Karahrūd (Kara-Kahriz). The important canton encroaching on the environs of Sultānābād seems to be identical with the Karādj Abi Dulaf of the Arab geographers (Le Strange, *The Lands*, etc., p. 198 and *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 69); the mountain Rāsmānd is the modern Rāsbānd (Rāswand) (although Mustawfī seems to give this name to the Kūh-i Shāh-Zinda which continues the Rāsbānd range northwards); the stronghold of Farzīn (cf. *Djīhān-gushā*, G. M. S., xvi/2, p. 116: Farrāzīn) must be on the mountain of Farzī (north of Tūla); finally the name of the "spring of Kai-Khusrau" which rises on Rāsmānd is explained by the local legend which tells how Kai-Khusrau disappeared on the mountain of Shāh-Zinda (Čirikow, p. 186; cf. *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, iv., p. 266); 10. Saraband, with 130 villages to the S. W. of Kazzāz on the Borūjdīrd road; the canton is watered by the upper waters of the Karkhā (Āb-i Kulān, etc.). In addition to the cantons above enumerated, the following have at times formed part of al-ʿIrāk: Dardjāzīn (Dargazīn) on the left bank of the Kara-ṣu to the north of Wafs and south of the Hamadān-Kazwīn road; Āshmakhor, a dependency of Borūjdīrd; Kamara (with its capital Khumain) and Nīmwar (on the Anār-rūd) both now merged in the district of Maḥallāt. The total number of inhabited villages, etc. in al-ʿIrāk is 686. Before 1914 it paid to the treasury a *mālīāt* of 80,000 *tomans* and 16,000 *khārṭārs* of corn. Five regiments of *sarbāz*, each of 800 men, were raised in the province.

The province, agriculturally rich, is especially noted for its famous carpets (Sārūkh, Sultānābād) exported by the European and Persian houses established in Sultānābād. The importance of al-ʿIrāk will increase if the Mohammara-Borūjdīrd-Teherān railway (still only a proposal) is completed through the province. The population for the most part is pure Persian. In Khalaḍjīstān are Khalaḍj Turks speaking a very curious dialect (cf. the article SĀWA; this region also has a Khalaḍjīstān [near Kūshkak on the Teherān-Hamadān road] where however a central Irānī dialect is also spoken; cf. Brugsch, *Reise d. k. preuss. Gesandte*, i. 337—338 and Justi, *Kurdische Gramm.*, p. xxv.). In Kazzāz there are 13 Armenian villages the inhabitants of which (564 houses, 2,959 souls in 1916) were settled here by the Šafawids. At Kamara there are Armenians and Georgians and

also Turks repatriated from Syria by Timūr whose language is said to be connected with Čaghatai (?).

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For particulars of Karādj Abi Dulaf, see P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1925, v., p. 574, 82. The position of Farzīn (Farrāzīn) settles the site of Karādj on the Kazzāz (according to Yākūt, Farrāzīn was at the gate (in the defile) of Karādj). The hypothesis of Houtum-Schindler (*Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.*, 1879, xvi., p. 60) who thought Karādj was to be located on the river Kardj which waters Gulpāyagān (= Djarbādḥakān) cannot therefore be accepted. Burdj also (10 farsakhs east of Karādj) is to be sought west of Gulpāyagān (at Djāpalak or Burburūd).

2. A town founded by the Mongol Ilkhān Uldjaitū in 711 (1312) at Čamčamal at the foot of the hill of Bisutūn. D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 545; *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 107; Rabino, *Kermanchah*, R. M. M., March 1920, p. 14.

3. Name of several villages in Persia for example the capital of the canton of Turshiz [q. v.] in Khorāsān. (V. MINORSKY)

SULTĀNIYA, a town in Persian Irāk, about ten miles west of the watershed between the Zandjān [q. v.], which runs to the Kīzl-Ūzān and the Abhar, which loses itself in the direction of Teherān. The old Persian name of the canton of Sultāniya was Shāhrūyāz. It was originally a dependency of Kaḍwīn. The Mongols called this district Kūngur-ölōng ("the prairie of the Alezans": there is still a village called "Ölāng" S.E. of Sultāniya). Sultāniya is about 5,000—5,500 feet above sea-level. The coolness of its climate in summer and the richness of the high plateau in pasturage and game must have had a special attraction for the Mongols. Arghun began the construction of a town, the wall of which (*bārū*) was 12,000 paces in circumference. His successor Uldjaitū, to celebrate the birth of his son Abū Saʿīd, began in 705 to enlarge the new town (up to 30,000 paces in circumference) and made it the capital of his kingdom. The sovereign and his ministers vied with one another in embellishing Sultāniya. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn alone built a quarter of 1,000 houses (d'Ohsson, iv. 486; Hammer, *Geschichte d. Ilchane*, ii. 184—186). The building of the town was finished in 713 (1313) and was solemnly celebrated. After his conversion to the Shīʿa, Uldjaitū thought of bringing to Sultāniya the remains of the Caliph ʿAlī and of the Imām Ḥusain. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says that nowhere except Tabriz could so many splendid buildings be seen as in Sultāniya and he makes the five great roads (*shāh-rāh*) radiate from Sultāniya as the centre of Irān (*miyān-i Irān-Zamin*). The exaggeration in the last statement is apparent; the site "so inconvenient" (P. della Valle) of the town was the main cause of its decline. Uldjaitū died in

Sultāniya and was buried in the famous mausoleum there. The *ḡurultai* of Abū Sa'īd was held in Sultāniya, but the fact that 'Alī Shāh, this ruler's minister, began to build a magnificent mosque in Tabriz seems to indicate that pride of place was returning to the old capital.

After the fall of the Mongols, Sultāniya often changed hands and its possession was disputed between the Suldūz [q. v.], the Djalā'ir [q. v.] and the Muẓaffarids. A former captain of Shaikh Uwais Djalā'ir called Sarfīk 'Ādil fortified himself in Sultāniya in 781. He inflicted a defeat upon the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjā' but finally submitted to him and kept his position. A little later Sarfīk 'Ādil proclaimed Sultān Bāyazīd Djalā'ir at Sultāniya; his brother Sultān Aḥmad complained of this to Shāh Shudjā', who removed Sarfīk 'Ādil from Sultāniya. Timūr's troops took Sultāniya from the sons of Sultān Aḥmad in 786. At the same time Timūr re-established Sarfīk 'Ādil as governor there and seems to have respected the tomb of Uldjaitū (cf. Olearius). Among the villages built by Timūr around Samarḡand with the names of celebrated towns, there was one called Sultāniya (Barthold, *Uluḡ-beg*, p. 32). In 795 Sultāniya formed part of "the fief of Hūlāḡū" conferred by Timūr on his son Mirān-shāh, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 388, 399, 623. Clavijo, who visited Sultāniya in 1404, says that Mirān-shāh (from 798 = 1395, afflicted with madness which showed itself in the destruction of monuments, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii. 221), had plundered the town and citadel (*alcazar*) and profaned the tomb of Uldjaitū ("é el Caballero que yacia enterrado mandólo echar fuera"). In spite of this, the ambassador of Henry III of Castile adds that the town had many inhabitants and that its trade was greater than that of Tabriz. Under Tahmāsp I the mausoleum was restored and P. della Valle and Olearius found it in good preservation. Trade however gradually went back to Tabriz and the removal of the political centre to Iṣfahān completed the ruin of the old capital of Uldjaitū and caused it to become forgotten. It only experienced a brief revival of favour when, in the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh, when the court followed the old custom of moving to a summer residence, a hunting-palace was built near Sultāniya with materials taken from the old city. This new Sultānābād was also abandoned after the Russo-Persian war of 1828. The splendid mausoleum now rises from the centre of a wretched little village. In 1880 Houtum-Schindler counted 400—500 houses there.

Dieulafoy regarded the mausoleum as "the largest and most remarkable of all the buildings erected in Persia since the Muslim conquest"; and this opinion is corroborated by Sarre's study. The mausoleum is in the form of an octagonal prism 85 feet broad and 175 feet high (including 25 feet for the cupola). It is built of brick covered with superb blue faience. The inscriptions on the mausoleum do not appear to have been studied. Uldjaitū's tomb was in the interior of the mausoleum. P. della Valle speaks of a chapel the entrance of which was closed by a beautiful grill of damascened iron. According to Olearius this grill was forged in India and formed a single piece. The mosque seems to have been fortified. According to Mustawfi, the *ka'a* (Clavijo, *alcazar*), Uldjaitū's burial-place (*khwab-gāh*), was of carved stone. Olearius saw at Sultāniya about 20 cannon which had been used

to defend the old fortress in the Ṣafawī period. Tavernier saw in Sultāniya the remains of other mosques, but now all that exists is one ruined mosque or madrasa near which is situated the tomb of Čelebi-oghlu (xivth century) in the form of an octagonal tower of brick with the ornamentation arranged to form a Kufic design. The tomb of the theologian Mullā Ḥasan Shīrāzī (adorned with faience) dates from the xvth century and was built by Ismā'īl I. Nothing remains of the walls on which Morier saw an inscription in the name of Uldjaitū.

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(V. MINORSKY)

SULŪK (A., "journeying") is a term used by Ṣūfis to describe the mystic's progress in the Way to God, beginning with his entrance into the *ṭarīqa* (Way) under the direction of a *Shāikh* and ending with his attainment of the highest spiritual degree within his capacity. *Sulūk* implies a quest deliberately undertaken, methodically pursued; he who prosecutes it (*sālik*) must pass through, and make himself perfect in, each of the "stages" or "stations" (*maḡāmāt*) — *dhikr*, trust in God, poverty, love, knowledge and so on —

before he can become united with God (*wāṣil*). Hence *sulūk* is contrasted with *djadhba* (see art. MADJDHĀB).

Bibliography: See, in addition to the references given in art. MADJDHĀB, *Djāmī, Na-fahāt al-Uns*, Calcutta 1859, p. 7 sq.; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 28 sq.; E. H. Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism*, p. 65 sq.

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

AL-ŠUMAIL B. ḤĀTIM ABŪ DJAWSHAN AL-KILĀBĪ, a famous Arab chief in Spain. (The vocalisation of the name al-Šumail is confirmed by the transcription *Zumakel* used by pseudo-Isidorus of Beja). He was the grandson of Šamir b. Dhī Djawshan of Kūfa who killed al-Ḥusain at Kerbelā' (cf. above, ii, p. 339). The family of Šamir had left Kūfa, because of reprisals made on them by the Shī'is, and settled in the district of Kinnasrīn (cf. above, ii, p. 1021) and this is how it came about that al-Šumail came to be one of the *djund* of Kinnasrīn in the Syrian army sent to North Africa by the Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in 123 (741). He shared the fortunes of his chief Baldj b. Bishr al-Kushairi (cf. above, i, p. 617) and when he had settled in Spain he soon became chief of the Kaissis of the country and lived in Cordova.

As a result of a quarrel with the governor of Cordova, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Ḥusām b. Dirār al-Kalbī, who insulted him, al-Šumail whose Arab amour propre was touched, decided to rebel against him and to get the Lakhmids and Djudhāmids in Spain to join him. He offered the command of the rebels to Thawāba b. Salama al-Djudhāmī, who after the victory he gained over Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār on the banks of the Guadalete became governor of Muslim Spain at Cordova.

On the death of Thawāba, al-Šumail intervened to choose a successor to this governor and chose an individual on whom he knew he could exert great influence: Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihri. His choice was at first disputed but after the victory of Secunda (Shaḡunda, q. v.) in 130 (747) won by the Ma'addī clan under Yūsuf and al-Šumail over the Yamānī clan commanded by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, the authority of the new governor was consolidated and the latter offered al-Šumail the command of the district of Saragossa [q. v.] in 132 (749). He distinguished himself for his great generosity during a severe famine there, but two rebel chiefs finally besieged him in his capital. Al-Šumail appealed for assistance to his Kaissī fellow-tribesmen in Spain and his enemies raised the siege of Saragossa.

The later history of al-Šumail is closely and regularly connected with that of Yūsuf al-Fihri and that of the founder of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil. He at first promised his support to the latter, then changed his mind, in circumstances of which a picturesque account is preserved in the anonymous chronicle entitled *Akhbār madjmu'a*, and these show the inconsistency and complexity of the character of al-Šumail. 'Abd al-Rahmān however after the return of his emissaries from the peninsula landed at Almuñecar in Rabī' II, 138 (Sept. 755). Al-Šumail, after forcing his master Yūsuf al-Fihri to get rid of two important Kaissī chiefs Sulaimān b. Shihāb and al-Ḥusain b. al-Dajīn, persuaded him to entrust to the new Umayyad pretender the government of the two districts occupied by the

djund's of Damascus and Jordan and give him in marriage his daughter Umm Mūsā. But the negotiations broke down through the inaccuracy of the envoy, hostilities began between Yūsuf and 'Abd al-Rahmān and the former was defeated near Cordova. Al-Šumail had a son killed in the battle and his palace at Secunda was looted. He tried with Yūsuf to regain the upper hand but both had soon to submit to the new caliph and al-Šumail installed himself in Cordova again. Yūsuf having taken to flight, al-Šumail was accused of being his accomplice and imprisoned; when Yūsuf after being defeated was killed near Toledo and his head brought to Cordova, 'Abd al-Rahmān, wishing to be rid of his other enemy, whose submission he suspected was only nominal, had al-Šumail strangled in 142 (759).

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SUMAIŠĀT, the ancient *Samosate* on the right bank of the Euphrates, now *Samsāt* (in Cuinet: *Simsat*). The Muslims under 'Iyād conquered it in 18 (639). From its position on the frontier between Arab and Byzantine territory, it was often ravaged by both sides. The Byzantines raided it in 245 and 259 and this contributed to the destruction of the old Greek and Roman town. It was again the scene of fighting in the Crusades. Saladin took it in 584 (1188).

It is now an unimportant village; but Yāqūt called it *madīna* and mentions among its noted inhabitants a certain Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sulamī who died in Damascus on Rabī' I 453.

Under the Ottomans, Sumaišāt was capital of a *nāhiya* in the *qaḏā* of Ḥiṣn-i Maṣṣūr, a *sandjaḡ* in Malāṭiyya in the wilāyet of Ma'mūret al-'Azīz; now it forms part of the wilāyet of Malāṭiyya. Cuinet gives it 800 inhabitants; at one time it contained many Armenians but now its population is entirely Kurdish.

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(ETTORE ROSSI)

SŪMANĀT, or rather *Soma Nāth* ('Moon lord') is an ancient town situated in 20° 53' N. and 70° 28' E. at the eastern extremity of a bay on the south coast of Kāthiāwār. On the western headland of the bay stands the port of Verāval, and on the sea-shore, half way between the two towns, is an ancient temple dedicated to *Shiva*.

The town was the object of the most famous of the raids of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī [q.v.] into India, in 1024. The invader reached Somnāth early in 1025, captured the town, desecrated the temple, and destroyed the idol, a *lingam*, two pieces of which were sent to Ghaznī, one to Makka and one to Madīna, to be trodden underfoot by the faithful. Of the history of Sūmanāt before its capture by Maḥmūd little is known. In the eighth century it was in the hands of the Āwada Rādjapūts, vassals of the Ālūkyas or Solankis of Kaliyāni, but Maḥmūd, on leaving the town in 1025, placed a Muḥammadan governor in the district. Muslim rule did not endure, and Kāthiāwār fell into the hands of the Wadja Rādjapūts, who revived the glories of the ancient fane, but in 1298 it was captured, and again desecrated, by Ulugh Khān, in the reign of 'Ala' al-Dīn Khaldjī. It was included in the dominions of the Rādjā of Gīrnār, and when that kingdom was overthrown, in 1470, by Maḥmūd Begarha of Guḍjarāt it passed into the possession of the Muslim kings of that country. It was afterwards ruled, at different times, by the Shaikh of Mangrol and the Rānā of Porbandar, but was finally conquered by the Nawwābs of Djunāgarh, in whose hands it still remains.

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SUMATRA. Sumatra, with an area of 440,000 square K.M., is the fifth largest island in the world. The distance between its Northern and Southern extremities is $\pm 1,750$ K.M., and its greatest width is ± 400 K.M. The equator passes through the middle of the island, which lies between lat. $5^{\circ} 39'$ N. and lat. $5^{\circ} 57'$ S. For the geology, hydrography and orography, geography and ethnology, political and economic condition, statistics, administration etc., reference may be made to the great encyclopaedias and to special works, a summary of which is given in the Dutch Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië, s.v. *Sumatra*. The present article, therefore, will be confined to an account of Islām in Sumatra, viz.: the history of the coming of this religion into Sumatra, the conversion of its heathen inhabitants, their special religious characteristics etc.

The name Sumatra appears to have originally indicated only a small locality and afterwards to have come to denote the whole island. Later names will be mentioned in the short historical sketch that follows. The first mention of Islām in Sumatra was made in 1292 by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who mentions the spread of Islām in *Ferlac* (i.e. *Perlak*, Ach. *Peureula*), a name well known from Malay chronicles. Since the old Muḥammadan tombstones in Aceh have been deciphered, it has been ascertained that the founder of the Muslim kingdom of Samudra-Pasai, on the N.W. coast of Aceh died in 1297. So it is unlikely that the conversion of this country took place between 1270 and 1275, as has been assumed. Northern Sumatra is called by Arabic authors, in the ixth and xth century: *Rami*, *al-Ramni*, *al-Rami*, *Lamari*; al-Idrisī also calls it: *al-Rami* (xiiith century); al-Kāẓwīnī: *Ramni* (xiiiith century). Marco Polo mentions, besides *Ferlac*, the countries

Bosma, *Samara*, *Lambri*, *Fansur*, etc. In the xivth century "Sumoltra" is mentioned as a state at war with Lamori. The son of Sultān Muḥammad of Samudra (died in 1326) was Sultān Aḥmad, who probably was still reigning when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived there in 1345. In 1365 the Javanese poetical chronicle Nagarakertagama mentions: Aru, Tamiang, Perlak, Samudra, Lambri, Barat and Barus, as being all subordinate states to the empire of Maḍjapahit. In 1416 and 1436 the secretaries of the Chinese ambassador Cheng Ho described Aru, Samudra, Lampoli etc., as being Muḥammadan countries; according to their records there must have been a Sultān Ḥusain at Aru. It may be surmised that the name Samudra was generalised, and so became the name of the whole island. In 1432 Nicolo de' Conti calls it Taprobane "or in the native tongue Sjamutera". In later periods the Arabic denomination of both Java and Sumatra was *Yāwa*; hence the term Java Major and Java Minor in European sources. The more modern native names are: *pulo percha* (= *merca*, from Sanskrit *martya*, mortals, mankind), or *pulo andalas* (a well known tree); this name has occasionally been interchanged with the Arabic term Andalus. After the Portuguese took Malacca (1511), Samudra ceased to be a country of commercial importance and its place was taken by Aceh, and that country soon became the most important in North-Sumatra. As regards the conversion of Aceh the following short notices may suffice: The Malay chronicles may on the whole be regarded as historically trustworthy. The most reliable of them mentions as the first king who embraced Islām: 'Alī Mughāyāt Shāh (913—928 H.), the conqueror of Pedir, Samudra etc. During the reign of Sultān 'Alī Ri'āyāt Shāh a learned man came from Mecca to Aceh, and taught metaphysics there. But the introduction of Islām into Aceh was certainly not carried out by Arab preachers. It is most probable that Arab traders carried Islām to Sumatra in the early centuries of the Hījra. In the 2nd century B. C. the trade with Ceylon seems to have been wholly in their hands; in the viiith century Arab traders were to be found in great numbers in China. So it is quite possible that they also established commercial settlements on some of the islands on the W.-coast of Sumatra. Learned men, however, must also have come to the Archipelago from the South of India, as may be assumed from certain peculiarities of dogma and the Šūfism now prevailing in Muḥammadan parts of Sumatra. The South-Indian origin of the Indonesian form of Islām reveals itself in many ways, and theological, literary and linguistic evidence is abundantly available; as examples of the latter class may be adduced the name for "theologian" (*labai*), which is the South-Indian term *labaigem* merchant, and *biyopari* = Sanskrit *vyāpārī* = merchant. There cannot possibly have been any introduction of Islām by compulsion, and the gradual spread of Islām through the eastern islands must have been the result of the settlement of Muḥammadan traders, especially Guḍjaratis, their intermarriage with native Malay women, the improvement of the status of the natives by their adoption of the religion of the influential strangers, in short a process of peaceful penetration. But from the very beginning of its influence, Islām adapted itself to the native creed, i.e. to the indigenous animism, and made large concessions to Hinduism as is clearly shown

by the remarkable fact that the Sanskrit words for religion (*agama*), Muḥammadan fasts (*puwāsa* = *upavāsa*), teacher (*guru*), disciple (*sasiyan* = *ṣiṣya*) are still in use. In the period of its greatest power (xvth and xvith century) Aceh was the most important Muḥammadan state in Sumatra, and made its influence felt by the heathen inhabitants of the south; so it is probable that proselytising by means of warfare was sometimes carried on among the Bataks and other heathen peoples, but without any permanent success. It is a curious fact that the Bataks, who for centuries had offered obstinate resistance to the entrance of Islām into their midst, have in the xixth and xxth century responded with enthusiasm to the efforts made for their conversion. Especially the Karo-, and still more the Mandeling-Bataks are fervent Muḥammadans. The efforts of the Malay subordinate officials of the Dutch Government, the desire to attain the same social level as the educated clerks and tax-collectors, and further the impulse given to Muslim propaganda by the establishment of Christian missions among the Bataks, have all paved the way for Islām. On the island of Nias the same process is to be observed; there, just as in the Batak-land, heathendom is breaking down before the two higher religions, Islām and Christianity. Of the introduction of Islām in the Minangkabau country (W. Sumatra), in early times a Hindu kingdom, there are no historical records. It may be surmised that the new religion made its way along the commercial routes from Padir (Pidie) to Priaman and other harbours, and came up from the coast to the uplands in the interior. It is probable, judging from some scanty data, that Islām did not come into the Minangkabau country before the middle of the xvth century. No reliance can be placed upon the current tradition that *Shaiḫ* Ibrāhīm, a man of Minangkabau, who had learnt the tenets of Islām in Java, introduced them into his own country on his return via Priaman and Tikū, but this may be regarded as an indication of the route along which Islām made its way into this part of the island. In the Minangkabau country, with its strong matriarchal form of society and its primitive Malay laws of inheritance the success of Islām for a long time hung in the balance, and open conflicts inevitably broke out in the struggle against these unorthodox survivals. The most serious of these was the long, bloody warfare of the Padri's, so called after the name Padari or Pidari, i. e. men from Pedir in Aceh (not from Port. *padre*, as was formerly supposed), who tried, in the middle of the xixth century to introduce, by violent means, the orthodoxy of Islām into their native country. But their efforts were resisted by the greater part of the population and further the Padri-sect involved the Dutch government in a fierce and long war, which ended by their being defeated after the fall of their last stronghold Bondjol in 1839. A great many Minangkabau men emigrated to the Straits-Settlements, their old place of refuge. At the present time, the people of Aceh and Minangkabau are the most zealous followers of the Prophet, the former being rigidly orthodox, having discarded the numerous *Shi'ī* and mystical elements that were formerly mixed up with their creed; the latter clinging persistently to their old national social laws, and only slowly accepting the orthodox dogmas. In Palembang, once the classical Malay country under

Hindu rule, Islām spread at a comparatively late period, but now it is completely islāmisised, like the adjacent country and sultanate Siak on the East coast. The southern part of Sumatra, the Lampong-districts, seem to have been islāmisised by preachers and influential persons from Banten (W. Java), which country is now the most zealous province in the almost entirely islāmisised island of Java. The conversion of the less-civilised tribes, the Lubu and Kubu, is only a question of time; the process of peaceable penetration has been begun, and is slowly but inevitably going on.

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SUMBAWA, an island in the Malay archipelago, belonging to the Little Sunda group and lying east of Lombok. The coast line, especially on the north, is very irregular; the largest bay is that of Saleh which runs deep into the country and almost divides the island into two halves. This division is of more than purely geographical significance. The inhabitants of the two parts differ in many respects in manners and customs and the physical type is not exactly the same in both. The population of the western part is distinguished by its lighter complexion and higher stature. As regards administration, the island belongs to the residency of "Timor en Onderhoorigheden" and politically it consists of four districts ruled by native princes under the suzerainty of the government of the Dutch East Indies; the western half of the island forms the sultanate of Sumbawa, on the eastern side are the two very small kingdoms of Dampo and Sanggar and in the extreme east the sultanate of Bima. The island is very mountainous and there are no rivers large enough to be navigable at all seasons. The soil is not unfertile and the population lives mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing; the collection of wheat products is also of some importance. The exports include rice, horses, buffaloes and wax. The greater part of the native population (many foreigners have settled on the coast: Macassars, Buginese, Saleierese and Arabs) belongs to the so-called Young Malays and is considerably mixed with Buginese and Macassars. At the same time an older stratum is clearly discernible to which the people of the interior of W. Sumbawa and some tribes in the east belong and from the anthropological point of view shows a great similarity to the Sasakers of Lombok. The Dou Donggo (i. e. "hill-men") on the west coast of Bima Bay may be considered the purest representatives of this group; they live severely isolated from their neighbours and are on a much lower level of civilisation. The Dou Donggo and the Bimanese do not intermarry. While almost all the rest of the population of Sumbawa has adopted Islām and even observes the prescription of the religion with comparative punctiliousness, the Dou Donggo are still pagans and in their paganism as well as in

their social institutions traces of an original totemism have with great probability been recognised. Bimanes society is remarkable for a sharp division of the people into 26 or (including the nobility) 27 classes (*dari*), which may roughly be described as gilds. These *dari* are under the control of two state-officials (*bumi*) and their functions and other obligations to the state are definitely laid down. Very little is certainly known about the earlier history. Some antiquities found on the island suggest Hindu influence at some time; in the later Hindu period Sumbawa belonged to the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit; in 1357 Dampo was conquered by Majapahit. At the beginning of the xviiith century when the first intercourse of the Dutch with Bima began, the various Sumbawan kingdoms were under Gowa (Macassar); in the second half of the same century they were forced to recognise the suzerainty of the Dutch East India Co. According to a Bimanes court chronicle (the older parts of which are only of mythological interest) there have so far been 50 rulers of Bima and the 38th of these, 'Abd al-Ḳāhir, who lived about 1640, was the first Muslim sultān.

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AL-SUNBULA, the ear (of corn), the usual name for the constellation of the Virgin (*al-ʿAdkrā*) from its most brilliant star, the ear of corn in the hand of the Virgin which is still called *Spica*. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, the constellation consists of 26 stars with a further six lying outside the figure. The head of the Virgin lies south of *al-Ṣarfā* (β Leonis); the feet are pointed towards the two pans of the Scales. The brightest star is also called either *Sunbula* or *al-Simāk al-aʿzal*, the unarmed *Simāk*, in contrast to *al-Simāk al-rāmīh*, *Simāk* with the lance (*Aramech* on the star-maps).

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SUNBULIYA, a branch of the *Ḳhalwatī* Order, named after Sunbul Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf, whose birth-place is variously given as Bolou and Marsuan. His death-date is given in the *Ḳāmūs al-ʿAlām* as 936 (1529/1530); according however to *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniya* (transl. Rescher, 1927, p. 224, 225) he died before 929 (1522/1523); and this author, who was a contemporary, mentions him among the *Shaiḳhs* of the reign of Bāyazīd II (died 918 = 1512), wherein he is followed by the author of the *Tādī al-Tawārīḳh* (Constantinople 1279, ii. 595), who is half a century later. On the other hand Ḥādjdjī *Ḳhalīfa* attributes to a Sunbul Sinān b. Yaʿqūb, who died 989 (1581), a treatise in defence of *Sūfi* Dancing, and a Chain of *Ḳhalwatī Shaiḳhs*; the former work was dedicated to Sulaimān I (whose reign began 926 = 1520), and stated that Salīm I had asked for a *fatwā* on this subject, merely for the purpose of confirming his prejudice against the practice. It is probable that Ḥādjdjī *Ḳhalīfa* is mistaken in the date. From the brief biography of him which is almost identical in the *Shaḳāʾiḳ* and the *Tādī*, it appears that after being attached to the Mulla Afḍal-zāde (died 908 = 1502/1503) he entered the service of Ḳelebi *Ḳhalīfa* (Rescher, p. 175: wrongly given as Sunbul's successor in *Mirʾāt al-Maḳāṣid*, quoted by A. J. Rose, Brown's *Dervishes*, 1927, p. 455), whose discipline involved severe exercises; after submitting to these he received permission to enroll disciples. He spent some time in Egypt, where he instructed aspirants, and presently came to Constantinople, where he was lodged in the *zāwiya* of Muṣṭafā Pasha, and occupied himself with training disciples. The *Tādī* adds that his tomb is in that *zāwiya*.

His successor there was Muslih al-Dīn Markaz al-Lādiḳī (Rescher, p. 332), who died 959 (1552). Another disciple, Yaʿqūb al-Kirmiyānī, who had some doubts about the successor's qualifications, was convinced by a dream, wherein the Prophet with the Companions etc. appeared attending one of Markaz's sermons. The Prophet's turban was green and black; the former indicating the completion of the Law, the latter that of the Path (Pećewī's *History*, Constantinople 1283, i. 465).

Reference has already been made to the severity of the exercises practised and enjoined by Sunbul Sinān; Pećewī (*loc. cit.*) mentions that Yaʿqūb al-Kirmiyānī had to break his fast once only in three days, and drink water once in six months (!). He appears, as has been seen, to have favoured dancing or whirling as a religious exercise. Depont and Coppolani (*Confréries*, p. 375) state that the Sunbulīya, while maintaining *Ḳhalwatī* principles, have adopted practices belonging to the *Rifāʿīya* and *Saʿdīya*. Their work contains a list of Sunbulī *tekye* in or about Constantinople, fifteen in number; a similar list is given by J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, 1868, p. 316, with their respective days of service; it is rearranged in H. A. Rose's edition of the work (1927, p. 480). The order would seem to be confined to that city.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

SUNBULZĀDE WEHBĪ, a Turkish poet and scholar of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Mehmed b. Rāshid b. Mehmed Efendi Wehbī was born in Marʾash in the province of Aleppo; he belonged to the prominent local family or Sunbulzāde, which had already produced several

muftîs including the grandfather of our poet, Mehmed, muftî in Mar'ash and author of several works including the *Sherh al-Ashbâh al-musammâ bi-Tawfîki'llâh, Nûr al-'Ain* and *Kitâb al-Tanzîhât*. His father Râshid also was a learned man and collaborated in Aleppo with the poet Saiyid Wehbî. As one of the latter's sons died at the same time as a son, our poet, was born to Râshid, the infant received the poetic name of the father of the dead child: Wehbî. In his native town Sunbulzâde was *murid* of Ghalaṭali Tîf (?) Efendi and received the *idjâze* from him. He then went to Stambul and lived there by writing chronograms and other vers d'occasion, but later became kâdî through the influence of distinguished patrons. He then entered upon the career of a *Hodja* and was particularly entrusted with the drawing up of the more important state documents, in which he so distinguished himself that Sultân Muṣṭafâ III had his attention called to him and bestowed honours upon him. In 1190 (1776) at the beginning of the reign of the next Sultân 'Abd al-Ḥamid I he was sent as ambassador to İsfahân to Karim Khân. In the course of his mission a dispute broke out between him and 'Omar Paṣha, governor of Baghdâd; Sunbulzâde complained in Stambul of the difficulties the governor had put in his way; 'Omar Paṣha on the other hand accused him of high treason and of unbecoming conduct in Persia. Sunbulzâde was condemned to death in Stambul and a courier with the order for his execution sent to meet him, but he was warned in time and kept in concealment in Scutari. 'Omar Paṣha soon fell into disgrace and Sunbulzâde's innocence was established. Sunbulzâde then won complete forgiveness from the Sultan by the "Resonant" (*ṭannâne*) *kaşîda*. In it he describes, after an extravagant eulogy of the Sultân, his Persian journey and continually emphasises the superiority of the Turkish court and of all things Turkish over those Persian.

On his return Sunbulzâde again became a kâdî and went in this capacity to Eski Zagra in Eastern Rumelia. Here his *ketkhudâ* was the poet Sûrûrî [q. v.]. The two poets became close friends and remained always intimate but they continually used to attack one another in good-humoured but ribald lampoons, which with their grotesque reproaches and their continued efforts to outdo one another are very amusing. The Arabic poems of Djarîr and Farazdaq have been suggested for comparison. Their joint activity in Eski Zagra came to a sudden end, however, when they were both imprisoned because they had aroused the indignation of the populace by their dissolute conduct.

Later we find Sunbulzâde again as kâdî on the island of Rhodes. In his period of office there took place in Rhodes the execution of the unhappy Krim Khân Shâhin Girâi who had been betrayed by Russia to Turkey. Sunbulzâde felt he had to celebrate this event in a *kaşîda* (called *Taiyâre*, the "Volant", because there is much talk of birds in it); the glorious Stambul Sultân is again extravagantly praised in it, the unfortunate victim abused; the whole is little suited to place our poet in an enviable light.

Sultân Salim III was keenly interested in literature and helped poets in every way. Sunbulzâde dedicated his *Divân* to him and received rich rewards and honours. The *Divân* contains, besides *ghazels* and quatrains, a large number of short occasional poems, especially riddles and chrono-

grams. Sunbulzâde spent the rest of his life in Stambul, versifying and merrymaking. He suffered much from illness in his last years, gout, failing sight, perhaps mental derangement, and he is said to have been bedridden for seven years. He died on 14th Rabi' I, 1224 (April 28, 1809) aged over 90. His tomb is in Topdular before the Adrianople Gate.

Sunbulzâde wrote several works in addition to those already mentioned: the *Lutfiya*, an imitation of Nâbî's *Khairiya*, a rhymed *Akhlâk* book for his son Luṭfallâh, of advice, about his studies in particular. The poem is of interest for social history but its literary value is slight. Sunbulzâde himself boasts that he wrote it within a week and in a fever besides. It was written in 1205 (1790) and could not have long availed the son as he died of the plague five years later.

A *Hikâyat-nâme*, entitled *Shewk-Engiz* was probably the most congenial to the poet of all his poems. It is a kind of *munâzara* between a debaucher of women and pederast who then ask the *Shaikh* of Love for his judgment. The latter shows how little either knew of pure absolute love, and the whole concludes with the praises of the love of God.

The next two poems are primarily an educational effort and as they are still used in Turkey as schoolbooks, they give the modern Turks an acquaintance with Sunbulzâde. The *Tuhfa* is a rhymed Persian Turkish vocabulary, written in 1197 (1783) for his son, in imitation of the similar work of Shâhidî (xvth century). It is excellent for the time and a fruit of Sunbulzâde's Persian journey. It contains 58 *kiṭ'a*'s in different metres, the last of which is a double rhymed *masnavî* on the *İştilâhât-i 'Adjam*. The Arabic counterpart to it is the *Nukhba* written in 1214 (1799). There are commentaries on both, notably that of Ḥayâtî Efendi, which also gives valuable details of Sunbulzâde's life.

There are other educational works by Sunbulzâde which are now more or less forgotten; thus in 1184 (1770) he made a translation of a part of the *İkḍ al-Djuman* of 'Ainî which exists in MS. in the Es'ad Efendi Library in Stambul.

The Ottoman critics agree that while Sunbulzâde was a master of the language with few rivals, he is not really to be called a great poet. He was primarily a lover of life, then a man of learning and next a writer of occasional verse and a very clever one. His choice of material is as characteristic as his technique. The latter is based on a thorough knowledge of prosody and not on poetical feeling. Sunbulzâde can treat poetically the most banal subject and a continual stream of graceful phrases seem to pour forth from him. He is therefore always pleasing in spite of a lack of real poetic talent. He never has become really popular; Ziyâ Paṣha compares his poems to wild roses without scent. For the history of culture his exact knowledge of Persian acquired in the country itself, is of importance, and it is very interesting to see the impression made by Persia of that day on a highly intelligent Turk. References to Persia are exceedingly frequent in all his works.

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(W. BJÖRKMAN)

SUNĖUR (SonĖor), a canton between Dainawar [q. v.] and Senna [q. v.], a dependency of Kirmānshāh. Lying on the road between Dainawar and Ādharbāidjān it must correspond approximately to the first *marhala* on the stretch from Dainawar to Sisar, the name of which is read al-Djārbā (MuĖaddasî, p. 382), Kharbārdjān (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119; Kudāma, p. 212) etc. which was 7 farsakhs from Dainawar (the actual distance between the present ruins of Dainawar and SunĖur is however not more than 15 miles). SunĖur might therefore correspond to the canton of Māibahradj (Balādhuri, p. 310) which was detached from Dainawar under the Caliph al-Mahdî and joined to Sisar [q. v.]; cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv., p. 477—479. If however we are to recognise in the name of the Kurd tribe Pairawand (Pahrawand) a reminiscence of the old name Pahradj ("custodia, vigilia") this tribe must have been driven westwards for it now occupies the west face of Mount Parrau (= Bisutūn), lying S. W. of Dainawar (cf. Rabino, *Kermanschah*, R. M. M., xxxviii., p. 36).

The easy pass of Mele-mās on the line of heights from Dālakhāni to Amrula separates SunĖur from Dainawar. On the north-east SunĖur is bordered by mount Pandja-Āli (*Nushat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 217: Pandj-Angusht), behind which runs the direct road from Hamadān to Senna. SunĖur is watered by the upper tributaries of the river of Dainawar, which ultimately joins the Gamas-āb (Karkha). SunĖur in the strict sense is adjoined by the more northern canton of Kulyāî on the upper course of the Gāwa-rūd (cf. SENNA) the western dependencies of which are Bilawar and Niyābat (on the Kirmānshāh-Senna road; cf. Rabino, *loc. cit.*, p. 12, 35). The importance of SunĖur lies in the fact that it is on the road followed by Muslim pilgrims from Tabriz to Kirmānshāh; to avoid the Kurdish territory of Senna the road now makes a detour by Bidjār (Garrūs) and SunĖur, from which Kirmānshāh is reached in a day's march.

The population of the district is made up of two distinct elements. The town (about 2,000 houses) is peopled by Turks who are said to have come there in the Mongol period (in the cemetery there are Kufic inscriptions). Their chief SunĖur was a vassal of the Mongols of Shirāz (?). The language of the townspeople (a Turcoman dialect?) is remarkable for its peculiarities and the decadence of its forms. To the Ottoman-Turkish forms *geliyörüm/gelirim* correspond the local forms *g'ä-lowräm/g'älüräm*: *mä g'älowräm*, *sä g'älowrä*, *o g'älowrä*, *b'z g'älowräkh*, *siz g'älowrä*, *olar g'älowrä*. "Come" — *g'ä*, "go" — *g'i*; I wish to go" — *isiyowräm g'iyäm*; "he also" *o-rä* (= *o-da*), "since the day before yesterday" — *esragonnän bälü*, etc.

The district (165 villages) on the other hand is inhabited by Kurd agriculturists whose chiefs belong to the Kurd tribe of Kulyāî. The present Khāns are said to be the descendants in the

eighth generation from Şafî-Khān who lived in the time of the latter Şafawids. In 1213 (1798) Āli Himmat Khān and his brother Bābā Khān (of the Nānakali tribe) supported the pretender Sulaimān Khān and were executed by Fath Āli Shāh (H. J. Bridges, *History of the Kajars*, London 1833, p. 58—59, 67). The Kulyāî speak a Kurd dialect resembling *Kirmānshāhi* and are suspected of *Ahl-i Hāᖑᖑ* (= *Āli-ilāhi*, q. v.) tendencies.

(V. MINORSKY)

SUNNA (A.), custom, use and wont, statute. The word is used in many connections. Here only the following will be dealt with. In the ᖑur'ān sunna usually occurs in two connections: *sunnat al-awwalin*, "the sunna of those of old" (viii. 39; xv. 13; xviii. 53; xxxv. 41) and *sunnat Allāh*, "the sunna of Allāh" (xvii. 79; xxxiii. 62; xxxv. 42; xlviii. 23). The two expressions are synonymous in so far as they refer to Allāh's punishment of earlier generations, who met the preaching of prophets sent to them with unbelief or scorn. The expressions are therefore found mainly in the Meccan sūras of which the main subjects are stories of the Prophets. In Sūra, iii. 131, the plural *sunan* occurs meaning judgments. *Sunnat Allāh* is found in Sūra, xxxiii. 38, where it means the privileges which Allāh granted to earlier prophets.

In ᖑadīth by sunna is usually understood Muᖑammad's sunna; Allāh is connected with the community by his Book and Muᖑammad by his sunna (cf. Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 246: "Allāh's book and your Prophet's sunna").

According to the usual explanation Muᖑammad's sunna comprises his deeds, utterances and his unspoken approval (*ᖑ'āᖑ*, *ᖑawᖑ*, *ᖑaᖑr*). Observance of the sunna might in a way be called: "Imitatio Muhammadis".

In itself however the word is colourless. One speaks of good and bad sunna's, e. g. of the bad sunna of the *Djāhiliya* (Bukᖑārî, *ᖑiyāt*, bāb 9). Muᖑammed prophesies: "Verily ye shall imitate the sunan of those who were before you, inch for inch, ell for ell, span for span; if they were to crawl into a lizard's hole, you should follow after them" (Aᖑmad b. ᖑanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 327).

The contrast between good and bad sunnas finds its classical expression in the following ᖑadīth: "He who institutes a fair sunna in Islām, so that it is practised after his death, to him a reward shall be given equal to that of all who have practised it, without anything being deducted from their reward. But he who institutes a bad sunna in Islām, so that it is practised after his death, against him a sin shall be debited, like that of all who have practised it without anything being subtracted from their sins" (Muslim, *Īm*, trad. 15).

Al-Sunna has however become the characteristic term for the theory and practice of the catholic Muᖑammadan community, *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Djama'a*, the Sunna. "The people of the sunna and of the community", are those who refrain from deviating from dogma and practice. The expression is particularly used in this sense in opposition to Shī'a [q. v.]; the division of Islām into Sunna and Shī'a is generally known in the west. Great stress is therefore put upon following Muᖑammad's sunna. "He who tires of my sunna, does not belong to me" (Bukᖑārî, *Nikāᖑ*, bāb 1). "The prescribed ᖑalāt, Friday and Ramaᖑān are an atonement for the period till the next ᖑalāt, the next Friday and

the next Ramaḍān, except in the case of polytheism, breach of agreement and neglect of the sunna . . . , and neglect of the sunna is secession from the community" (*Ḍiḡmā'a*; Aḡmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 229). Among the six categories of those who are cursed by Allāh, Muḡammad and all the prophets are those who have abandoned Muḡammad's sunna. (Tirmidhī, *Ḳadar*, bāb 17). Knowledge of the sunna is one of the criteria in deciding who will act as imām at the ṣalāt (Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 60; Naṣā'ī, *Imāma*, bāb 3).

The companions are the propagators of the sunna (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 80); the word is occasionally referred to the example of the companions and the oldest generations of Islām; in Bukḡhārī, *Aḡḡam*, bāb 43, the sunna of Allāh, his prophet and the two ḡhalīfas is mentioned; in Tirmidhī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 16, there is a reference to the sunna of Muḡammad and the rightly guided caliphs.

The word thus acquires the meaning of standard; it is recorded that Muḡammad said when drawing up such prescriptions: "at discretion lest any sunna (burdensome to the community) arise" (Bukḡhārī, *Tahadḡḡud*, bāb 35).

The opposite of sunna in the sense of the theory or practice consecrated by Muḡammad's example or the tradition of the community is *bid'a* [q. v.] (cf. e. g. Tirmidhī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 16).

Muḡammad's sunna in the sense of his words, actions and silent approval is fixed orally and in writing in the Ḥadīṡ [q. v.]. In theory the conceptions of sunna and ḡhadīṡ are separate but in practice they often coincide, which may be due to the fact that some of the collections of ḡhadīṡ have the title *Sunan* (e. g. the collections of Abū Dā'ūd, Ibn Māḡḡja and al-Naṣā'ī).

If we are to understand the theoretical and practical significance of the sunna in Islām we must remember that while the Ḳur'ān was a source from which a considerable part of the practice was deduced, on the other hand Muḡammad had settled many questions, not by revelation but by decision from case to case and that the words and deeds of the Prophet even in his lifetime were recognised as a "fine example" and as a result of this recognition the sunna of the Prophet was drawn up and fixed in writing, although not in a form equally canonical with the Ḳur'ān. The Ḥadīṡ itself illuminates this side of Muḡammad's sunna in traditions: People came to the Prophet and asked him: "Send us men to teach us the Ḳur'ān and Sunna" (Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 147). "The faith has settled in the depths of the hearts of men. They have thus learned Ḳur'ān and Sunna" (Bukḡhārī, *Riḡāḡ*, bāb 35). 'Omar b. al-Ḳhaṡṡāb said: "People will come to dispute with you over doubtful points in the Ḳur'ān. Answer them with the sunan, for the people of the Sunan are best able to decide about the Ḳur'ān" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 16).

In the Ḳur'ān itself references to the importance of Muḡammad's sunna are found, like the command to believe in Allāh and Muḡammad (Sūra vii. 158; lxiv. 8) and Ibrāḡīm's prayer, when he founded the temple at Mecca: "O Lord send to them a prophet from their midst, to read out to them thy verses and to teach them the book and wisdom and to purify them" (Sūra ii. 123 and similar passages).

It is clear then that in the system of Islām the Sunna became a standard of conduct along-

side of the Ḳur'ān, and that the representatives of the system also sought to answer the question of the mutual relation of the two elements. This question is also discussed in traditions. At first Ḳur'ān and Sunna appear as of equal authority. Ḳḡalīd b. Usaīd said to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar: "We find the *ṣalāt al-ḡhaḡar* and the *ṣalāt al-ḡḡawṡ* in the Ḳur'ān but not however the *ṣalāt al-saḡar*". Ibn 'Umar answered: "My cousin, Allāh sent us Muḡammad when we were in complete ignorance; therefore we do as we saw Muḡammad do" (Aḡmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 94). Another tradition is still more definite: "a prohibition by the prophet of Allāh is equal to a prohibition by Allāh" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 48). Ranking the Sunna equal to the Ḳur'ān led to the idea that the Sunna also was revealed: "Ḍjibrīl used to come down with the Sunna to Muḡammad just as he used to come down with the Ḳur'ān" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 48). They even went further and said: "the highest standard is not the Ḳur'ān but the Sunna" (l. c.: *al-sunna ḡḡaḡiya 'ala 'l-Ḳur'ān, wa-laiṣa 'l-Ḳur'ān bi-ḡḡaḡin 'ala 'l-sunna*).

The question of the relation between Ḳur'ān and Sunna is fully discussed in the Uṣūl books. Ṣḡḡfī in his *Riṣāla* explains that there are prescriptions in the Ḳur'ān, the general form of which was only made precise in the Sunna (p. 12), e. g. the punishment of the thief punished in the Ḳur'ān (Sūra v. 42) by the tradition that the punishment is not to be applied when it is a question of the theft of an insignificant amount (see e. g. Bukḡhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 13). It is known that Muḡammad punished *ṣinā'* of a *ṡḡayīb* with stoning (cf. e. g. Bukḡhārī, *Ḍḡanā'is*, bāb 61), while Sūra xxiv. 2 prescribes 100 lashes as the punishment for the *ṣānī* and the *ṣāniya*.

The Sunna's relation to the Ḳur'ān may be of three kinds: (1) in entire agreement with the Ḳur'ān; (2) an explanation of the sacred text; (3) not directly connected with the sacred text (*Riṣāla*, p. 16). — The last named is however not recognised by those who always give the Sunna a direct connection with the sacred text.

The relation between Ḳur'ān and Sunna is illustrated by the doctrine of *naṣiḡḡ wa 'l-mansūḡḡ*, "the abrogating and the abrogated", and by other examples relating to Ḳur'ānic commands and prohibitions. Here we shall only point out that al-Ṣḡḡfī in contrast to other scholars does not agree that the Ḳur'ān can be abrogated by Sunna. In his view, Ḳur'ān can only be abrogated by Ḳur'ān and Sunna by Sunna (p. 16 sq.). But there are verses of the Ḳur'ān the abrogating character of which is only made clear by Sunna (p. 18—21) or by Sunna and *Idḡmā'* (p. 21 sq.).

The *uṣūl al-fīḡḡ* are of course not confined to Ḳur'ān and Sunna; nevertheless in wide circles protests were made against any attempt to add to the two historical objective norms such subjective elements as *idḡmā'* [q. v.] or *ḡiyās* [q. v.]. In Ḥadīṡ we find traces of this opposition: "When Ibn Maṣ'ūd and Ḥudḡaifa one day were together, a man propounded a question to them. Then Ibn Maṣ'ūd said to Ḥudḡaifa: Why do you think that people ask us about these things? He replied: As soon as they are told they neglect it. Then Ibn Maṣ'ūd said to the questioner: If you ask us about a Ḳur'ānic matter, which we know, we will give you information, likewise about a sunna of Muḡammad, but we have no advice to give

about your innovations" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 16). Bukhārī has significantly given a chapter of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* the title: "On the observance of Ḳurʿān and Sunna".

This attitude is however abandoned by the four *madhāhib*; *idjmaʿ* and *ḳiyās* have obtained their place among the *uṣūl al-fikḥ*. The four roots were never recognised by the *Khāridjīs* and *Wahhābīs*, in addition to the *Shiʿa*.

With the term Sunna in the theory of the *Uṣūl* must not be confused the second of the five categories, under which actions are considered from the legal point of view and which is also called Sunna. On this see the article *SHARʿA*.

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(A. J. WENSINCK)

SUNNITES. [See SUNNA.]

ŞÜR (TYRE), the island city of Phoenicia. From the Anarna period it was one of the richest commercial centres of the Syrian coast and gradually developed into a powerful rival of the adjoining Sidon [q. v.] for dominion over the Phoenician colonies in the west. Its conquest and destruction by Alexander the Great only deprived the flourishing metropolis of its importance for a brief period; but it had one permanent important result, namely that the island city was henceforth connected with the mainland by the Alexander dam, which was gradually widened into an isthmus by the material swept up by the southwestern coast currents; from very early times Palaityros (Assyr. *Uṣḫū*) had lain opposite the island town on the mainland. Under the Roman empire Tyre was the secular and ecclesiastical capital of the eparchy *Φοινίκη Πάραλος*.

After the occupation of Damascus, *Shurāḥbil* b. Ḥasana captured Şūr and Şaffūriya among other towns of the region (al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 116; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, II/ii, § 321; iii., § 107). According to Pseudo-Wāḳidī (*Futūḥ al-Ṣhām*, Cairo 1278, ii. 58 sqq.), Şūr was taken through the treachery of the former commander of Ḥalab, ʿAbdallāh Yūkenā. Al-Wāḳidī and the Tyrian Hishām b. al-Laith say that Muʿāwiya restored ʿAkkā and Şūr at the time of his expedition against Cyprus (27) and in 42 transplanted Persian colonists from Baʿalbakk, Ḥims and Antākīya to the cities of al-Urdunn, namely Şūr, ʿAkkā, etc. (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 117). The authorities of the above mentioned Tyrian said: "When we settled in Şūr and the cities of the coasts there were Arab troops there and still many Greeks; later, people came from other regions and settled alongside of us just as happened in all the other cities of the coast of Syria". In 49 the Greek fleet raided the Syrian coast-towns

which had not yet arsenals (Balādhurī, *op. cit.*; Maḥbūb of Manbidj, *Kitāb al-Unwān*, ed. A. Vasilev, in *Patrol. Orient.*, viii. 492). Muʿāwiya thereupon built dockyards in ʿAkkā for the district of al-Urdunn. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān restored Şūr, Ḳaiṣāriya, and the suburbs of ʿAkkā, which had again fallen into ruins (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 117, 143). When at a later date Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik wished to purchase mills and store-houses from one of the descendants of Abū Muʿait, and the latter refused to sell them, he had the arsenal removed to Şūr and built magazines and docks there (al-Balādhurī, p. 117). According to al-Wāḳidī also, Şūr replaced ʿAkkā under the Marwānids as a naval station and remained one henceforth (al-Balādhurī, p. 118; Ibn Djbair, ed. Wright, p. 305). The Caliph al-Mutawakkil later (247/248 A. H.) distributed the fleet and naval forces among all the Syrian coast-towns.

The Arab geographers describe Şūr as a city on the sea-coast (*al-sawāḥil*) of al-Urdunn (the Jordan province) which was strongly fortified and thickly populated and had fertile country round it. The island city was only accessible from the mainland through a gate to which a bridge led, and was fortified by walls which rose straight out of the sea, almost all the way round it; as in ancient times, a second part of the city lay opposite it on the mainland. The bridge which is mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī also, is described by al-Ḳazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 366, l. 5 from below, under *Tulaiṭila*) as the largest arch in the world (confusion with the Sandja bridge?). The ancient aqueduct which led from *Σύδη* (now Rās al-ʿAin or al-Rāshidiya) via Tell al-Maʿshūḳ to the city still provided it with water in the middle ages (al-Muḳaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 163; Nāṣir-i *Khusrāw*, ed. Schefer, p. 11). Nāṣir-i *Khusrāw*, who visited Şūr in 1047 mentions the five to six storied houses there and a richly decorated *Mashhad* at the city-gate; the inhabitants were then for the most part *Shiʿa*; only the *ḳaḍī* was *Sunnī*. In the Crusading period al-Idrīsī (1154 A. D.) records the flourishing glass industry, the pottery and the weaving of valuable stuffs in Şūr. *Ḳudāma* mentions the wharves of the town.

From the *Tūlūnid* period, Syria was almost continuously under Egyptian suzerainty, which became still more firmly established under the *Fāṭimids*. The Tyrians rose against the Caliph al-Ḥākim in 388 (998) under a peasant named ʿAlāḳa (ʿUḻāḳa) at the same time as al-Ramla rebelled and the citadel of Fāmiya was besieged by the Byzantine General Ducas. The governor of Syria, *Djaish* b. Muḥammad b. Ṣamsām, sent the Hamdānid Ḥusain b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāṣir al-Dawla and the eunuch Fāṭiḳ (var. Fāʾiḳ) al-Barrāz against the city. When they attacked Şūr by land and water, ʿAlāḳa appealed for help to the Byzantine emperor. The latter sent several ships but these were completely defeated in a naval battle. The town, the inhabitants of which thereupon lost all heart for a stubborn resistance, was taken and sacked, its inhabitants massacred and ʿAlāḳa tortured and executed in Egypt.

But the risings continued; the vizier Badr al-Djamālī in 1089 A. D. was forced to take Şūr, ʿAkkā and Djbail from the *Saldjūḳ* Sultān Tutush and his successor al-Aḫḳal *Shāhānshāh* in 490 (1097/1098) punished a new rising with a terrible massacre, in which even the governor of the city

was executed. This took place in the same year as the Crusaders left Constantinople. Coins were struck in Şūr in the name of the Caliph al-Musta'li (1094—1101).

Although the city at first (1100—1101) sought to win Baldwin's good graces by gifts, it soon (1103) joined in the defence of 'Akkā and Ṭarābulus. By arrangement with Tuğhtakin the amir 'Izz al-Mulk of Şūr in 500 (1106—1107) attacked the Crusader's stronghold at Tibnin (Toron), plundered a suburb and massacred the inhabitants, but fled quickly away when Baldwin advanced on Şūr from Ṭabariya. The king appeared next year before its walls, built a fort on Tell al-Ma'shūka and besieged the city for a month; its wālī had to purchase his withdrawal by a payment of 7,000 dinārs.

A week after the fall of Ṭarābulus, the Egyptian fleet with soldiers, money and supplies for a year appeared before this city, but on hearing that the fortress had been taken by the Franks, they returned to Şūr and the supplies and soldiers were distributed between Şūr, Ṣaidā (Sidon) and Bairūt.

Baldwin laid siege to Şūr once more on the 25th or 27th Djumādā I (November 27 or 29, 1111); he built two wooden towers 10 ells high, put 1,000 soldiers in each and had them pushed up to the walls of the city. On the appeal of the Tyrians, Tuğhtakin came from Damascus to Bāniyās and sent reinforcements from there, who cut off the Franks' supplies while he himself marched on Ṣaidā. Baldwin had already stormed two walls when the governor of Şūr, 'Izz al-Mulk al-A'azz held a council of war in which a shaikh, who had taken part in the defence of Ṭarābulus offered to destroy the siege-towers of the Franks. He actually succeeded in setting both on fire. The Franks gained no success worth mentioning up to the spring of 1112. In the meanwhile Tuğhtakin, after taking the fortress of al-Djaish in the Damascene came up with 20,000 men and cut off supplies from the Franks. When they received their supplies by sea, he laid waste the country round Ṣaidā. On the 10th Shawwāl (April 21) Baldwin raised the siege and retired to 'Akkā. The people of Şūr welcomed Tuğhtakin with rich gifts and restored the injured walls and ditches of their town. On his departure Tuğhtakin handed over Şūr to the Caliph again; but in the very next year the people and their governor 'Izz al-Mulk Anuşhtakin al-Afdālī, fearing another attack from the Franks, decided to hand over the city to him again. Tuğhtakin at their request sent them the amir Mas'ūd with forces for its defence; but the caliph continued to be prayed for in the mosques and coins were still struck in his name.

The vizier al-Ma'mūn, al-Afdāl's successor, in 516 (1122/1123) sent a well equipped fleet of 40 galleys under Mas'ūd b. Sallār to Şūr; when the commander Mas'ūd came on board to greet them he was put in chains and brought to Egypt. There however he was shown great honour and sent to Damascus, where diplomatic apologies were offered and the incident explained away; Tuğhtakin replied courteously and promised his further assistance in the defence against the common enemy.

The Franks however saw in the removal of the valiant Mas'ūd a good omen and prepared for a further siege with renewed hopes. The Egyptian commander recognised the feebleness of the garrison and the insufficiency of the city's supplies and

appealed for help to the Caliph. Al-Āmir replied that he would put the defence in the hands of Ṣāḥir al-Dīn (Tuğhtakin). The latter thereupon occupied the city again and put it in a satisfactory condition for defence. In the month of Rabi' I (April) 1124 the second siege of Şūr began. Venetian ships blockaded the harbour while on land the armed troops attacked the walls with a siege-tower. Damascus troops distinguished themselves by particular bravery in the defence. The besiegers sent a portion of their army against Tuğhtakin while the Venetians were to ward off the Egyptian fleet. After various vicissitudes the Tyrians decided, after famine had broken out in the city, to surrender under favourable conditions. After Tuğhtakin had conducted negotiations for surrender with the Frank commanders, they were allowed to leave the city with their possessions or to remain there on paying ransom. On 23th (or 28th) Djumādā I (July 9 or 14) 1124, the inhabitants marched out of the city between the troops of Tuğhtakin and the Frankish army; they were settled partly in Damascus and partly in Ghazza. After this surrender, which marked the zenith of the power of the Crusaders in Syria, Tyre remained till 1291 in the hands of the Franks. Ibn al-Athīr laments its fall as a great misfortune for the Muslim world, as it was one of the finest and strongest of cities, and adds: "Let us hope that God the Almighty will restore it to the rule of Islām".

Shams al-Mulūk (Būrī) of Damascus in 528 (1133/1134) after a raid of the Franks into the Ḥawrān laid waste the region of Ṭabariya, Şūr and the rest of the coast-lands and returned via al-Sharā' with a great booty. An Egyptian fleet appeared in 550 (1155/1156) in the harbour of Şūr, sank ships which belonged to Christian pilgrims and others, and returned with numerous prisoners and rich plunder. In 552 (1157) Şūr, Ṣaidā, Bairūt, Ṭarābulus and other towns suffered from an earthquake.

From the Crusading period we have the descriptions of the city by Idrisi and Ibn Djubair. The former admires the glassworks and potteries and the manufacture of an extraordinarily finely woven cloth. Ibn Djubair who spent 11 days in Şūr gives a full description of the town and of a ceremonial procession that took place during his visit. On the land side the city had 3—4 successive gates. The entrance from the sea was through two high towers, between which one entered a harbour (the old "Sidonian"), the finest of all the harbours of the coast-cities. On three sides the walls surrounded the harbour, on the fourth a wall with an entrance through an arch below which the ships anchored. This inner harbour could be shut off by a huge chain which was stretched between the two towers.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after the capture of Jerusalem and most of the coast-towns proceeded to besiege Şūr and pitched his camp before the city (on 5th; according to others, on the 9th Ramaḍān 583 = Nov. 8 or 12, 1187). He had at first to wait for the impedimenta of the army and summoned his son Malik al-Ṣāḥir from Ḥalab and his brother Malik al-Ādil from Jerusalem to his side; his second son al-Afdāl and his nephew Ṭaqī al-Dīn were with him. As soon as the siege artillery arrived, they began to bombard the town from movable towers with catapults etc. Ten ships

brought from 'Akkā blockaded the harbour; but they were surprised by the Frankish fleet and some destroyed, some sunk. An attack on the walls was repulsed. A council of war summoned by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn decided, on account of the approach of winter, to raise the siege till next year. On the 2nd Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 584 (= Jan. 3, 1188, according to Bahā' al-Dīn; Ibn al-Aṭhīr gives the last day of Shawwāl = Jan. 1, 1188), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn began to withdraw his army. Hardly was the city freed from its besiegers than a fight for its possession broke out between king Guy de Lusignan who had just returned from captivity and its valiant defender Conrad of Montferrat.

The failure of the siege of this strong seaport marked a reverse in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's fortunes. With Ṣhaḳīf Arnūn (Belfort) it was the only fortress of Syria to remain in the hands of the Franks. In the harbour of Tyre assembled the powerful forces for the Third Crusade; into it poured the garrisons of the towns taken by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn whom he always chivalrously released; from it the siege of 'Akka was launched, which completely distracted the Caliph's attention from Şūr.

On the 15th Rabī' II, 588 (April 29, 1192) the Marquis Conrad who now lived in Tyre as titular king of Jerusalem was murdered by Ismā'īlīs. His successor Henri de Champagne concluded the peace of Ramla with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Sept. 1192) by which the coast from Jaffa to Tyre was left to the Franks.

When the garrison of Tibnīn undertook a campaign against Şūr and laid waste the surrounding country, the Crusaders began to besiege this fortress on 1 Šafar 594 (= Dec. 13, 1197). On a rumour of the approach of a large army under al-Malik al-Ādil however they retired without achieving anything. In Sha'bān 597 (May-June, 1201) Şūr was visited by an earthquake, and in 600 (1203/1204) by another in which the walls of the fortress collapsed. By the peace between Frederick II and al-Kāmil of Egypt (1229) Şūr, 'Akka, and several coast-towns of Syria were left in the hands of the Christians, in addition to Jerusalem. In the next few decades the power of the Franks was further weakened by the ceaseless fighting between the coast-towns, and the Venetian and Genoese fleet.

The powerful Baibars in May 1266 and in 1269 attacked Şūr, on the second occasion, it is said, in anger at the murder in Şūr of a merchant, whose mother had laid her complaint before him in Ḳhīrbat al-Luṣṭū. But he agreed to a treaty in 669 (1270/1271) with the prince of the city by which ten districts of Tyrian land were allotted to the latter, 5 to the Caliph to be chosen by him while the rest were to be jointly administered. In August 1285, Margaret of Tyre purchased from Ḳalā'ūn a ten years' peace by paying him half her revenues and promising not to restore the defences of the city. But after the fall of 'Akkā (1291), Şūr and the few remaining Frankish towns could no longer hold out. After the taking of Şūr, Ḳhalīl had the inhabitants killed or sold into slavery and the city itself was destroyed.

It was still completely in ruins in the time of Abu 'l-Fida' (1321), al-Ḳalkāshandī (c. 1400) and Ḳhalīl al-Zāhīrī (c. 1450). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1355) could only find a few traces of the old walls and harbour. Henceforth Şūr was an unimportant place. The Druze chief Fakhr al-Dīn (1595—1634) did

not succeed in improving the situation of the town; nor did the Shaikh Zāhīr al-'Umar of 'Akkā and his successor Djezzār Pāshā in the second half of the xviiith century. An earthquake in 1837 brought further misfortune to Şūr. The town has now 6,500 inhabitants (1840: 3,000; 1880: 5,000; 1900: 6,000) of these about half are Muslims and rather less Roman and Greek Catholics, the remainder Jews.

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SÜR, a clan of Afghāns to which Shīr Shāh, the conqueror of Humāyūn the Timūrid, and founder of the short-lived Sūr dynasty of Dihli and Āgra, belonged. Firishṭā, following earlier authorities, describes the Sūr as a tribe of Afghāns of Roh, the hill-country which is now the abode of frontier tribes over whom the British Government exercises little authority, and the Afghān Government less. According to the same authority the Sūr tribe traces its descent from the Shansabānī dynasty of Ghūr, but this seems to be a fictitious genealogy, fabricated possibly to gratify Shīr Shāh. The Sūr are a subdivision of a clan of the Lodī or Lūdī tribe, to which Buhlūl Lodī and his two successors on the throne of Dihli (1451—1526) belonged. According to Surgeon General Bellew the Lodī tribe has three great divisions, Siyānī, Niyāzī and Dotānī, of which the

Siyānī division is divided into two clans, Parangī and Ismā'īl, the latter having three subdivisions, Sūr, Lohānī and Maḥpāl. The accession of Bahlūl Lodi to the throne of Dihlī attracted many Afghāns to India, among them a community of the Sūr subdivision of his own tribe, headed by Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, who was first employed in the Ḥiṣār Firūza and Narnaul districts. He had four sons, Ḥasan, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, and Ghāzī. Ḥasan and Muḥammad accompanied Djamāl Khān to Džawnpūr, where Muḥammad remained, while Ḥasan received the fiefs of Sahsārām and Kha-wāṣṣpūr Tānda in Bihār. He had four sons, Farid and Niẓām by his wife, an Afghān lady, and Sulaimān and Aḥmad by a slave girl. Farid eventually became emperor of India under the title of Shīr Shāh [q.v.]. His strength of character and commanding ability suppressed that tendency to internecine strife which he recognized as the besetting sin of the Afghāns and the chief source of their weakness, but after his death there was none to restrain them, and the empire which his valour and ability had won was speedily lost by the dissensions of his successors. He was succeeded by his son Djalāl Khān, who took the title of Islām or Salīm Shāh and reigned for nine years (1545—1554), but whose energies were dissipated in a contest with his elder brother, 'Adil Khān. Salīm Shāh's young son, Firūz, was put to death by his maternal uncle, Mubārīz Khān, son of Shīr Shāh's younger brother, Niẓām, and Mubārīz ascended the throne under the title of Muḥammad Shāh 'Adil, but was contemptuously nicknamed 'Adalī by his own people, and *Andhalī* ("blind") by the Hindūs. During his feeble reign (1554—1556) his cousins Ibrāhīm, son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr of Hindawn, brother of Ḥasan Khān, and Aḥmad, son of Aḥmad Khān Sūr, another brother of Ḥasan, assumed the royal title, and at one time there were three emperors pretending to reign in India: (1) Ibrāhīm Shāh, who seized Dihlī and Āgra; (2) Muḥammad Shāh 'Adil, who retired to Cūnār, and (3) Aḥmad Sūr, who assumed the title of Sikandar Shāh in the Panḍjab, drove Ibrāhīm from Dihlī and Āgra, and was occupying those districts when Humāyūn returned in 1555 and expelled him. He fled into the Siwālīk and thence to Bengal, where he died. Ibrāhīm Shāh, when driven from Āgra by Sikandar Shāh, fled to Sambhal and thence to Kālpi, where he was defeated by Hemū, the minister of 'Adalī. Ibrāhīm next fled to his father, Ghāzī Khān, then in Biyāna, and Hemū besieged him there, but was recalled by 'Adalī to repulse Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bengal, who was marching on Cūnār. Ibrāhīm followed him, but was defeated, and again retired to Biyāna, and thence to Patna, where he attacked Rādjā Rāmchandra, who defeated and captured him, but treated him with great honour, enthroned him, and acknowledged him as his sovereign. 'Adalī meanwhile attacked and slew Muḥammad Sūr near Kālpi. The news of Humāyūn's return and of Sikandar's defeat and flight had now reached Cūnār, and was followed by that of Humāyūn's death, on receipt of which 'Adalī sent Hemū with 50,000 horses and 500 elephants to recover Āgra and Dihlī. He took both cities, for himself, not for his master, but was defeated and slain at Pānīpat by the army of Akbar, for whom both Dihlī and Āgra were recovered. 'Adalī was defeated and slain by Khidr

Khān, son of Muḥammad Sūr, who had assumed the title of Bahādūr Shāh. Ibrāhīm Sūr was for some time in Mālwa, and fled thence to Uṛīsa, where Sulaimān Kararānī treacherously put him to death in 1567.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SŪRA, the name given to the chapters of the Qur'ān. In the Qur'ān itself, the word means, in the Meccan as well as the Medinese parts, the separate revelations which were revealed to Muḥammad from time to time. Thus he challenges his opponents to produce a sūra like his own (ii. 21; x. 39) or to bring ten sūras like his of their own devising (xi. 16). As a superscription we have in xxiv. 1: "(this is) a sūra which we have sent down and sanctioned and in it we have revealed clear signs (*āyāt*)". The *nāḥikūn*, we are told (ix. 65), fear that a sūra may be sent down that will tell them what is in their hearts; cf. ix. 87: "when a sūra was sent down which commanded them to believe and to fight etc.". In ix. 125, 128; xlvii. 22, mention is made of the different effects of a sūra upon believers and unbelievers. As far as contents are concerned the word thus coincided with the word "Qur'ān" in its original meaning, but in later usage they became separated; Qur'ān became the name of the collected revelations in book form while sūra was used of the chapters of the sacred book, which consisted originally each of a single revelation but later were formed of the combination of several revelations or fragments.

Where Muḥammad got the word is still uncertain in spite of the attempts made to trace its origin. Nöldeke thinks it is the modern Hebrew *shūrā* "order, series" but even if this could be explained as "line" it would not take us to the original meaning of the word, and again: it is the fact that one sūra, according to xxiv. 1, contained several *āyāt*. Perhaps the word is in some way connected with Muḥammad's conception of a book in heaven (*al-Kitāb*), the contents of which were revealed to him piecemeal. "Piece, section" or a similar meaning would make good enough sense and would also explain the later usage, but linguistically it cannot be proved, for H. Hirschfeld's supposition that it is a corruption of the Hebrew *seder* is not at all probable. *Sāra*, to mount, fall upon, overcome (e.g. with wine) might possibly yield a meaning like *impetus*, sudden overwhelming inspiration etc., but *sutera* and not *sūra* is the derivative found from it.

The authorised Qur'ān contains 114 sūras of which the first (*al-Fātiḥa*, q.v.) and the two last are conjurations loosely connected as introduction and conclusion to the rest. This agrees with the fact that these three sūras are said to have been lacking in the Qur'ān as edited by Ibn Mas'ūd. There was a certain amount of freedom at first

in this respect so that Ubaiy for example had two sūras in addition to those usually accepted. The order of the sūras also was not definitely fixed, although the same principle of arrangement may be recognised in the different editions. The reader may be referred to the article *ḲOR'ĀN* on this point, as well as on the names of the sūras, their separation in the manuscripts and the letters which are found in the superscriptions to some of them.

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ŞŪRA (A.), image, form, shape, e.g. *şūrat al-arḍ*, "the shape of the earth", *şūrat ḥimār*, "the form of an ass" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 115) or face, countenance (see below). *Taşāwir* are rather pictures. *Şūra* and *taşwira* are therefore in the same relation to one another as the Hebrew *demūt* and *šelem*. The Biblical idea according to which man was created in God's *šelem* (Gen., i. 27) has most probably passed into Ḥadīth. It occurs, so far as I am aware, in three passages in classical Ḥadīth; the exegesis is uncertain and in general unwilling to adopt interpretations such as Christian theology has always readily associated with this Biblical passage. In *Bukhārī*, *Ist'ḍhān*, bāb 1 (cf. Muslim, *Ḍjanna*, trad. 28) it is said: "Allāh created man after (*ʿalā*) his *şūra*: his length was 60 ells". On this *Ḳaṣṭallānī* (ix. 144) says: "the suffix 'his' refers to Ādam; the meaning therefore is: — Allāh created Ādam according to his i. e. Ādam's form, that is perfect and well-proportioned" (cf. also, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi. 143 sq.). But there are also other explanations. Another tradition says: "One should not say: 'may Allāh make thy face hateful and the faces of those who are like thee', for Allāh created Ādam after his *şūra*". In this tradition the suffix obviously refers to the person addressed. Others say: The suffix refers to Allāh, for in one version the tradition runs: Allāh created Ādam in the shape of al-Raḥmān, i. e. as regards his qualities, knowledge, life, hearing, sight, etc. although Allāh's qualities are incomparable. — The theologians are divided into two groups on the exposition of this tradition; the one refrains from any interpretation through dread of anthropomorphism; the other explains the expression as an indication of Ādam's beauty and perfection, an *idāfat takrīm wa-taṣḥīr* (like *nāḳat Allāh*, *Bait Allāh*, says al-Nawawī, see below). — So far *Ḳaṣṭallānī*.

The second passage in which the tradition occurs is Muslim, *Birr*, trad. 115: "If a man fights with his brother, he ought to spare his face, for Allāh created man after his *şūra*". Al-Nawawī's commentary on this tradition coincides in part with the already quoted section in *Ḳaṣṭallānī*; we need only quote the following here: al-Māzarī says: "Ibn Ḳutaiba has interpreted this tradition wrongly by taking it literally". He says: "Allāh has a *şūra*, but not like other *şuwar*". This interpretation is obviously wrong for the conception *şūra* involves composition and what is put together is created (*muḥdath*); but Allāh is not created therefore is not composed, therefore he is not *muṣawwar*. Ibn Ḳutaiba's interpretation is like that of the anthropomorphists, who say: "Allāh

has a body, but not like other bodies". They quote in support the orthodox pronouncement "The Creator is thing (*shai'*) but not like other things". This is however reasoning by false analogy for *shai'* does not involve the conception of coming into existence (*ḥudūth*) and what is associated with it. Body and *şūra* on the other hand involve joining together and composition and therefore also *ḥudūth*, etc.

We have further to deal with the conception *şūra* in connection with the prohibition of images, which, in so far as it is known in the west, is traced to the *Ḳur'ān* like most Muslim institutions. Although this idea is one of the numerous popular errors about Islām, we cannot deny that the prohibition of images is based on a view which finds expression in the *Ḳur'ān*. In *Ḳur'ānic* linguistic usage *ṣawwara* "to fashion" or "form" is synonymous with *bara'a* "to create": *Sūra*, vii. 10, "and we have created you, then we have fashioned you, then we have said to the angels, etc.". *Sūra*, iii. 4: "It is he who forms you in the mother's womb as he will". *Sūra*, xl. 66: "It is Allāh who has made the earth for a home for you and the heavens for a vault above you, shaped you and formed you beautiful" (cf. *Sūra*, lxiv. 3). *Sūra*, lix. 24 Allāh is called *al-ḫāliq*, *al-bārī*, *al-muṣawwir*, i. e. according to Baiḍāwī: "He who takes the resolution to create things according to His wisdom, who creates them without error, who calls their forms and qualities into existence, according to His will".

This linguistic usage shows complete synonymy between the concepts "to fashion, to shape" and "to make, to create". In the older Hebrew literature also Yāhwe as creator is called *Yōser*, i. e. the potter. The roots *ṣ-r* and *y-ṣ-r* are also ultimately connected.

If then Allāh according to the *Ḳur'ān* is the great fashioner, it follows in Ḥadīth that all human fashioners are imitators of Allāh and as such deserving of punishment: "Whosoever makes an image him will Allāh give as a punishment the task of blowing the breath of life into it; but he is not able to do this" (*Bukhārī*, *Buyū'*, bāb 104; Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 100). "Those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Judgment by being told: Make alive what you have created" (*Bukhārī*, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 56). "These whom Allāh will punish most severely on the Day of Judgment are those who imitate Allāh's work of creation" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 36). Such are called the worst of creatures (*Nasā'i*, *Masāʿid*, bāb 13), cursed by Muḥammad (*Bukhārī*, *Buyū'*, bāb 25), compared to polytheists (*Tirmidhī*, *Djahannam*, bāb 1). Houses which contain images, dogs and ritually impure people are avoided by the angels of mercy (*Bukhārī*, *Bad' al-Ḳhalq*, bāb 17, etc.). The latter statement is illuminated by the story of how ʿĀ'isha once purchased a cushion (*numruḳa*) on which were pictures; when Muḥammad saw it from outside the house, he stood at the door without coming in. When ʿĀ'isha saw repugnance expressed on his countenance, she said: "O Apostle of Allāh, I turn full of penitence to Allāh and his Apostle, but what law have I broken?" He replied: "What is the meaning of this cushion?" She said: "I purchased it for thee to sit upon and use as a cushion". Then the Apostle of Allāh answered: "The makers of these images will be punished and they will be told: Make

alive what you have created". And further he said: "A house which contains images is not entered by the angels" (Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 96; cf. 85, 87, 91—99; Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 92; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 172). Muḥammad is said to have removed the images and statues out of the Ka'ba (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 48). There are also references to this in the *Sira*. Here we need only quote one more remarkable tradition, which has some resemblance to the Christophorus legend. 'Alī relates: "I and the Prophet walked till we came to the Ka'ba. Then the Prophet of Allāh said to me: "Sit down". Then he stood on my shoulders and I arose. But when he saw that I could not support him, he came down, sat down and said: "Stand on my shoulders". Then I climbed on his shoulders and he stood up and it seemed to me as if I could have touched the sky, had I wished. Then I climbed on the roof of the Ka'ba on which there was an image of copper and iron. Then I began to loosen it at its right and left side, in front and behind until it was in my power. Then the Prophet of Allāh called to me: "Throw it down". Then I threw it down so that it broke into pieces like a bottle. I then climbed down from the Ka'ba and hurried away with the Prophet, till we hid ourselves in the houses for fear some one might meet us" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 84; cf. 151).

According to the law it is forbidden to copy living beings, those that have a *rūḥ*. Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to *Libās*, trad. 81 (Cairo 1283, iv. 443) gives the following summary: "The learned men of our school and other 'ulamā' say: The copying of living beings is strictly forbidden and is one of the great sins, because it is threatened with the severe punishment, mentioned in the traditions. It does not matter whether the maker has made the copies from things used in little esteem or from other things, for the making of them is in itself *ḥarām*, because it is an imitation of Allāh's creative activity. From this point of view it makes no difference whether the image is put upon a cloth, carpet, coin, vessel or wall, etc."

The copying of trees, camel-saddles, and other things apart from living creatures is not forbidden. — So far the legal prescriptions affecting the copying itself.

As regards the use of articles which have on them images of living creatures, if these are hung on a wall or are on a garment which is worn or on a turban or other article which is not treated lightly, they are *ḥarām*. If the reproductions however are on carpets which are walked upon, on cushions and pillows etc., which are in use, they are not *ḥarām*. Whether the angels of mercy avoid houses which contain such articles will be discussed immediately, as God will.

In all these cases it makes no difference whether the reproductions have a shadow or not. Some of the older jurists say: Only what has a shadow is forbidden; there are no objections to other reproductions. But this is an erroneous view. For the reproduction on the curtain was condemned by the Prophet and it certainly had no shadow. The other traditions should be remembered which forbid all images of whatever nature.

Al-Zuhri says: Images are without exception forbidden as well as the use of articles on which there are images or the entering of a house in

which there are images, whether embroidered on a cloth or not embroidered whether they are put on a wall, on a cloth or carpet, to be trodden upon or not, on the authority of the literal interpretation of the tradition about the *nunruka* (pillow) which Muslim records (cf. above). This is a very strict point of view. Others say: What is embroidered on a cloth whether for humble use or not, whether hung on a wall or not is permitted. They regard as *makrūh* images which have shadows, or reproductions on walls, whether embroidered or not. They rely for this view on Muḥammad's words in several traditions in the *Bāb* concerned: "except what is embroidered on cloth". This is the attitude of Kāsim b. Muḥammad.

The *idmā'* forbids all representations which have shadows and declares their defacement *wādīb*. The Kāḍī (Iyād) says: "Apart from little girls playing with dolls and the permission for this". Mālik however declares it *makrūh* for a man to buy his daughter a doll. And some say that the permission to play with dolls was abolished by the traditions . . . (p. 447 sq.). These traditions lay it down without any ambiguity that the representation of living creatures is strictly forbidden. As regards representations of trees and such like without *rūḥ* neither their making nor purchase is thereby forbidden. Fruit-trees in this respect are the same as other trees. This is the view of all the 'ulamā' except Muḍjahid, who considers the representation of fruit-trees *makrūh*. The Kāḍī (Iyād) says: Muḍjahid is alone in this view. He relies on the tradition: "Who is more unrighteous, than he who imitates my creation?" (Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 101; Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 56); while all the others quote the tradition: "Then it shall be said to them, put life (*ahyū*) into that which ye have made, for *ahyū* means: make living creatures (*hayawān*) with a *rūḥ*". — So far al-Nawawī.

In spite of the opinions of theologians and jurists, breaches are not rare as in the case of the prohibition of wine; as for example, the frescoes in the bath-house of 'Amra [q. v.], the miniatures in Persian and Turkish manuscripts, Turkish and Egyptian stamps. There have even been pictures of Muḥammad in recent times. But this does not affect the fact that among Muslim peoples there has been neither painting nor sculpture to any considerable extent. Arabesques and calligraphy may be regarded as a substitute for it. Strzygowsky has tried to explain the absence of human figures from Muslim art by the latter's being influenced by a school of art in which there were no human figures for some other reasons.

Objections were for long made to photography (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 432 sq.); now these seem, in certain circles at least, no longer to be so strong or even to have been quite overcome. In Cairo there is an illustrated weekly *al-Muṣawwar*, which is produced entirely on western lines. This does not however mean that the old opinions have entirely disappeared. Chauvin gives examples of the horror of being copied, examples which still have their counterparts in the modern western world. Here also we find people objecting to being photographed because they feel as if something were being stolen from their persons.

We also find the second commandment quoted literally in the west against pictures although the usual interpretation regards it only as prohibiting

the worship of idols. It may be asked whether the Muslim interdiction of images was influenced by the Jewish interpretation of the second commandment. From the literature (Flavius Josephus) on the one hand and the coins on the other, it is evident that the Jewish extension of the prohibition of images was exactly the same as the Muslim: no living creatures, only plants and other objects. On the one hand we may assume Jewish influence on the Muslim prohibition of images, on the other hand recognise that the foundations for this transference can already be found in the Qur'ān. The Biblical idea of the creation of man by the making of an image and breathing the breath of life into it as found in the story of the creation is also found in the Qur'ān (Sūra, xv. 29; xxxviii. 72) and it is this very idea which has had great influence on traditions and legal literature. — For the philosophical meaning of the conception śūra see MĀDDA.

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SURAKARTA, or SURAKĒRTA, name of a kingdom on the island of Java and of its capital, ruled by two Javanese princes, the Susuhunan and Mangku-Nēgara, under Dutch suzerainty. It arose along with the kingdom of (A)yogyakarta (-kērtā), likewise ruled by two chiefs, out of the older kingdom of Mataram, which on the decline of the kingdom of Dēmak and Paḍjang appeared as a third Muḥammadan state in Java proper. The Muslim character of Mataram, although rather superficial and only nominal, was the result of the official recognition of the Susuhunan as Muslim ruler by the authorities in Mecca and found expression in the title *Panata-gama*, "Arranger of the religion (of Islām)". Although the population was quite consciously Muḥammadan, the kingdom nevertheless remained in many ways, e.g. in political organisation, Hindu-Javanese. The same holds of the states, which succeeded it, and particularly perhaps of Surakarta, where especially of recent years an active interest in the older culture has arisen in educated circles under the influence of studies by Europeans.

The kingdom of Mataram founded by Senapati about 1575 reached its greatest prosperity under Agung (1613—1645). Under his successors the influence of the suzerain Dutch Trading Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) rapidly increased, which, founded at the beginning of the xviii century was the *de facto* ruler of Java by 1725. Disputes about the succession brought about (1755) the already mentioned partition of the kingdom

into the states of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The Susuhunan, who still ranks higher than the Sultān, had already founded a little state by 1744 in the village of Sala (often written Solo), the name of which, Surakarta, as usual in Java, took the place of that of the previous state, Kartasura (from Sanskrit *kṛta* = flourishing etc. and *śūra* = hero, heroic, brave). The state and the village of Sala were officially called Surakarta after the state, although the present town is still also called Sala (pronounced Solo by Europeans). Very soon after the partition, one of the rival princes received an important fief from the Susuhunan; this gradually developed into an independent principality the ruler of which the Mangku-Nēgara is still however formally subordinate to the Susuhunan.

The history of the kingdom is, like that of Yogyakarta, rather confusing on account of the continual alterations in its boundaries. It passed more and more under Dutch influence and is of no special importance for the world of Islām. On account of the impossibility of giving a brief sketch of it here, the reader must be referred to the fuller studies by Dutch scholars quoted below.

The present town which has now about 130,000 inhabitants, of whom only a few thousands are Europeans, has remained the centre of Javanese culture. Native arts and crafts were always cultivated in the capital but on account of the often keen European competition have lost a good deal of importance for Java itself. The Javanese fine arts, especially music and dancing, are however still flourishing and Javanese learning was officially encouraged and this is partly true of the present day. Literary life, which seems almost to have disappeared with the death of the last puḍjangga, Ranga-Warsita (*puḍjangga* was originally a priest, later court-scholar; Sanskrit *bhūḍjanga* = snake, snake-demon, and it is not quite clear how the present meaning has developed from this), appears to be reviving again to some extent and may still have a future in a more modern form under the influence of the expansion of European education. Quite recently (1926) the Dutch authorities have founded a school in Surakarta, on account of its central situation for Javanese culture, the special object of which is to give native scholars a classical oriental training.

The buildings of the capital with its old customs and usages, its bēdaya dances and wayang plays, with its many remarkable features, its reflection of former Javanese splendour, form the greater attraction of the town. The princes have their own officials for various services, who live with their families in the palaces and are estimated to number 15,000. But actually the power is exercised by the Dutch resident who is equal in authority to the prince, an arrangement which has repeatedly caused friction.

Bibliography: Exceedingly valuable for our knowledge of the two native states is G. P. Rouffaer's article VORSTENLANDEN in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*¹, iv. 587a—653b, with a valuable bibliography. P. J. Veth, *Java*², ii. 165 sqq., is more general. (C. C. BERG)

SŪRAT, a city situated in 21° 12' N. and 72° 50' E. on the south bank of the Taptī and ten miles from its mouth. The geographer Ptolemy (A. D. 150), speaks of the trade

of Pulipula, perhaps Phulpāda, the sacred part or Sūrāt city. Early references to Sūrāt by Muslim historians must be scrutinized, owing to the confusion of the name with Sorath (Saurāshtra), but in 1373 Firūz Tughluq built a fort to protect the place against the Bhils. The foundation of the modern city is traditionally assigned to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when its prosperity was restored by Gopī, a rich Hindū merchant, and in 1514 it was already an important seaport. The Portuguese burnt the town in 1512, 1530, and 1531, and the present fort was founded in 1540 by Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish officer in the service of Maḥmūd III of Guḍjarāt. In 1572 it fell into the hands of the Mirzās, then in rebellion against Akbar, who besieged and took the place in the following year. For 160 years the city, known as "the Gate of Makka" and "the Blessed Port" from its being the port of departure for pilgrims, enjoyed peace and prosperity under the Timūrids. An English ship first arrived at "Swally Hole" (Suwālī) the anchorage near the mouth of the Tapti, in 1608, but the English encountered great difficulty in founding a factory, owing to the hostility of the Portuguese. They succeeded, and their position was secured by the treaty brought back from Agra by Sir Thomas Roe in 1618. In 1664 Shiwaḍji plundered the town for three days, but could not touch the English and Dutch factories, which were bravely defended by their inmates. From 1669 an annual Marāṭha raid was almost a matter of course, but the foreigners defended themselves. In 1687 Bombay superseded Sūrāt as the principal English settlement on the western coast, and in 1733 the Muslim governor proclaimed his independence, but in 1759 the English, with the approval of the Marāṭhas, charged themselves with the administration of the town, which became a British possession in 1800. The English and Dutch graveyards contain interesting memorials of European trade and adventure in India.

Bibliography: Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett; *Akbarnāma*; Khwādja Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muḥammad Kāsim Firishṭa, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay lithographed edition of 1832; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xxiii. 153, 164. (T. W. HAIG)

SURAIḌĪYĀ (MAS'ALA). This is one of the classical "questions" in the theory of law (*uṣūl*), one of the few that have a special name (cf. AKDARĪYĀ) derived from one of the first to propound it. It refers to the legal fiction (*dawr ḥukmī*) invented by some Shāfi'is (Muzanī, Ibn Suraiḍj, and Qhazālī, who later recanted) to cancel, by bringing it into a vicious circle (*yamin bi-dā'ira*), the solemn declaration (*ta'liq*) pledging the contracting party to divorce his favourite wife if he breaks his oath (*ṭalāq mu'allaq*, employed in the Karmāṭian initiation; cf. KARMAṬĪANS). Snouck Hurgronje has shown the use made by the Shāfi'is of the *ta'liq* to stabilise marriages in Java.

Bibliography: Sha'rānī, *Mizān*, Cairo, ii. 115; Ibn Hajar, *Tuhfat al-minhādī* (with gloss by Shirwānī), Cairo, vii. 112—113; Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gassālī gegen die Batiniyya-Sekte*, 1916, p. 78—79; Massignon, *Passion d'al-Hallāj*, p. 586, 716, 787.

SURŪRĪ, the name of several Ottoman poets of whom the most notable are the two following:

I. MUŞLIḤ AL-DİN MUŞTAFA EFENDI, called SURŪRĪ, a distinguished philologist and expositor born in Gallipoli where his father Shaḥān was a merchant or a teacher. After the conclusion of his studies he became an assistant kāḍī in Stambul, in 944 (1537). When the medrese founded by Kāsim Pasha [q.v.] was finished, he was appointed its first *müderris*, but resigned a year later and by the desire of his patron Kāsim Pasha began to lecture on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī* as a Naqshbandī derwish. In 950 (1543) he became tutor to prince Muṣṭafā [q.v.], the ill-starred son of Sulaimān [q.v.] the Magnificent. After the prince's execution in 960 (1553) he retired into private life and died on 7th Djumādā I 969 (Jan. 13, 1562) in Stambul at the age of 72. His tomb was at the little mosque which has now disappeared built by him in the Kāsim Pasha quarter (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain, *Ḥadīqat al-Djauāmī*, ii. 4 sq. and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 106, No. 593). In this mosque at one time were preserved the manuscripts of all his works. On his tomb cf. also Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhetnāme*, i. 426; Surūri was one of the greatest philologists of his day and probably the greatest authority on Persian language and literature that Turkey has ever produced. In his capacity as tutor to the prince he prepared several of his famous commentaries e.g. those on the *Bustān* and *Gulistan*. Towards the end of his life (968) he published the commentary on Ḥāfiẓ which is probably the best of its kind; his text book of prosody and rhyme *Baḥr al-Ma'ārif* prepared for prince Muṣṭafā in 956 (1549) and his *Adjāib al-Makhlūqāt* a synopsis of the *Cosmography* of Kāzwinī are also famous. Less well known is his commentary on the very popular introduction (*Isāghūdjī*, Gr. *εἰσαγωγή*) of Shaikh Athīr al-Dīn Mufaḍḍal. His other works are almost all expositions of Arabic or Persian works, or translations. He had a command of Turkish, Persian and Arabic such as is rarely found.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 318; do., *G. O. D.*, ii. 287 sqq.; Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *Öthmānī Müellifleri*, ii. 225 sq.; Aṭā'ī, *Ḍhal* in the *Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, p. 23 sq.; Kinalzāde, *Tadhkira* (MS.); Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 438; *Sidjill-i öthmānī*, iii. 12; 'Alī, *Kūnh al-Akhhār*, unprinted part (very full).

II. SAIVİD ÖTHMĀN, called SURŪRĪ, the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms, usually called SURŪRĪ-i Mu'errikh, i.e. Surūri the writer of *ta'rikh*'s. Saivīd Öthmān was born in Adana in 1165 (1751) in Southern Anatolia, the son of Ḥāfiẓ Mūsā. As a youth he came to the capital through his fellow townsman, the kāḍī Tewfik Efendi of Adana, where he mixed with distinguished men of letters and finally became a kāḍī through the influence of Tewfik Efendi, afterwards Shaikh al-Islām. He was for many years on intimate terms with the poet Sunbul-zāde Wehbī Efendi [q.v.] whom he voluntarily accompanied into exile at Old Zaghra. He later settled in Stambul again where he built a house and died on 11th Şafar 1229 (Feb. 2, 1814). Öthmān Surūri was considered the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms. His chronological rhymes (*tawārikh*), which he wrote on every occasion with remarkable readiness are innumerable. He was also distinguished

as a poet but his poems seem to be of less merit and it is only his skill in making chronograms that it is really admirable. He was imitated by 'Izzet Mollā [q.v.], his pupil, and Es'ad Efendi, the imperial historian, in this style of composition. There is no complete edition of his works; and not all his chronograms are contained in his *Diwān*. A selection of the latter is given in Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha's *Surūrī Madḡmū'asī*, Stambul 1299, 109 pp. 8° and by Abu 'l-Diyā Tewfīk, *Surūrī-i Mu'errikh*, Stambul 1305, 54 pp., small 8°.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iv. 489 sq.; Djewdet, *Ta'riḡh*, vi. 199; *Sidḡill-i 'othmānī*, iii. 13; Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmānī Mu'ellifleri*, ii. 238; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv. 266 sqq.; F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 379.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-SŪS, a ruined site in the Persian district of Khūzistān or 'Arabistān. At a very early period (from at least the second millennium B. C.) it was the capital of the kingdom of Elam. Its name in the Bible and in cuneiform inscriptions is *Shūshan*; Greek Σούσα; Late Egypt *Sush* (see *M. V. G.*, iii. 141; *O.*, 6); Syriac and Armenian *Shōsh* (not to be confused with the town of the same name, the see of a bishop, in the region of Mōshul; cf. e. g. G. Hoffmann, *Ausszüge aus syrisch. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p. 204; Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1905, p. 55); modern Pers. *Shūsh*. When between 642–639 B. C. Assurbanipal put an end to the kingdom of Elam, its capital Susa was sacked and completely destroyed (cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, p. CCCXXXIX sq.). Cyrus raised the town from its ruins again and made it his winter residence. In this capacity it experienced a new period of glory under the splendour-loving great kings of the Achaemenid house. To the great riches which were again accumulated in Susa in this period, we have eloquent testimony in the vast booty which Alexander the Great carried off from it in 331.

In the Sāsānian period, as we know from Syrian, Byzantine and Arab sources (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. und Araber zur Zeit. der Sāsāniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 58), the vigorous Sapor II (309–379) had the town of Sūs stamped into the ground by 300 elephants as a punishment for a rising there and built a new city beside it, to which he gave — after the fashion of Oriental potentates — a new name alluding to himself, *Frānshahr-Sābūr* (= probably the abbreviation *FRN* on Sāsānian coins of Susiana) but this however ultimately disappeared before the older name. Sapor settled Roman prisoners in his new city. The latter no doubt strengthened the already not inconsiderable Christian element in the population. Sūs was the see of a bishop from 410–605 as we know from Syriac literature; see Guidi, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xliii. 414; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Sūs fell into the hands of the Arabs in 17 (638) (or not till 639) when Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [q.v.] carried through the conquest of Khūzistān. The forces there, commanded by the Persian governor Hurmuzān, apparently offered little resistance to the Muslim troops (cf. the Syriac *Chronicle*, ed. by Guidi, *Act. du 8e Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, *J. A.*, 1891, p. 32 and history of the Armenian Sebēos of the viii century; see Hübschmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 625). The older historians Balādhuri

and Ṭabarī (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 364) know nothing of severe fighting with the natives and a destruction of the city by Arab troops, mentioned by al-Mukaddasī (and cf. Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 344). Under Islām, Sūs remained for several centuries more a populous flourishing city — we have coins struck in it (cf. Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 400) — but it was no longer the capital of the whole region of Khūzistān or Ahwāz; this part now fell to the city of Ahwāz (more precisely Sūk al-Ahwāz; cf. above, i. p. 208; ii. p. 778b). Sūs was now merely the capital of one of the seven (and at times more) divisions of this district. To the district of Sūs belonged several smaller towns, notably Karkhā (Syriac Karkhā dhe l.ēdhan) which is well known from Syriac literature. Sūs was surpassed in importance not only by the capital Sūk al-Ahwāz but soon also by other places in Khūzistān, e. g. Tustar and 'Askar(a)-Mukram (cf. i. p. 488b; ii. p. 778b). All these three places lay on the river Kārūn [q.v.] towards which during the caliphate the political and economic centre of gravity of the region moved.

The Arab geographers emphasise the busy industries of Sūs, notably weaving which was highly developed. Its silk was famous (cf. the *Diwān* of Kais al-Rukaiyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, N^o. 63, 8 in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1909). The lemons grown here were held in particular esteem; in the middle ages a good deal of sugar was grown around the town and still more was refined in the town. According to al-Mukaddasī, in his time (end of the tenth century), the town proper had already fallen into ruins; the population lived in a suburb. Idrisi (transl. Jaubert, Paris 1836, i. 381, 384) makes Sūs still thickly populated at the middle of the xith century, and Benjamin of Tudela who travelled through Asia a few years later says that there were no less than 7,000 Jews here with 14 synagogues. The two banks of the river "Ulai" — the Shāwūr (see below) must be meant — were united by a bridge; on the west bank was the quarter of the poor (cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 305 sq.; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 320). The Persian geographer Mustawfī, writing in the xivth century, describes Sūs as still a flourishing town. But we are justified in doubting whether this is really accurate at this late period and was not simply taken from earlier writers. It is certain that Sūs became more and more completely deserted from the xvth century, and this agrees with the results of the French excavations, according to which most of the remains of the Arab period discovered in Sūs belonged to the xivth and xvth century (see de Morgan, *Mém. de la Délég. en Perse*, viii. 32). Dizfūl, 3½ hours N. E. of Sūs, which only appears to have come into prominence since the Mongol period, and is now an important town in Khūzistān ('Arabistān), may be in a way considered the successor of the mediaeval Sūs.

Sūs has a very favourable strategic and commercial situation; for it is at the point where the two principal rivers of the country of Khūzistān, the Kārūn [q.v.] and the Kerkhā (also written Kerkha), approach nearest to one another. They were at one time connected by canals. The ancient Susa lay between two arms of the Kerkhā, the western, i. e. the modern Kerkhā (Choaspes of classical writers) and an eastern branch which has now disappeared but is still recognisable (cuneiform: Ulai) which was connected with the Kārūn

(Pasitigris, the Ulai proper, *Ευλαϊος*). The mounds of ruins of Sūs begin about 12 miles S.W. of Dizful. A short hour's journey east of them, the Dizful-Rūd or Āb-i Diz, a tributary of the Kārūn, runs through the plain. The western side of the area of the town 100—300 yards from the two western main mounds is washed by the narrow but deep Shāwūr (Shaur) which rises about $2\frac{1}{2}$ —3 hours above the ruins of Sūs, and does not flow out of the Kerkhā itself as has been assumed (contrary to Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 30; cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ix., p. 70 and Layard, xvi. 56). A canal, now dried up, leaves the Kerkhā a little above the source of the Shāwūr, runs round the side of the town on the north and east and finally disappears in the S.W. in the swamps which stretch to the Shāwūr. This watercourse is the above mentioned eastern branch of the Kerkhā. The Kerkhā proper is about 2 miles from Sūs, while its earlier bed (the old western main arm) now a ditch thickly overgrown with bushes is only 500 yards west of the Shāwūr (cf. thereon Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 346).

The Arab geographers not infrequently call the Kerkhā, like the Shāwūr, the "river of Sūs"; see G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 233; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 304—305 and cf. above, ii., p. 778, 857^a.

The system of ruins at Sūs is quite considerable (3—5 miles in circumference). It is only since the beginning of the sixteenth century that we have reliable accounts from European travellers, namely: Kinneir and Monteith (1809), Gordon (1814), H. Rawlinson (1836), A. H. Layard (1840) and notably Loftus (1851—1852). The English excavations conducted by the latter in 1851—1852, and those of the French, first (1885) under M. and Mme Dieulafoy, then 1897—1899 and later by de Morgan and others have settled the main topographical and archaeological problems. Four large artificial platforms stand clearly out from the ruins, separated from one another by more or less broad ravines. At a short distance from the Shāwūr (100—300 yards, increasing towards the south) stand two hills, the larger to the north, roughly a rectangle, about 60 feet above the bed of the river, which conceals the palace of the Achaemenid kings and a smaller one irregular in shape, but higher (up to 120 feet above the Shāwūr), which formerly bore the citadel mentioned by Greek writers, still called Kal'a-i Shūsh = "the citadel of Shūsh" by the people. On the east these two mounds are adjoined by a roughly rectangular area, larger than these in area, which Loftus calls the great or central platform, attaining a height of 65 feet and covering an area of over 60 English acres. Next comes on the east an extensive fourth platform, the eastern and northern edges of which are not easy to define as they slope by terraces to the plain. Besides these four mounds of ruins, there are a series of smaller ones mainly in the east and northeast. When Benjamin of Tudela speaks of a quarter of the town on the west bank of the Shāwūr (cf. above), it should be noted that no distinct traces can be found of this suburb where the poorer people dwelled, at least in the form of well marked mounds of rubble. In the south or southwest the ruined area is bounded by marshes with a luxurious growth of reeds and trees.

In the northeast mound Loftus found a pillared hall like that in Persepolis, apparently the throne room, the walls of which were adorned by the

reliefs of the immortals now in the Louvre. This splendid room formed part of the royal palace built by Darius I and restored, after suffering in a fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I, by the latter's grandson, Artaxerxes II Memnon, who was particularly fond of Susa. The western pair of mounds near the river, must have been the residence of the court and of the government, while in the third "the central platform", we have probably to locate the town proper. Remains of a great wall surrounding the town dating from the Elamite period (before Assurbanipal) have been found during the excavations; the sides not protected by water-courses could easily have been defended by fortifications. The town destroyed by Assurbanipal is buried 12—16 feet below the surface, covered by ruins of the later settlements of the Achaemenid, Seleucid and Sasanian period. The English and French excavations recovered a vast quantity of inscriptions and other relics from all periods of Susan history down to the Arab. These are now partly in the British Museum and partly in the Louvre. For London, cf. the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*³, 1921, esp. p. 175 sq.

About 150 yards from the N.W. corner of the S.W. hill just on the bank of the Shāwūr is the tomb-mosque of the Prophet Daniel usually called by the Persians *Pir* (= Arabic *Shaikh*) or *Paighambar* (= Prophet *Dāniyāl*) still visited by numerous pilgrims, Muslims, Jews and Mandaeans (*Ṣubbē*). The present building is only a few centuries old but in it were used several fragments from the ruins (bricks with cuneiform inscriptions, capitals etc.) as *wakf*-pieces (cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 69). The sanctuary has a roomy rectangular court surrounded by a wall, entered by a low doorway from the river side. Within, on both sides are arched ways leading into the sanctuary which runs in the west of the court yard. The actual tomb is dark and consists of a sarcophagus of smooth cement behind perforated wood lattice. Above the mosque, rises out of the centre of the roof terrace, on which the pilgrims sleep in hot weather, a sugar-cone like tower ending in a pointed pyramidal cupola crowned by a crescent. This remarkable type of tower found especially in tombs is not rare elsewhere in 'Irāk, in Khūzistān (cf. e. g. i. 1026^a and Herzfeld in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1907, p. 62^a, 75^a), Lūristān and the Persian Gulf. Cf. thereon F. Langenegger, *Die Baukunst des Irāk*, Dresden 1911, p. 115—116 and Herzfeld in *Sarre-Herzfeld, Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911, i., p. 231, 239, 246; 1919, ii., p. 177—178, 321.

According to the statements of various Arab writers, with whom the above mentioned Syriac chronicle also agrees, the sarcophagus with the bones of Daniel was found after the capture of the town by the Arabs, and, as some say (Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 378; Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, see below), in a chamber in the citadel. By orders of the Caliph 'Omar the river Shāwūr was turned from its course, the sarcophagus placed in its dry bed and the water then led back into its old course (cf. the Arab legend of the original tomb of the prophet Joseph in the Nile in Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 361, note 5, and the burial of Alaric in the Busento). The place of the burial in the river is, as Muḥaddasī (p. 407 and cf. p. 417)

and Yākūt, iii. 189, remark, not known exactly. But others say that the present mosque of Daniel lies exactly opposite the burial-place in the Shāwūr. The burial of Daniel's sarcophagus in the river-bed is also recorded by Iṣṭakhri, p. 92, Ibn Ḥawkal, p. 174 and the Kūfan Ibn Aṭḥam (d. 314 = 921) in his *Futūḥ*, which was translated into Persian about 596 (1200) by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mustawfi al-Ḥarawī; see the part of this Persian version given by W. Ouseley in Walpole, *op. cit.*, p. 429 sq. (repeated in Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 318). A different tradition (e. g. Kāzwinī, ii. 114) however claims that the sarcophagus of Daniel was found not in Sūs, but in Tustar (the modern Shūshṭar). We are also told that the two towns constantly disputed the possession of the relic (cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, liii. 59, and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 357). The relics of the prophet were also held in great estimation for the power attributed to them of averting any misfortune, particularly drought (cf. Balādhuri, *op. cit.*; Muḥaddasi, p. 417; Ibn Aṭḥam, *loc. cit.*). The Jew Benjamin of Tudela who travelled in this part of the world between 1160 and 1170 gives a version of the story that differs from those in the Arab writers. According to him the people of both banks of the Shāwūr in Sūs for long fought for the possession of this blessed palladium until they finally agreed to keep it alternately on the right and left bank. When the Seldjūk Sultān Sandjar (q. v.; d. 1157) heard the story while in Sūs he ordered the sarcophagus to be put in another of crystal and suspended by iron chains in the centre of the bridge joining the two banks. The Rabbi Petakhja from Ratisbon who was here about a decade after Benjamin of Tudela, says he saw it in this position.

The present sanctuary of Daniel has been held in veneration from very early times. In the Sāsānian period it was held sometimes to be the tomb of Kai-Khusraw [q. v.], a mythical king of Irānian legendary history, sometimes as that of the great Darius; cf. Hübschmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 625; Nöldeke, in *Grundriss der iran. Phil.*, ii. 140 (= *Das iran. Nationalepos*, p. 11, resp. 2nd ed., p. 18) and Justi, *ibid.*, ii. 486. There was perhaps on this site at an earlier date an Elamite sanctuary in honour of Athene or Artemis-Anahita or rather a native goddess concealed under that name (Kiririsha). Artaxerxes II is recorded to have erected several temples in his kingdom to some such deity (cf. Justi, *op. cit.*).

It has already been mentioned that there was a tradition which sought to locate the original burial-place of Daniel in Tustar (Shūshṭar; q. v.), where earlier European scholars wrongly located the Susa of the ancients (cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*, ix. 304 and Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, ii. 152 sq.; the explanation still found in Reclus, *Nouv. Géogr. Univers.*, 1814, ix., p. 191, of the name Shūshṭar as "Little Susa" is wrong). There are a number of other places in the east which also claim to possess the bones of this prophet.

On the tomb of Daniel in Sūs, cf. Ṭabari, i. 840, 2566; Yākūt, ii. 533; iii. 188, 189; Benjamin of Tudela, *op. cit.*; Ouseley, *op. cit.*; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 311—323; Th. Dombart in *Jahrb. des hist. Ver. für Nordlingen und Umgeb.*, 1927, vol. x., p. 172—179. Cf. also the *Bibliography* given below (notably Rawlinson and Layard) and the article DĀNIYĀL.

Near the tomb of Daniel stands another ruined tomb of a saint (*imāmzādah*); see Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ix. 70 and J. Dieulafoy, *A Suse*, p. 83. East of the ruins of Sūs towards Dizfūl, are two other similar sanctuaries, one of which is considered to be the tomb of 'Abbās and the other that of Ibrāhīm al-Khalil; see Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 345—346; Jéquier in de Morgan, *Mémoire de la Délég. en Perse*, viii. 31, 32 (speaks of the tomb of two brothers and of one of a Shaikh). Bricks and capitals from the Achaemenid period are also built into these saints' tombs. One Muslim tradition (Ṭabari, i. 252, 12) says that Abraham (Ibrāhīm; q. v.) was born in Sūs. In keeping with this tradition the site of the oven into which Muslim legend says Nimrūd threw Ibrāhīm is also moved to Khūzistān (Mandjanik, south of Māl-Amir); see Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ix. 81. But these associations with Abraham are usually localised in al-'Irāk (in Kūthā, 'Akar-kūf, Birs Nimrūd, etc.). It may be further mentioned that the Arabic sources consider Sūs, like Bābil, one of the oldest cities in the world and make them both foundations of one of the mythical Irānian kings (Ōshang or Tahmūraš; see Ṭabari, i. 171, and above, i., p. 548 sq.).

The country round Sūs suffers for nine months of the year from the glowing heat of the Irānian sky. In January however a luxurious, almost tropical, vegetation springs up after the winter rains. The rich pastures that then cover the soil attract the nomads thither. In the spring it is mainly Arabian Beduins that camp here and indeed they are in the majority in Khūzistān generally, so that this district is actually officially called 'Arabistān by the Persians [q. v.]. The region of Sūs is particularly visited by the tribes of 'Alī Kathīr and Banī Lām [q. v.]. On the 'Alī Kathīr, who migrated hither over three centuries ago from Najd in Central Arabia, cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi. 33, 56, 90; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 327, 331, 356, 358, 381 sq. and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 417. Of the great tribe of 'Alī Kathīr we are here mainly concerned with two of its subdivisions, the Ka'b and Zabbā (cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 33). The Ka'b were originally members of the powerful Ka'b tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower Kārūn; on the latter, cf. ii., p. 778, also Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi. 8, 37—39, 41—45, and Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 285 sq., 381, 390. Lūr nomad tribes are often found in the plain of Sūs. At the beginning of May all is again as quiet as the grave. Even the guardian of the tomb of Daniel leaves the district, which is filled with miasma from the swamps and the heat now becomes unendurable.

On the banks of the Shāwūr covered by luxurious woods (notably acacias, poplars and willows), in the desert that was once the left arm of the Kerkhā and in the undergrowth of the swamps are many beasts of prey, wolves, hyenas and even lions, also wild pigs.

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(M. STRECK)

AL-SŪS AL-AKṢĀ, a district in the south of Morocco, forming a triangular plain about 120 miles long by 25 to 26 miles broad with an area of about 7,500 square miles. On the west it is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean and on the north by the last slopes of the Great Atlas and on the south by the Anti-Atlas, gradually narrowing till it reaches the junction of these two ranges. It is watered by the Wādī Sūs and its tributaries. The Arab geographers of the middle ages usually distinguish between *al-Sūs al-aḳṣā*, "Farther Sūs" and *al-Sūs al-adnā* "Hither Sūs". *Al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in those days to have meant the whole of northern Morocco with Tangier as its capital and *al-Sūs al-adnā*, the whole of the massif of the two Atlases. According to Yāqūt the distance which separated the two Sūs was two months' journey. The term *al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in any case to have been very early ousted by that of *Gharb*. The same geographers praise the excellence of the products of Farther Sūs and describe it as a thickly populated country. Al-Idrīsī speaks of the cereals which grew there — wheat, barley and rice, fruits of all kinds in abundance — nuts, figs, grapes, quinces, pomegranates, lemons, peaches, apples and particularly an incomparable sugar-cane. When he wrote, a sugar was made in Sūs that was celebrated throughout almost the whole world. Cloth which enjoyed a good reputation was also made there. The same author gives some notes on the people who were a mixed race of Maṣmūda Berbers.

He charges them with a lack of urbanity, coarseness and insolence. The dress of the men consisted of a *kisā* of wool which enveloped them entirely, with a *miṣṣār* of wool around the waist which they called *asfāḳis*. They were armed with short spears with steel heads. They drank a liquor made from the must of sweet grapes which they called *anzir* and considered it a permitted beverage as it did not bring about drunkenness. These notes show clearly that the term *al-Sūs al-adnā* was then applied to a much wider area than at the present day; it included not only the valley of the Wādī Sūs but also the mountainous country towards the Ḥawz of Marrakesh, the Dra (Dar'a) and the Tāfilāt.

Farther Sūs, as a province of the Maghrib, has always been closely connected with the history of the whole country and with the histories of the different dynasties which have successively established themselves there. In 117 (735) it was conquered and converted to Islām by Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubaida, the grandson of 'Uḳba b. Nāfi'. Under the Idrīsids it passed on the death of Idrīs II in 213 (828) to his son 'Abdallāh, at the same time as the massif of the Great Atlas with the towns Aghmāt and Nafis. It was next one of the main objectives of the Almoravids [q. v.] when they thrust their way northwards. In 451 (1059) the general Abū Bakr b. 'Umar seized the towns of Māssāt and Tārūdānt but the authority of the Almoravids was never very secure in Sūs, in spite of the submission of the province to Yūsuf b. Tāshfin in 478 (1085).

Sūs played a prominent part in the early days of the Almohad movement in the Maghrib. It was, along with the plain of Marrakesh, the centre of Almoravid resistance against the attempts at expansion by the companions of the Mahdi Ibn Tūmart beyond the massif of the Grand Atlas where the movement began. A son of the Almoravid ruler 'Alī b. Yūsuf, Baggū, organized the resistance there and it was only in 535 (1140—1141) that the Caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min definitely conquered the whole of Sūs. During the whole period of the Almohad dynasty it was one of the most important provinces of the empire. On its decline in the reign of al-Murtaḍā (646—665 = 1248—1266) it was the scene of a rebellion on a great scale fomented by the agitator 'Alī b. Vaddar. This individual, a former dignitary of the Almohad court, wishing to found a little independent kingdom in Sūs, appealed to the Arab tribes settled between Tlemcen and the Rif, the Dawī Ḥassān and the Shabbānāt of the Ma'ḳil group. He was able to hold out against the Almohad governor of Tārūdānt but his success was not of long duration. In 1266 the Almohad prince Abū Dabbūs with the help of Marinid contingents regained the province from him and seized Tizakht and Tiyūniwin. Nevertheless the independent kingdom of Sūs after the final fall of the Almohads was able to maintain some sort of independence in the period of the early Marinid Sultāns until the reign of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī who broke it up for ever.

In 1504 the Portuguese gained a footing on the coast of Sūs in the bay of Āgādir [q. v.] and founded the fortress of Santa Cruz; it was a strategic point of great importance, the gateway to a rich hinterland and at the same time an excellent harbour, one of the best on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The people of the country tried

in vain to dislodge the garrison; in order to harass it unceasingly and to blockade it by land they established quite close to the Portuguese station, a *ribāṭ* or concentration camp of the "volunteers of the faith" who used to come there in relays to deliver open attacks on their Christian foes or prepare murderous ambushes for them. Between the sea and Tārūdānt, a *zāwiya* was soon formed to take charge of the local *ḡīhād*, the *Zāwiya* of Tedsī, the cradle of the Saʿdian [q. v.] dynasty. It was founded by some Ḥasanī Shurfā, whose ancestor Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, had come in the xith century from the Hīdžāz and settled in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa, at Tāgmādart. His descendants then migrated to Sūs near Tedsī, settled there and took up a position in the country which daily increased in importance. At the beginning of the xvth century, the head of the *zāwiya*, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, became the real leader in the holy war in al-Sūs; assisted by his two sons, Aḥmad al-Aʿradj and Muḥammad al-Shaikh, he displayed great activity and denounced the impotence of the ruling dynasty to the people. He was not long in achieving his object; the tribes of al-Sūs proclaimed him their Sulṭān in 1510. He died soon afterwards, leaving his son to continue his work. The eldest, al-Aʿradj, who had assumed the title of king of Sūs in the lifetime of his father, established himself as sovereign in Tārūdānt and in 1541 succeeded in driving the Portuguese finally out of Āgādīr.

We see from the above what a large part Sūs plays in the history of the first of the two Sharifian dynasties of Morocco. The Saʿdian Sulṭāns also always kept a watchful eye on this vital part of their Empire. Muḥammad al-Shaikh al-Mahdī was the first to extend the cultivation of sugar in al-Sūs and thus created an important source of revenue for the treasury. It was in the reign of the great prince Aḥmad al-Manṣūr that this province saw its greatest revival of prosperity. A regular army, formed of citizens recruited in Sūs, at this time formed the garrison of Marrakesh and relations between the capital and the province were never closer. But after the death of al-Manṣūr, when anarchy once more reigned throughout the empire, al-Sūs did not escape the various rebellions which broke out on all sides. Prince Zaidān, a claimant to the throne, made his headquarters there. A few years later al-Sūs fell into the hands of a powerful rebel Abū ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Samlālī called Abū Ḥassūn who made an alliance with the Filālī Sharif of Sidjilmāsa. But this alliance was only ephemeral and the early days of the second Sharifian dynasty of Morocco were marked by the struggle between the Abū Ḥassūn and the ʿAlawid pretenders of Talīfālt. He was succeeded on his death by his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, who was soon brought to terms by the ʿAlawid Sulṭān al-Raḥīd. In 1670 the latter led an expedition to the very heart of al-Sūs and captured the stronghold of Īlgh. Next year the people of al-Sūs sent a deputation to him at Marrakesh to offer their submission. The latter was not of long duration for in 1677 the Sulṭān Mawlāī Ismāʿīl had to send an expedition to al-Sūs and another in 1682. The country was finally pacified and at the end of his reign when Mawlāī Ḥasan divided his empire among several of his sons, al-Sūs fell to Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim, with Tārūdānt as his capital. But this prince only went to his domain to set up as a pretender to

the throne and from this time on we find each successive ʿAlawid Sulṭān forced to suppress one or more rebellions in al-Sūs during his reign. We may just mention the expeditions to put down rebellions sent by Mawlāī ʿAbd Allāh (1733), Mawlāī Sulaimān (1802) and particularly those of Mawlāī al-Ḥasan in 1882, 1886 and 1896. Al-Sūs has been definitely at peace since the establishment of the protectorate of the French Republic in Morocco after the expedition of 1917.

These continual rebellions have resulted in the gradual impoverishment of al-Sūs since the xvth century. The enthusiastic descriptions of the geographers and travellers of the middle ages no longer apply to the second period of the history of this reign. At the present day, while modern methods may be expected to raise the value of this country, the only part of al-Sūs that is really rich is the narrow strip of irrigated land which lies along the banks of the Wādī Sūs which is hardly susceptible of extension except to the north of this river. The products of al-Sūs are cereals, oil of *argān* and fruits. Cattle-rearing is very limited. Al-Sūs on the other hand seems certain of an great economic future as a result of the exploitation of its abundant mineral deposits: copper (already worked in a rudimentary fashion by the natives), lead, rock-salt, and lime.

The principal town of al-Sūs at the present day is Tārūdānt, the residence of a pasha appointed by the Sulṭān. It has about 7,000 inhabitants of whom 1,000 are Jews who live in a ghetto or *mellāḥ*. This town seems to have been founded at a very early period and we already find it playing a part in history in the Almoravid period. In the middle ages al-Sūs had as its capital sometimes Tārūdānt and sometimes Īghl. After the death of Mawlāī al-Ḥasan, at the end of the ixth century, Tārūdānt was the centre of the rebellion of al-Hība who held out there till the town was taken in 1913 by the Maḥallas of the Makhzen. It is surrounded by a great wall of clay which dates from the end of the xvth century.

Besides Tārūdānt, there is the little town of Tiznīt, 52 miles south of Āgādīr, and 12 miles east of the Atlantic coast, at the foot of the Anti-Atlas. It has a population of 4,000. Sulṭān Mawlāī al-Ḥasan founded it on his expedition to al-Sūs in 1882. Finally we may mention about 15 miles S. E. of Tiznīt the famous *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad-ū-Mūsā, in al-Tāzarwālt. It is the mother-*zāwiya* of the Ūlād-ū-Mūsā, who are all acrobats and follow their profession throughout North Africa and also in Europe.

On the coast besides Āgādīr [for which see the separate article] we may mention the villages of Āglū and Massāt, which in the middle ages were comparatively important centres of maritime trade, frequented especially by Genoese sailors, and the terminus for several caravans from the Sahara.

The people of al-Sūs still speak a Berber dialect belonging to the *Tāshelḥait* group but the speakers of Arabic are becoming more and more numerous as a result of the emigration of large numbers of natives who go to exercise various trades in the towns of the rest of Morocco.

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AL-SŪSAN, the common name for the white and yellow-red lily and for the blue iris which is more precisely described by the addition of *asmāndjūnī* and is also called *irisū* by the physicians. The name is a general Semitic one, but whether from *shesh* (six), as Löw suggests, seems to me doubtful on account of the *ū* or *ō* always found in it. The root of *Iris florentina* L. is still used in medicine.

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(J. RUSKA)

SŪSAN, a ruined site on the Upper Kārūn in Khūzistān in the territory of the Lūr tribe of the Bakhtiyāris [q. v.], 5 hours' journey from Dizfūl; cf. above, ii., p. 779^a. The place is also called 'Arūdī (or 'Arūh?) and Djābaliḵ by the Persian geographers. H. Rawlinson discovered these ruins in 1836; Layard then visited them twice (1840, 1841) and made several important corrections in his predecessor's description, which was in part based only on the information of natives. No later European traveller seems to have made a thorough examination of the locality.

According to Layard the ruins seem to belong to two different epochs, the old Persian and the Sāsānian. On the right bank of the Kārūn at a point where the river makes a turn westwards and forms a semicircle can still be seen for a stretch of nearly two miles the ruins of a mass of unknown stones called by the Lūrs Māl-i Wirān "possession in ruins". They are said to come from an old, probably Sāsānian, town. On both banks of the river very old paved roads can still be traced. At a short distance from Māl-i Wirān, N.E. at the foot of the hill stands the tomb of Daniel, revered by the Lūrs of the 'Alī Ilāhī sect [q. v.] as the burial place of the Old Testament prophet. It is called the tomb of the "Great Daniel" (Dāniyāl-i Akbar) to distinguish it from that of "Little Daniel" (Dāniyāl-i Aṣghar) in Sūs. Muslims, Jews and Mandaeans in agreement with the older Christian tradition, believe firmly in the authenticity of the latter as the real tomb of the Biblical prophet (cf. further the article AL-SŪS). Rawlinson describes the tomb of Daniel at Sūsān as a building of huge white marble blocks with a large artificial pool in front. The latter is fed by a little river which comes down from the hills. The many fish in the pool are held sacred by the superstition of the people. Layard on the other hand says the building is of earth and denies the existence of any pool or of a general belief in the sacredness of the fish in this stream. Even in the middle ages, however as we know from the stories of the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, and the Persian traveller al-Mustawfī (cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi. 61) at the tomb of Daniel in Sūs the fish in this stretch of the Shāwūr stream near this sacred site were considered sacred, probably a relic of the ancient fish cult of Nearer Asia.

According to Rawlinson, there were near the tomb of Daniel a large block of marble with a completely preserved cuneiform inscription and many similarly inscribed tablets. Layard saw nothing of these nor could he see anything to indicate the survival of such monuments.

The Kārūn is enclosed by fearful ravines a little below the ruins of the Māl-i Wirān. Where the

rocks fall back again there is another mound of ruins of roughly hewn stones called by the Lūrs Masdjīd-i Sulaimān (= Mosque of Solomon) apparently a very old but unimportant building. There are no inscriptions. In the neighbourhood still exist the remains of a very old arch-bridge. Layard knows nothing of further ruins in and near Sūsan. At some distance above Sūsan we have Sūsan Surkh-Āb = "Red-water Sūsan", which marks the site of an old town.

The mountains which run along the left bank of the Kārūn are called Djildjir, Djiliwir, Djilwir, or more accurately Gildjird, Gilgird (see Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, ix. 87; Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi. 62, 80). At the foot of them lie the remains of a Sāsānian castle, *Kāl'a-i Gilgird*. This Gilgird chain separates Sūsan from the imposing ruins, about 4–5 hours S.E. of Īdhādī or Māl-Amīr [q.v.]. In Kāl'a-i Gilgird, Rawlinson has rightly recognised the famous state prison of the Sāsānids in which the Armenian king Arsaces III, surrendered to the Persians by the Emperor Jovian, languished for years as a prisoner until he committed suicide in dramatic fashion after a feast. The τὸ λήθης φρούριον "the castle of oblivion" which was the scene of the story so vividly told by Procopius (*Bell. Pers.*, i. 5, 12) can only have been on Persian soil. The castle is often mentioned by this name in Greek and Armenian writers, the real name *Gilgerda* is preserved only in Theophylaktos Simokatta (iii. 5). According to him and to Armenian writers also, the place should be sought in Susiana not far from Djundai-Sābūr [q.v.]. From these data Rawlinson established the identity of Γιλγέρδα with Kāl'a-i Gilgird (East of 50° East Lat. and south of 32° N. Lat.). The Arab geographer Yāqūt, iii. 303, knows the place as Kildjird. The name means "clay fortress" (lit.: made of clay), a term analogous to the Toprak-Kāl'a = "earth fort", found in Turkish-speaking lands. From what has just been said it is evident that Ritter cannot be supported (xi. 83–84) in moving "the castle of oblivion" to Northern Mesopotamia, although he has been recently followed by V. Chapot and Lehmann-Haupt (see Streck, *op. cit.*, lxvi. 308, note 3). Layard (*op. cit.*, xvi. 64, 96) wrongly sought it in Dizfūl. Rawlinson also thought that the tradition of the tomb of Daniel later migrated from Sūsan southwards to the Shāwūr and that the ruins of Sūsan represented the older Susa of the Assyrian period, while the town of Susa of the Persian-Greek period was to be recognised in the ruins of Sus. This hypothesis of two different Susa's, which Ritter also rather favoured, must be definitely rejected: it was refuted as early as Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 93 sq.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 245–246; H. Rawlinson, in *Journ. of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, London 1839, ix., p. 83–84, 85–88; A. H. Layard, *op. cit.*, 1846, xvi., p. 61–62, 80–81, 93–94, 96; do., *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, i. 399, 412–429; ii. 14; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 167–169, 311; xi. 83–84; M. Streck, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1912, lxvi., p. 308–309.

(M. STRECK)

SŪSŪ or Sōsō is a name of a people who are thought to have at one time formed the autonomous population of Futa-Djallon and who have since been driven to the west and particularly

the southwest of this province in lower French Guinea; the Sūsū are in part Muslims.

Sūsū is also the Mandingo pronunciation of the name of the Sudanese town of Sōsō [q.v.].

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SUTRA, covering, protection, shelter, especially at the *ṣalāt*, where *sutra* means the object, which the worshipper places in front of him or lays in the direction of the *qibla* whereby he shuts himself off in an imaginary area within which he is not disturbed by human or demoniacal influences. "The fictitious fencing off of an open place of prayer, the *sutra*, seems to have had among other objects that of warding off demons" (Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 158). In one tradition the man who deliberately penetrates into this imaginary area is actually called a *shaiṭān* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 100; cf. Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv. 2; Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, Ḥaidarābād 1321, N^o. 1342).

The word is not found in the Kur'ān. In Ḥadīth it often occurs in the expression *satara* (*tasattara*, *istatara*) *bi-ṭhawb* in traditions which describe the ritual ablution, in which one conceals one's nakedness or causes it to be concealed by a cloak or curtain (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaid*, bāb 14; *Ghusl*, bāb 21; Muslim, *Ḥaid*, trad. 70, 79; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 123; *Manāsik*, bāb 37). Similarly *sitr* is the name given to the curtain by which Muḥammad concealed his women from the gaze of the world (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 56; *Nikāḥ*, bāb 67). We are further told that one performs the *ṣalāt* in the direction of an object which isolates him from the multitude (*yasturuḥu min al-nās*) so that he is not disturbed by them (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ḥadīj*, bāb 53; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 259; Abū Dā'ūd, *Manāsik*, bāb 53).

Muḥammad is said to have been quite unrestricted in his choice of a *sutra*: baggage-camels, horses, trees, saddles (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 98), a couch (*ibid.*, bāb 99), lance (*ḥarba*, bāb 92), stick (*anaza*, bāb 93), the pillars of the mosque (bāb 95) are mentioned. Ḥadīth has preserved the memory of two opinions regarding the *sutra*: one gives minute rules and the other opposes this.

The former endeavours to lay down accurately what distance should be preserved between the *sutra* and him who performs the *ṣalāt* (*mamarr al-shāt*, "space to allow a sheep to pass"; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 263, 264 etc.); it makes Muḥammad explain that no one is to be allowed to pass between anyone and his *sutra* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 100, 101; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 258–262 etc.), that passers-by, especially dogs, asses and women, intercept the *ṣalāt*: the Apostle of God said: "If one performs the *ṣalāt* without having in front of him something, such as the end or central part of a saddle, his *ṣalāt* is intercepted by a passing dog, ass or woman" (Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 136; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, vi. 86).

The other view holds that the *ṣalāt* is never intercepted by passers-by (this is also Shāfi'ī's view according to Tirmidhī's note on *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 135). 'Ā'isha exclaims indignantly: "you place us on the same level as asses and dogs; by Allāh, the Prophet used to perform the *ṣalāt* while I lay on the couch between him and the *qibla*" (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 105). The same tendency is seen in an anecdote by Ibn 'Abbās: "I was riding behind al-Faql on a she-ass; we came up

to the Prophet just as he was performing the *ṣalāt* with his companions in Minā. We dismounted and took our places in the row, while the animal ran among the people without intercepting the *ṣalāt*" (Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiṭ*, bāb 135; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 196).

The *Shāfiʿis* call the *sutra sunna*. The various views of the jurists are given in al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii. 76 sq.; cf. also Tirmidhī's remarks on bāb 133—136 in his chapter *Mawāḥiṭ al-Ṣalāt*.

Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, ed. Juynboll, p. 29, writes as follows: "If anyone passes a man who is performing the *ṣalāt* and there is a *sutra* or stick between them of about an arm's length in size, it is not *makrūh*; nor is it *makrūh* if there is no stick but a line which the worshipper has drawn at a distance of 3 ells; if on the contrary there should be nothing of the kind at all then it (passing by) would be *makrūh*. The *ṣalāt* would however remain valid".

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the *sutra* of the *imām* at the *ṣalāt* serves for those with whom he performs the *ṣalāt* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 90).

Bibliography: The material of the classical ḥadīth in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s.v.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, i. 180 sq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-SU'UDĪ, SAIF AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-LATĪF B. 'ABD ALLĀH, a theologian who died in 736 (1335/1336). Biographical data do not seem to be known hitherto. He contested the tenets of Ibn 'Arabī [q. v.] in some *qaṣida*'s occurring in al-Sakhawī's work *al-Kawāl al-munabbā'* 'an *Tarḡīmat Ibn 'Arabī* (MS. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, No. 2849, cf. No. 7846, 4) and is mentioned (*op. cit.*, No. 8379, cf. No. 3658) as the author of a prayer (*du'ā'*).

Bibliography: C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 9.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

AL-SU'UDĪ, ABU 'L-FAḌL AL-MĀLIKĪ, theologian of the xth (xvth) century. He wrote a controversial work finished in Shawwāl 942 = April 1536 against the Christians (and the Jews), which has been edited from manuscripts of Leyden and Oxford by F. J. van den Ham (*Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos*, Leyden 1877—1890) and is in substance an extract from a book by Abu 'l-Bakā' Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusain al-Djāfārī (wrote in 618 = 1221) entitled *Takḥdīl man ḥarraf al-Indīl*. He is probably to be identified with Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mālikī, the servant (*khādīm*) of the Ṣūfī Shaikh Abu 'l-Su'ūd al-Djāriḥī (died some years after 930 = 1523/1524), cf. al-Shā'rānī, *Lawāḥiḥ al-Anwār fī Tabakāt al-Akḥyār*, Cairo 1317, iii. 113 sq.), who wrote, according to Ḥādījī Khālifa (iv. 557, No. 9521) a commentary on the *Ḥamziya* of al-Būṣīrī [q. v.]. For al-Su'ūdī refers in his polemic (p. 146, 14, 147, 4) to Abu 'l-Su'ūd as his master (*ustādḥ*) and al-Shā'rānī (*op. cit.*, ii. 113, 5 a. f.) mentions Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mālikī as a devoted adept of Abu 'l-Su'ūd, from whom he probably derives his *nisba* al-Su'ūdī. According to van den Ham (*Praefatio* of his edition, p. 6), his book contains many passages occurring word for word in a manuscript commentary on the *Ḥamziya* preserved in Gotha (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschriften . . . zu Gotha*,

iv. 294, No. 2295), in which the author's name is Faḍl Allāh al-Mālikī.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned above: Ḥādījī Khālifa, *Kashf al-Zunūr*, ed. Flügel, ii. 249, No. 2736; Steinschneider, *Polemische u. apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache* (*Abh. f. d. K. d. M.*, vi. 3), Leipzig 1877, p. 36 (No. 17), 141 (No. 121), 409; F. Trieb, *Liber decem questionum contra Christianos auctore Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Ḥusain*, Thesis Bonn 1897, p. v.—vii.; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 430, ii. 329.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

SU'UDĪ (or ABU 'L-SU'UD) B. YAḤYĀ B. MUḤYI 'L-DĪN AL-MUTANABBĪ AL-'ABBĀSĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī AL-DIMASHQĪ, a man of letters, who died in Damascus in Ṣafar 1127 (Febr. 1715). He studied several branches of Muslim knowledge and one of his preceptors was 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. Al-Murādī mentions his *Diwān* entitled *Mad'īḥ al-Ḥaḍarāt bi-Lisān al-Ishārāt* and gives specimens of his poetry. According to the same author, al-Muḥibbī gives an article on him in his *Nafḥat al-Raiḥāna wa-Rashḥat Tīlā' al-Ḥāna* (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 294). A *muwawṣṣhaḥ* in praise of Damascus from his pen is extant in a manuscript of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, No. 6090, We 1120, f. 78a, cf. No. 8174, 2).

Bibliography: al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar fī A'yān al-Karn al-thānī 'aṣḥar*, Bulāḳ 1301, i. 58—62; M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht*. I. *Das Muwawṣṣhaḥ* (Semitist. Studien, ed. by C. Bezold, Heft 13/14), Weimar 1897, p. 83; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 279.

(C. VAN ARENDONK)

ṢUWĀ'. [See ṢĀ'.]

AL-SUWAIDIYA, the harbour of Antakya, which lay 12 *mil* from the Mediterranean. The town owed its rise owing to the gradual silting up of the harbour of Seleucia Pieria which lay a little farther north. Even in the time of Vespasian an attempt had been made, by making a great tunnel through the rock (which still exists and is called al-Gāris, i. e. the Pers. Čehrīz or Kārīz) to avert the danger of setting up its port from the great trading centre but without permanent success. In the early Muslim period Salūḳiya is still occasionally mentioned (al-Balāḍhūrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 148, 12: *Ḥiṣn Salūḳiya*, ed. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, ii. 199; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 126; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāsid al-Iftīlā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 47). In the historians of the conquest also for *Kalakiya* or *Malakiya*, *Salūḳiya* (in 21 H.) should probably be read (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 506, § 81), and perhaps also later the unknown al-Mālūniya, since Busait (Ποσειδειον) and al-Kuṣair (now Kal'at al-Zaw) are mentioned in its neighbourhood, to which the people of Darkūsh migrated (Quatremère, *Hist. d. Sult. Maml.*, i., b, p. 266; van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, i. 250, 6). But gradually the importance of the ancient seaport passed to its southern neighbour al-Suwaidiya, which took its name from the "Black Rivers" (the *δύο Μέλαιρες*, still called Böyük and Küçük Kara-şu) and the "Black Mountains" (*Μαύρον* or *Μελάντιον ὄρος*, Montana Nigra, Syr.: *Tūrā Ūkāmā*, i. e. Amanos). In the older Arab geographers (e. g. al-Khwarizmi, Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Battānī), the town is not yet mentioned. It only seems to have become of some note shortly before the Crusades, if its name is to be recognised in the Συρβήσιον

of Georgios Kedrenos (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxxii., col. 97) 1030 A.D. Anna Comnena (Alexias II, Bonn, 87, 21, 126, 22, 239, 8) at a later date calls the town τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίκειον Σουδαί, λιμὴν Σουδαί or Σουδαίον. It is only with the foundation of the principality of Antioch that its period of great prosperity began. According to Yāḳūt the Franks took their goods from there to Antākiya. Al-Idrisi reckons from Ḥiṣn al-Suwaidiya 15 *mil* to Ḥiṣn al-Ḥuryāda (Ḥاريا درة) in Estori ha-Farkhī, Glo-rieta of the Italian charts and Portulane) and 20 *mil* to Djabal Rās al-Khanzīr. From the adjoining sanctuary of the younger Symeon Stylites on Djabal Mār Simʿān (Θαυμασιώτιον ὄρος) al-Suwaidiya was called Portus Sancti Symeonis by the Crusaders (Guill. Tyr., xiv. 5; xv. 13; xvii. 31). The town is rarely mentioned later. In 666 (1267/1268) the Amir Badr al-Dīn marched via al-Suwaidiya on Antākiya (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sult. Maml.*, transl. Quatremère, i/ii. 52 and ii/i. 226 al-Suwaidiya for al-Suwaidā should perhaps also be read).

The name es-Swēdiye still survives. According to M. Hartmann it is however applied "sometimes to the highly cultivated plain between Orontes, the sea, the southern slopes of the Djabal Mūsā and the western slopes of Djabal Mār Simʿān, sometimes to the largest place in this plain, ez-Zētūniye"; as in Barker's time "es-Swēdiye is still known north of the Djabal al-Aḥmar and south and east of the Orontes almost only as the name of a village, while the inhabitants of the plain itself and its immediate vicinity never use this name for a definite village but understand by it only this plain with its villages which differ very much from one another".

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SUYŪṬĪ. [See ASYŪṬĪ.]

AL-SUYŪṬĪ, ABU l-FADL ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀV B. ABĪ BAKR B. MUḤAMMAD DIALĀL AL-DĪN AL-KHUPAIRI AL-ŠHĀFIʿĪ, the most prolific Egyptian writer in the Mamlūk period and perhaps in Arabic literature, came of a Persian family, formerly living in Baghdād, which for at least nine generations before him had been settled in Suyūṭ and had attained prominent positions in the public life of this town and in the government service.

Suyūṭi was born on 1st Radjab 849 (Oct. 3, 1445) in Cairo where his father was a teacher of *fiqh* in the Madrasa al-Shaikhūniya. After the early death of his father in Šafar 855 = March 1451 (see his *Bughyat al-Wuʾāt*, p. 206) a Šūfi friend of his adopted the boy. He began his studies in 864 (1460) and concluded them on a journey through the cities of Egypt and a pilgrimage to Mecca in 869 (1463). Returning to Cairo, he first set up as a consultant on legal problems, and in 872 (1467) on the recommendation of his teacher al-Bulḳinī he received the professorship at the Shaikhūniya formerly held by his father. In 891 (1486) he was moved to the more important al-Baibarsiya but in Radjab 906 (Feb. 1501) he lost this office, as he was accused of a breach of trust in the management of the institution's property. He then retired to al-Rawḍa on the Nile island and, when his successor died three years later, would not be induced to take up the office again. He died on 18th Djumādā I, 911 (Oct. 17, 1505).

Suyūṭi's literary activity, which he had already begun at the age of 17 was distinguished by an unusual versatility. The very long list of his writings compiled by Flügel in the *Wiener Jahrb.*, 1832, vols. 58—60, gives 561 works but it includes numerous quite short treatises in addition to substantial works. Suyūṭi's ambition was to try his skill in all branches of Muslim learning, and he did make a number of compilations, which are now of great value to us as compensating for lost works of classical literature as well as collections of material. From the catalogue of his extant works given in *G. A. L.*, ii. 145 only the best known will be dealt with here, in so far as they have been printed.

He collected all traditions referring to the exposition of the Qurʾān in his (apparently lost) *Tarǧumān al-Qurʾān fi l-Tafsīr al-musnad*. He abbreviated this work by giving only the literary sources instead of the *isnād*'s in his *Kitāb al-Durr al-manthūr fi l-Tafsīr al-maʿthūr*, Cairo 1314, 6 vols. A number of obscure passages, he discussed in his *Muḥamāt al-Aḳrān fi Muḥamāt al-Qurʾān*, Būlāḳ 1384, Cairo 1309, 1310. He dealt with the occasions of the separate sūras in his *Lubāb al-Nuḳūl fi Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, which is based on Wāḥidī's work but supplements this material from tradition and exegesis and lays special stress on making his sources clear (printed s.l. [Sambul], 1290 and several times on the margin of its most popular commentary). This was begun by his teacher al-Maḥallī Dialāl al-Dīn (d. 864 = 1459) and finished by Suyūṭi in 40 days in 870 (1465) it is therefore usually called *Tafsīr al-Djalālain*, pr. Bombay 1869, Lucknow 1869, Calcutta 1257, Dehli 1884, Cairo 1300, 1301, 1305, 1308, 1313, 1328; among the glosses the best known is that of Sulaimān al-Djāmāl († 1204 = 1790), pr. Būlāḳ 1282, Cairo 1302, 1308. Suyūṭi later planned a large commentary entitled *Maǧmaʾ al-Bahrain wa-Maṭlaʿ al-Badrain*, but it is not clear whether this is lost or was never completed. Only the introduction to it has survived, a survey of all the branches of study relating to the Qurʾān, which he published separately in 872 (1367) under the title *al-Takḥḥir fi ʿUlūm al-Tafsīr*. He afterwards expanded this work, by using the *K. al-Burhān fi ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān* of al-Zarkashī (d. 794 = 1392) into his *Itkān* which is the most exhaustive presentation of the whole subject (ed.

by Mowlawies Basheeroodeen and Noor -ool Haqq with an analysis by A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1852/1854, pr. Cairo 1278, 1307, 1317).

Suyūṭī aimed at collecting from Tradition all the sayings of the Prophet in his *Djāmi' al-Masānīd*, which is also called *Djam' al-Djawāmi'* or *al-Djāmi' al-kabir*. He himself prepared a synopsis of this, *al-Djāmi' al-ṣaḡīr min Ḥadīth al-Baṣhīr al-nadḥīr* and added a supplement *al-Ziyāda*; a commentary on this by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Munāwī (d. 1032 = 1623) was printed at Bulāk in 1286. The work which had an alphabetical arrangement was re-arranged by al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī (d. 975 = 1567 or 977 = 1569) according to the rubrics of Fikḥ with the title *Manḥaḍj al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aḳwāl wa 'l-Af'āl* and added a supplement *al-Ikmāl*. He next worked the two books into his *K. Ḡayāt al-'Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aḳwāl*. He finally collected together the traditions about the sayings and doings of the Prophet once more and thus arose the *Kanz al-'Ummāl fī Thubūt Sunan al-Aḳwāl wa 'l-Af'āl* (printed Ḥaīdarābād 1312/1313, 8 vols., folio). Of Suyūṭī's numerous works dealing with special points of Tradition we may mention his book on the qualities of the Prophet, *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib al-labīb fī Khaṣā'iṣ al-Ḥabīb al-ma'rūf bi 'l-Khaṣā'iṣ al-kubrā*, Ḥaīdarābād 1319/1320, 2 vols. He dealt with questions of criticism of Tradition on the lines of Ibn al-Djawzī [q. v.]; on the latter's *K. al-Mawqū'āt* he first wrote notes entitled *al-Nukat al-badī'āt* (see *Fihrist al-Kutub al-'arabiya fī 'l-Kutubokḥāne al-khedīwiya*, i. 445) which is probably identical with the *al-Ta'akkubāt 'ala 'l-Mawqū'āt*, printed in a *Madjma'*, Lucknow 1303. He then edited the work himself again in the *al-La'ālī al-maṣnū'a fī 'l-Aḥādīth al-mawqū'a*, Cairo 1317. Of Suyūṭī's smaller works, very many dealt with eschatological questions. Al-Kurtubī's (d. 672 = 1273) *al-Tadhkira bi-Aḥwāl al-Mawtā wa-Aḥwāl al-Aḳhira*, he edited under the title *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr fī Sharḥ Ḥāl al-Mawtā fī 'l-Kubūr*, also often called simply *K. al-Barzakḥ* (pr. Cairo 1309, 1329, in a Persian translation, Lahore 1871). A synopsis of it *Buṣṣra 'l-Ka'ib bi-Likā' al-Ḥabīb* is printed on the margin of the Cairo edition. As a supplement he wrote in 884 (1479) *al-Budūr al-sāfira fī Umūr al-Aḳhira*, lith. in India 1311. On the examination of the dead in the grave he wrote 176 radjāz verses entitled *al-Taḥlīt fī Lailat al-Mabit*, pr. with a commentary by M. 'Asriya, Fās 1314, by M. al-Tihāmī Djan-nūn, *ibid.* 1321. His *K. al-Durar al-ḥisān fī 'l-Ba'th wa-Na'im al-Djinnān* has also been several times printed. Several of his shorter works, e.g. six on the question whether the parents of the Prophet are in Paradise, are printed in the *Madjma' al-Masā'il al-tis'*, Ḥaīdarābād 1316/1317 and 1334.

Suyūṭī discussed the whole field of philology in an extremely full and valuable encyclopaedia entitled *al-Muṣḥir fī 'Ulūm al-Luḡa*, Bulāk 1282, Cairo 1323, verified by Mā' al-'Ainain under the title *Thimār al-Muṣḥir*, Fās 1324. Following the example of Ibn al-Anbārī [q. v.] he endeavoured to apply the *usūl*, or principles of the science of Fikḥ to grammar in his *al-Iktirāḥ fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Naḥw wa-Djadalihī*, Ḥaīdarābād 1310, cf. Sprenger in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxii. 7; A. Schmidt in *al-Muzaḥfariya, Sbornik Statei*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 309 sqq. He also dealt with separate gram-

matical points on the lines of the discussion of legal points in a work which he called *al-Aṣḥbāḥ wa 'l-Naṣā'ir*, a title he had already used for a compendium of Fikḥ, with the supplement *al-Naḥwiya*, printed Ḥaīdarābād 1317, 4 vols. From 868 (1463) he had originally been collecting the material for this, along with particulars of the lives and works of the philologists; but after 899 (1493) he separated the *Nukat* from his material and on the advice of Maḍjd al-Dīn b. Fahd collected the historical matter under the title *Buḡyat al-Wu'āt*, pr. Cairo 1326. He collected traditions regarding the beginnings of grammar in the *al-Aḳḥbār al-marwiya fī Sabab Waq' al-'Arabiya*, pr. in the *al-Tuḡfa al-bakiya*, Stambul 1320/1322, p. 49—53. He wrote a commentary on the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik [q. v.] called *al-Bahdja al-marwiya*, Cairo 1310 and on Ibn Hishām's [q. v.] *al-Muḡnī* he wrote a *Sharḥ Shawāhid*, Cairo 1322. He wrote an original grammatical study entitled *al-Farida fī 'l-Naḥw wa 'l-Taṣrif wa 'l-Khaṭṭ*, on which a commentary by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zakrī al-Fāsi was printed at Fās in 1319, and another in the *Djam' al-Djawāmi'* which was printed with notes by al-Shankīṭī in Cairo 1318 and 1327/1328 in two vols., and a commentary on the verses quoted as examples by the same entitled *al-Durar al-lawāmi'*, Cairo 1328.

In the field of history Suyūṭī has given us three works: one on general world history entitled *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waḳā'i' al-Duḥūr*, Cairo 1282 etc., a history of the Caliphs, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, ed. by S. Lee and Maulawī Abd al-Haqq, Calcutta 1857, Cairo 1305, 1913, Lahore 1870, 1887, Dehli 1306, transl. by H. S. Jarrett (*Bibl. Ind.*), Calcutta 1881, and a history of Egypt entitled *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara fī Aḳḥbār Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhira*, lith. Cairo 1860 (?), pr. *ibid.* 1299, 1321. In biography in addition to the already mentioned history of the grammarians he also wrote a biographical collection on Qur'an expositors, entitled *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mufasssirin*, ed. A. Meursinger, Leyden 1839, and a synopsis of al-Dhahabī's (d. 748 = 1348) *Ṭabaḳāt al-Huffāz*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1833/1834.

The gift of poetry was denied to Suyūṭī. But he experimented in belles-lettres with the composition of *Maḳāma's*, which only have the title and the form (rhymed prose) in common with the perfect examples of this genre and collect all kinds of interesting notes about plants etc. out of Ḥadīth and Adab. Twelve of them were lithographed in Cairo in 1275 and again in the collection issued at Bhōpāl 1297 and printed at Stambul in 1298; 6 of them have been translated by O. Rescher in *Beiträge zur Maqāmen-Literatur*, part 8, Kirchhain N. L. 1918. Some of these are also quite original, for example *Raṣḥf al-Zu'āl min al-Siḥr al-ḥalāl*, in which he makes 20 representatives of different branches of learning describe their wedding-night in the technical terms of their particular subject, lith. Cairo, n. d., pr. Fās 1319. Other works also show that he did not hesitate to treat of sexual and pornographical subjects (cf. those detailed in *G. A. L.*, ii. 153, N^o. 207—213). A synopsis *Djawāhir al-Hikāyāt wa 'l-Asila wa 'l-Laṭā'if wa 'l-Riwāyāt wa 'l-Amthila*, was made from his Adab-book *Anis al-Djalīs*, by 'Abd al-Kayim b. Molla 'Abd al-Naṣir al-Shirdāni in Tatar (7th ed., Kasan 1905). He was not ashamed to

collect the anecdotes of *Djuḥā* under the title *K. man naḥā ilā Nawādīr Djuḥā*, s. *A descriptive List of the Arabic MSS. acqu. by the Trustees of the Brit. Museum since 1894*, p. 62, Or. 6646, 2, while in the same MS. a satire on *Qarakuṣh* [q. v.] by Ibn al-Mammāṭi (d. 606 = 1209) is wrongly ascribed to him. The anthology *al-Mardī al-naḍīr wa 'l-Araḍī al-aḥīr* (cf. Kosegarten, *Chrest. ar.*, p. 151–176; Grangeret de Lagrange, *Anthol. ar.*, No. 11, etc.) does not belong to him but to an older al-Suyūṭī Muḥammad b. Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Bakr Yaḥyā, of the first half of the 10th century, perhaps his grandfather; see Cheikhō, *Machrig*, 1906, p. 581–598.

His versatility, already sufficiently displayed by separate works, was further revealed in an encyclopaedia covering 14 branches of knowledge entitled *al-Uṣūl al-muḥimma li-ʿUlūm Djamma* or briefly *al-Nukūya* with the commentary *Itmām al-Dirāya*, pr. Bombay 1309, Fās 1317, also on the margin of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo 1800.

Bibliography: Autobiography in *Husn al-Muḥādara*, i. 153, 203; ii. 65, printed in Meursinge, *op. cit.*, p. 4–12; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 506; Goldziher in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1871, lxix., p. 28 sqq.; Hartmann, *Das Muwaṣṣaḥ*, p. 82; *G. A. L.*, ii. 143–158.

(BROCKELMANN)

SWAHİLĪ. [See ZANZIBAR.]

SYRIA. [See AL-SHAʿM.]

SYRT, SURT (Idrisi: *ŠURT*) on the Gulf of Sidra (*Syrtis Major*) was according to al-Bakrī, a large town (*madīna*) on the sea shore, with a wall, a *djāmiʿ*, a *ḥammām* and *sūḥ's*; it had three

gates one of which faced the *ḫibla*, the other inland, and the third the sea; the water there was sweet and the gardens flourishing, but the population had a bad reputation. The people spoke a peculiar dialect among themselves which was neither Arab, Berber nor Coptic. The town, lying halfway between Tripoli and Adjdābiya, was on the road for pilgrims from the Maghrib. Al-ʿAiyāshī, who went through it three times in the xviii century, speaks of Surt as a well-cultivated land but suffering from the tyranny of its conquerors; there were 3 *ḫayr's* there. The Muslims conquered the region in the first invasion of Africa in 22/23 A. H. Syrt henceforth shared the fate of Tripoli. But the governors and kings of Tripoli were not always able to exercise effective control over this region and its nomad inhabitants. Its communications with Fezzān made it an important political centre.

Under the Ottomans, Syrt was grouped with Barka and after 1847 put in the wilāyat of Tripoli in the sandjaḳ of el-Khoms. Now (since 1912) it has been in the Italian province of Tripoli. The population, mainly Arab, belongs to the tribes of the Banū Sulaim. The Berbers are Hawāra. It is difficult to identify this place exactly with a Roman site. It is thought that Madīna al-Sultān, near Surt, where there are still ruins and Roman wells, corresponds to *Charax* or *Iscina* of the Antonine *Itinerary*.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, *Algiers* 1913, p. 6; E. De Agostini, *Le popolazioni della Tripolitania*, Tripoli 1917, p. 193–200; A. Fantoli, *Guida della Tripolitania*, Milan 1923, p. 261.

(ETTORE ROSSI)

T

TAʾ, third letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 400. For palaeographical details see ARABIA, i. 382^b, 383^b and plate I.

TAʾ, sixteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 9. For palaeographical details see ARABIA, i., plate I.

TAʾABBATA SHARRAN, a nickname of the old Arab poet and Beduin hero, famed in legend, *Thābit b. Djabir b. Sufyān* of the tribe of Fahm. Various explanations of it are given by the sources: "he carried mischief under his arm", namely a sword, a knife (*ḥamāsa*), a ram which proved to be a *ghūl*, or a skin full of poisonous snakes (*Aghānī*). His mother was according to one statement (in Fresnel) a negress, according to the *Aghānī* a woman of the Fahm tribe called Amīna, who afterwards married the Hudhail Abū Kabir, who sought to take his step-son's life. Taʾabbata Sharran was throughout his life an enemy of the Banū Hudhail and Banū Badjila. He perished in a fight with the latter on Mount Numār in their territory (Yāḳūt, *Mushtarik*, q. 421). According to a statement of Ibn Qūtaiba quoted by Baur (cf. *Bibliography*) he was a contemporary of Nawfal b. Muʿāwiya, who is said to have lived for sixty years before and after Islām. But all that is recorded of the life of Taʾabbata Sharran and the

poems ascribed to him breathe throughout the spirit of the old Arab Djahiliya. He is pictured as having all the traditional features of the wandering robber knight of the early Arab period. He wrote a lament for *Shanfara*, who was his companion in battle, along with ʿAmr b. Barrāk (*Aghānī*). The longest and finest of his four longer poems on a fallen relative inspired Goethe to write a poem in the same style.

Bibliography: Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, p. 33 sqq., 244 sqq., 382 sqq. (cf. Rückert's transl.); *Aghānī*, xviii. 209–218; Kazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 31, 56–58, 61; Ibn Qūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, p. 174 sqq., 422 sqq., 437; al-Kariyūs, *Ghawḍat al-ʿArab*, p. 74 sqq.; Diwān d. Hudhailīn, ed. Kosegarten, p. 247 sqq.; de Sacy, *Schol. zu Ḥariri*, p. 416; *Anthol.*, p. 344; Fresnel, *Prem. lettre sur l'histoire des Arabes*, p. 96 sq.; Freytag, *Carmen arab.*, Göttingen 1814; Goethe, *Noten zum w. ö. Diwan*; Basset, *La poésie arabe*, p. 73; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 25; Lyall, *Four Poems of Taʾabbata Sharrā*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1918; Gustav Baur, in the *Z. D. M. G.*, x. 74 sqq.

(H. H. BRÄU)

TABĀLA, a place in the west of northern Yaman, in the interior of ʿAsir, about seven days' journey S. E. of Mecca. Its fertility was

proverbial among the Arabs. The basin of Tabāla and Taraba is often called *akhḍar* ("green"; cf. al-Hamdānī, *Djazira*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884, p. 165; Yāqūt *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 164). The itinerary of the pilgrim caravans from Mecca through the frontier lands of the Ḥidjāz and Yaman to Ṣanʿāʾ given in Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, i. 445 was marked on the map as early as Berghaus, *Arabien und das Niland* (Gotha 1835, cf. esp. p. 69; and see also Ritter's map [1852, ed. by H. Kiepert]), for the stretch from Mecca to Tabāla. The latter was the 16th station on the territory inhabited by the Ṣhumrān. Al-Idrisī (see Jaubert, *Géographie d'Édrisi*, Paris 1836, i. 148) describes it as a fortified place belonging to Mecca, with perennial water, corn-fields and palms (similarly Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. 135, 188, 192); on the irrigation cf. al-Hamdānī, p. 258, 116 (180); on its wealth in palm-trees, cf. al-Hamdānī, p. 258; al-Azraqī (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 262; its fertility may also be deduced from Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 191 and damage done to it later by Berbers from al-Hamdānī, p. 258. Al-Idrisī further (*op. cit.*) says that Tabāla was occupied for the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān but was considered too insignificant. Al-Ḥadīdjādī, appointed governor of it, did not think it worth while going to take up the post, whence the proverb: "More despicable than Tabāla to al-Ḥadīdjādī" (cf. thereon with further information Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 816; Freytag, *Proverbia* ii. 981 also *Lisān*, xiii. 80 sq.; *Tādī*, vii. 239 sq.). According to al-Idrisī, Tabāla lay 4 days' journey from Mecca and 3 from the market of ʿUkāz. In the itinerary given by him from Mecca to Ṣanʿāʾ (see Jaubert, *op. cit.*, p. 143, N^o. vi.; cf. thereon Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii., p. 168 sqq., 197), Tabāla is the sixth station from Mecca and is described as a town lying in a depression in a valley. This broad depression beginning at the foot of the hills of Ṭāʾif and Yaman is well watered at its beginning and also contains the towns of Taraba and Bisha (Yāqūt; cf. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, iii. 297). Of the nine stations mentioned between Tabāla and Ṣaʿda on this itinerary, the next to Tabāla is said to be Bisha (Yāqūt). Sprenger proposes the connection B. Baʿʿān (also al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 118, 127 and in his itinerary from Mecca to Ṣanʿāʾ p. 178 and 165; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 134) in contrast to his earlier spelling (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1888, xlii. 321). According to the same authority Tabāla itself lies 8 stations north of the (14th) station Maḥdjara, in which stands the tree (*Ṭalḥat al-Malik*) which is regarded as marking the boundary between the lands of Mecca and Yaman (so Ibn Khordādhbeh, *op. cit.*, vi. 135). Modern writers mention another route from Mecca via Ṭāʾif and Taraba to Raniya (instead of the latter al-Ruwaiḥa in al-Idrisī, al-Roheya in Burckhardt, Rohe(ī)ta in later writers) and Tabāla as a main road (cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 451; Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 200). Its topographical position may be clearly seen from the large map of the coast of S. W. Arabia, sheet 7, *Wādī Bishe* (compiled for the *Geographical Section General Staff*, from the Survey made in 1917) on which the place ("Teballa") is marked at 19° 53,5' N. Lat. 42° 31' E. Long. Greenwich. It lies on the Wādī of the same name which forms the northern boundary of the land of the Benī Bu ʿl-Ḳarn on the main road from Ṭāʾif to S. E. via Biʿr al-

Ghazāl, with the road from the S. W. from al-Silme and Halbe which also starts from Ṭāʾif in a southerly direction. Sprenger's assertion, deduced from a comparison of several mentions of (Wādī) Baish and Bisha in al-Hamdānī in *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 47, that al-Hamdānī thought that the Wādī Bisha which is often confused with Baish also waters Tardj and Tabāla cannot therefore be accepted nor the assumption of more recent writers that Tabāla lies in the Wādī Bisha. The Wādī Tabāla (mentioned in a quotation from Ṭarafa in al-Hamdānī p. 173 [not in the *Dirwān*; see D. H. Müller's edition of Hamdānī, ii. 183]) flows into the Wādī Bisha. Al-Hamdānī often mentions Tabāla in topographical statements in connection with Bisha and Tardj (p. 27, 49, 84, 127 [on mentions in poetry of the occurrence of the lion at Tabāla, cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 165, 257; and Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 835, 791; iv. 1006; Ibn Ḥawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 35; Bakrī] in distances (p. 187, 189) and in quotations from the poets (p. 173, 207, 215, 258). To the land of Tabāla he includes ʿArram (Yāqūt, *Muḍjam* ii. 918) Zabiya, for which some write Raniya; cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 240 and (p. 239) his map of this region constructed from al-Hamdānī's data. The latter (p. 165) mentions Tabāla along with Raniya (the vocalisation Runiya in D. H. Müller's edition is not certain; the manuscripts do not give the vowel signs in the passage; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 826; al-Muḳaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 112 und Bakrī have Ranya, as has al-Hamdānī *op. cit.*, p. 215 and 259, see D. H. Müller, ii. 32 and Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 240 and *Z. D. M. G.*, *op. cit.* and modern geographers).

Sprenger's supposition (*op. cit.*, p. 156, 253) that Θόυματα in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 33, was an error for Θόύμαλα and identical with T(h)omala in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 154 and the assertion he bases on it that "Tomala is only a dialectical variant from Tobāla or as highly educated men say, Tabāla" are both incorrect. This identification adopted also by M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 420 is not supported by Sprenger's interpretation of al-Hamdānī's statement, p. 188 about the old pilgrim routes from Ḥaḍramūt, which according to his construction (*op. cit.*, p. 156, 161) meet in Tabāla. Pliny describes Thomala as a city of the Sabaeans (see further Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Saba, col. 1328). Sprenger's assumption (p. 253) that Tabāla lay in what had originally been Minaean territory is also erroneous; his localisation of the Minaeans was completely wrong (see *Realencycl.*, col. 1316 sqq.).

The traditional derivation of the name of the town (Tebalet, in the *Djihān-numā* of Ḥadīdjī Khalifa, p. 520) from that of an Amalekite woman Tabāla is of no value, but one may nevertheless assume that the town is a very old foundation (Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, i. 816). — In the pre-Muḥammadan period a white stone in Tabāla was worshipped as an idol, called *Dhu ʿl-Khalaṣa* (*Khulaṣ*); Muḥammad had it destroyed (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, i. 55 sq.; the *Khathʿam*, who are mentioned there among the followers of this cult, are also mentioned alone by al-Hamdānī, p. 119, and by Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 461 sq., iii. 608, 850 in connection with Tabāla). The verses given there, in which this oracle of Tabāla, which was consulted by casting lots with arrows, is mentioned are wrongly ascribed to Imru ʿl-Ḳais, according to Ibn Hishām (cf. on the idol the information collected in *Lisān*, viii.

295; *Tādī*, iv. 389; on Tabāla as the site of a pagan cult, cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* 2, p. 45 sqq.). The Khath'am, whom Ibn Rosta, *B. G. A.*, vii. 316, 320 describes roughly as the inhabitants of Tabāla, are more accurately the people of Turaba and Biṣṣa and the land behind Tabāla while the inhabitants of Tabāla proper are the Banū Māzin (Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arabischen Stämme*, xiv. of the *Abhandl. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, Göttingen 1868, p. 84 and 58, following Bakrī). According to Kudāma (s. *Bibl.*) there were camping places of the Kaisis around Tabāla (cf. Ibn Khordādhbah, *op. cit.*, p. 188). According to Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Kay, *Yaman*), p. 129 sq., Tabāla is the land of the Banū Nahd. Dhū 'l-Khalasa, about whom see also Bakrī, p. 316, Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣṇām*, Cairo 1332 [1914] (from whom Yāqūt borrowed; cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 10 sqq.) and Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 461 sq., is boldly explained by D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen-Paris-Leipzig 1927, p. 231, 234, as an Arabian Venus-deity. As the centre of a cult Tabāla was also a market: al-Hamdānī mentions the traffic there (p. 258). In the history of Islām Tabāla is known as one of the towns which were among the first to adopt the new religion and thus preserved their independence (Golius, in *Alfraganus, Elementa Astronomica*, Amsterdam 1669, p. 85).

Bibliography: The works of Burckhardt, Sprenger, Wellhausen, Ritter and the Arabic geographers and lexicographers (al-Hamdānī, Yāqūt, Bakrī, al-Idrisi) mentioned in the article; also J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Fahrbücher der Litteratur*, Vienna 1840, vol. 92, p. 55 (on the itinerary from Ṣan'a' to Mecca in *Dīḥan-numū*), and vol. 94, p. 94; Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, Leipzig 1864, iii/iii. 125 sq., 138 sq. (on the itinerary of al-Hamdānī), 128 sqq. (on the itineraries of Kudāma, Ibn Khordādhbeh and Ibn al-Mudjāwir). (J. TKATSCH)

AL-ṬABARĪ, *nisba* from Tabaristān; most of the bearers of the *nisba* have come from Āmul, the capital of this province. This *nisba* is also wrongly referred to Ṭabariya (Tiberias) in place of the correct al-Ṭabarānī (cf. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 366b; *Tādī* al-'Arūs, iii. 355).

1. ABU 'L-ṬAIYIB AL-ṬABARĪ, ṬAHIR B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. ṬAHIR, a Shāfi'i jurist, teacher of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī and of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; al-Shīrāzī who attended his lectures for over ten years, praises him as his best teacher. Al-Ṭabarī was born in Āmul in the year 348 (959/960). At the age of 14 he began his studies in *fiqh* in his native city and in 371 (981/982) went to Djurdjān to study under Abū Bakr al-Isma'īlī but the latter died the day after his arrival there. For four years he studied with Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Māsardjisi (d. 383 = 993) and continued his studies in Baghdād with Abū Muḥammad al-Bāfi (d. 398 = 1007/1008), Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Dārakutnī (d. 385 = 995), the famous Shāfi'i Abū Ḥamid al-Isfara'īnī (d. 406 = 1015/1016) and with Abū 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfa b. Zakariya al-Nahrawānī (d. 390 = 1000), a follower of the school of law of the historian al-Ṭabarī. He then remained in Baghdād engaged in private study. He was victorious in different disputations with Ḥanafis, e. g. with al-Kudūri (Subki, iii. 182 sqq.). In 422 (1031) he was admitted a notary

(*shāhid*) in Baghdād by the *kādi* 'l-kudāt Abū 'Abd Allāh (d. 447 = 1055/1056) (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix. 287bis). When in 429 (1037/1038) the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla wished to assume the title *Malik al-Mulūk* in the *khutba*, Abū 'l-Ṭaiyib al-Ṭabarī was one of the *fakīh's* who were approached by the caliph for a *fatwā* and who declared this title permissible (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 312). In addition to his judgeship in the Bāb al-Ṭāq quarter (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 360) he received that of the al-Karkh quarter in succession to the Ḥanafī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaimarī in 436 (1044/1045). He died in this office at the age of 102 in full possession of his intellectual vigour on Saturday, 19th Rabī I, 450 (May, 16, 1058). He was buried in the cemetery at the Bāb Ḥarb, after a funeral service in the Djāmi' al-Manṣūr. Up to the day of his death he was present at the receptions in the Caliph's palace. According to al-Khaṭīb he was as experienced in *Uṣūl* as in *Furū'*, and had a dignified figure, a noble character and great distinction of language. He composed numerous legal works, including a commentary to the *Mukhtaṣar* of Muzani, which still exists in manuscript in Cairo (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 180) and a commentary on the *Furū'* of Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥaddād al-Miṣrī (d. 345 = 956/957; Ibn Khallikān, i. 234; Subki, ii. 113; iii. 195; cf. also Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, No. 9036), also a *K. al-Minhādī* (Subki, iii. 176), a *K. al-Taḥlika* in ten vols. (Subki, iii. 195; Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, No. 3120) and a *Mukhtaṣar fī Mawlid al-Shāfi'i* with biographies of his followers (Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, iv. 141).

Bibliography: al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuḳahā'*, No. 206 (edition in preparation); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, p. 735. — The later sources are mainly based on these two: al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, *G. M. S.*, xx., fol. 367r; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 734—736; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 233 sq.; al-Subki, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iii. 176—197; Wüstenfeld, *Der Imam al-Shāfi'i*, No. 393 (= *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xxxvii., 1891).

2. MUḤIBB AL-DĪN AL-ṬABARĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABŪ BAKR, a traditionist and Shāfi'i jurist in Mecca, born 615 (1218/1219), d. 694 (1294/1295), a pupil of Ibn al-Djummaizī (d. 649 = 1251/1252; Subki, v. 128), of Majd al-Dīn al-Ḥushairī (d. 667 = 1268/1269; Yāfi'i, iv. 166) and others. The Rasūlid al-Muzaḥfar (647—694 = 1250—1295) summoned him to the Yemen to learn traditions from him (al-Khazradjī, *Uḥūd* in *G. M. S.*, iii./iv. 277; cf. also Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, No. 11533). Among his pupils may be mentioned Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Birzālī (d. 739 = 1338/1339), one of the *Shaiḫs* of the Dhahabī. He is the author of the well-known collection of traditions: *Ghāyat al-Aḥkām fī 'l-Aḥādīth wa 'l-Aḥkām*, in which he has however included "weak" traditions without marking them as such (Yāfi'i). In addition to the extant works listed by Brockelmann, the following writings are mentioned in various sources: 1. *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-Ḥadīth* (Subki); 2. *Kitāb fī Faḍl Makka* (Subki); 3. *Istikṣā' al-Bayān fī Ma'sala Shādhārwan* (Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, No. 617); 4. *Khair al-Kirā fī Ziyāra Umm al-Kurā* (Yāfi'i; Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, No. 4823); 5. *Arba'in fī 'l-Ḥājjidjī* (Ḥājjidjī Khalifa, No. 406); 6. *Awāṭif al-Nuṣra fī Tafdīl al-Ṭawāf 'ala 'l-'Umra* (Ḥājjidjī Kha-

lifa, No. 8402, 11859); 7. *Ṣiṣa Ḥādjdī al-Nabī* (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 7758; if not identical with Brockelmann, No. 4); 8. *Wadīizat al-Ma'ānī* [fi] *Kawlihi: Man ra'ānī fi 'l-Manām faḥad ra'ānī* (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 14176); 9. *Manthūr li 'l-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 13142); 10. *al-Simt al-ṭhamīn fi Manāḳib Ummahāt al-Mu'minīn* (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 7250, 13038); 11. *Taqrīb al-Marām fi Ḡharīb* (so read for *Ḳarīb*) *al-Kāsim b. Sallām* (d. 223 = 837), alphabetically arranged selection (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, No. 3465 and iv. 325); 12. on the rare words in the *Djāmi' al-Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Aṭhīr (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, ii. 506); 13. Extract from the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif fi 'l-Taṣawwuf* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, (d. 632 = 1234; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 440; Ḥādjdī Khalifa, iv. 276); 14. a ten volume commentary on the *Tanbih* of Shīrāzī (Subkī; Yāfi'; Ḥādjdī Khalifa, ii. 435); 15. Extract from the same *Tanbih* (Yāfi'); 16. *Ṭirāz al-Madhhab fi Talkhīs al-Mudhahhab*, two volume synopsis of the *Muhadḍahab* of Shīrāzī (Ḥādjdī Khalifa, vi. 275).

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(HEFFENING)

AL-ṬABARĪ, ABŪ DJĀ'FAR MUḤAMMAD B. DJARĪR, the Arab historian, was born probably in 839 (end of 224 or beg. 225 A. H.) at Āmul in the province of Ṭabaristān. He began to devote himself to study at a precociously early age, and is said to have known the Qur'ān by heart by the time he was seven. After receiving his early education in his native town, he received from his father who was quite well off the necessary means of visiting the centres of the Muslim learned world. He thus visited Raiy and its vicinity, then Baghdād, where Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal under whom he had intended to study had died shortly before his arrival there. After a brief stay in Baṣra and Kūfa he again returned to Baghdād where he remained for some time. He then set out for Egypt but stopped in the Syrian towns to study *ḥadīth*. When he was in Egypt (according to Ibn 'Asākir in 876—877; according to Yāqūt however for the first time in 867 and after a stay in Syria again in 869—870; in 871—872 according to *Annales*, iii., 1862 he was in Baghdād) he must already have been regarded as a celebrated scholar. From there he returned to Baghdād where except for two journeys to Ṭabaristān (the second in 902—903) he lived till his death in 923.

Ṭabarī seems to have been of a quiet scholarly disposition but full of character. In his earlier years he devoted his whole energy to acquiring the material of Arab and Muslim tradition; later he spent his time mainly in teaching and writing. Although he had only a modest competence, he rejected all financial advantages and even refused lucrative official positions which were offered him. In this way he was able to devote himself to an extremely prolific and versatile literary activity. Apart from his main subjects, history, *fiqh*, the recitation and exegesis of the Qur'ān, he devoted himself also to poetry, lexicography, grammar and ethics and even mathematics and medicine. For ten years after his return from Egypt he followed the Shāfi'ī *Madhhab* and then founded a school

of his own, whose followers called themselves *Djarīriya* after his father's name. But it seems to have differed less in principle than in practice from the Shāfi'ī school and fell comparatively quickly into oblivion. His break with Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal however was more fundamental. He recognised the latter only as an authority on *ḥadīth* but not on *fiqh*. He thus brought upon himself the hostility of the Ḥanbalis. He is said to have attracted the particular hostility of the latter by attacking their interpretation of Sūra xvii. 81. He had to shut himself up in his house to protect himself from the anger of the enraged mob and was only left in peace when a strict order by the police was issued for his protection. His enemies also sought to injure him through the law by laying an accusation against him in which he was accused of heretical tendencies, certainly unjustly.

Ṭabarī's works have not come down to us by any means completely. For example those writings have been completely lost in which he laid down the principles of his new school of law. On the other hand his commentary on the Qur'ān (*Djāmi' al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* or briefly *Tafsīr*) has survived. In this work Ṭabarī collected for the first time the ample material of traditional exegesis and thus created a standard work upon which later Qur'ānic commentators drew; it is still a mine of information for historical and critical research by western scholars. Ṭabarī's own position with regard to the traditions collected by him is mainly defined by linguistic (lexicographical and grammatical) criteria. But he also deals with dogmatic and legal deductions which can be obtained from the Qur'ān and sometimes permits himself to express a rather candid opinion without however in any way basing it on historical criticism.

Ṭabarī's most important work is his history of the world (*Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk*). The well known Leyden edition gives only an abbreviated text of the huge work which is said to have been ten times as long but even it fills 12½ volumes. Even this synopsis is not complete but had to be supplemented in various passages from later writers who had used Ṭabarī's history of the world.

The work begins after an introduction with the history of the patriarchs, prophets and rulers of the earliest period (i. 1). Then comes the history of the Sāsānian period (i. 2) and of the period of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs (i. 3—6); the history of the Umayyads (ii. 1—3); lastly the history of the 'Abbāsids (iii. 1—4, middle). From the beginning of the Muḥammadan era the material is arranged annalistically under the years of the Hidjra. The work stops in July 915. It was afterwards continued by other historians. Among such supplements may be mentioned (1) the lost *al-Mudhāyil* or *Ṣilat al-Ta'riḫ* of Ṭabarī's pupil Abū Muḥammad al-Farghānī, (2) the work of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Hamadḥānī (d. 1127), which came down to the year 1094 but the only surviving first volume ends with the year 977—978. Later historians like Ibn Miskawaih and Ibn al-Aṭhīr used Ṭabarī's material for their histories but came down beyond his period so that in a sense they continued his history (down to 979—980 or 1225). Ibn al-Aṭhīr made large use of Ṭabarī's work and sought to harmonise different accounts and to supply gaps from other sources. The fragment of the Spanish Arab 'Arib (covering

903—932) edited by de Goeje also comes from an independent version and continuation of the annals. In 963 Ṭabarī's history was translated into Persian by order of the Sāmānid vizier Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'ami. It was much abbreviated and supplemented from other sources, especially in the older period. This version was also translated into Turkish and Arabic.

Ṭabarī's *Ta'rikh al-Riḍjāl* gives the most necessary facts about the persons whom he has used as authorities in *ḥadīth*. The work was originally current as an appendix (*dhail*) to Ṭabarī's *Annals*. A synopsis, not however complete, was published at the end of the Leyden edition of Ṭabarī (iii, p. 2295—2501).

Ṭabarī procured the material for his history of the world from oral tradition, for the collection of which he had ample opportunity on his wide travels which were mainly devoted to the *ṭalab al-'ilm*, and in studies under celebrated scholars. He also used literary sources, namely a book by Abū Mikhnaf; 'Umar b. Shabba's *Kitāb Akhbār Ahl al-Baṣra*, a work on tradition out of which Ziyād b. Ayyūb read to him; Naṣr b. Muzaḥim's history (*Z. S.*, iv. 6); and further the *Sira* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq and the works on the subject by al-Wāḳidī, Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad and Hishām al-Kalbī, al-Madā'ini, Saif b. 'Umar, Ibn Ṭaifūr etc.; for his account of Sāsānian history, he used an Arabic version of the Persian *Book of Kings*, which seems to be based in part on a translation of this work prepared by al-Muḥaffa'. Ṭabarī did not work up the material into a connected account of historical events. He was rather content to collect the available material and to record the different, often contradictory, accounts as they were handed down to him. He therefore declined any responsibility for the reliability of the traditions collected by him. But it is just in the conscientious unharmonised repetition of the collected material of tradition that the value of Ṭabarī's work for modern historical research lies, especially when it is a question of reconstructing the events of the early period of Islām.

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hammad b. Djarir al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-Bayān fi Tafsir al-Kur'ān*, Cairo 1331, 30 parts; O. Loth, *Ṭabarī's Korancommentar*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv., 1881, p. 588—628; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, ii., Leipzig 1919, p. 139—142, 171—173, 184; I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leyden 1920, p. 85—98, 101 sq. (R. PARET)

ṬABARISTĀN (in Pahlavi inscriptions on coins: *Tapūristān*, land of the *Tānpūsi*), the name applied by the Arabs to Māzandarān, a province of Persia, north of mount Alburz; the name is explained by a popular etymology to mean "land of the *ṭabar*" (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geography*, text p. 432; Mehren, *Cosmography*, p. 314) on account of the thick forests which cover the country and the principal industry of the inhabitants (wood-cutting). It is bordered on the north by the Caspian Sea, on the south by the chain of the Alburz, on the east by Djurdjān and on the west by Gilān. The soil is fertile and well watered, rich in fruits but unhealthy on account of the stagnant waters; the little rivers, Herhaz, Talār and Tedjen run through it. The principal towns are: Āmol, Sārī, Shalūs, Rūyān and Bārfurūsh. The tribes are warlike, undisciplined and inclined to murder and plunder. The industries are fishing, catching aquatic birds, cultivating of rice, flax and hemp (Muḥaddasī, p. 354).

History. At the time of the Muslim conquest this district was ruled by hereditary chiefs who had the title of *ispahbadh* (Persian: "head of an army"). In 29 (650) in the reign of the Caliph 'Othmān, Sa'īd b. al-'Āsī, governor of Kūfa, undertook an expedition against Ṭabaristān. In the reign of Mu'āwīya I, Maṣkala b. Ḥubaira entered it at the head of 10 or 20,000 men but he perished with the greater part of his army in the passes, crushed by rocks hurled down upon them by the enemy. Another unsuccessful attempt was made by Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. In the time of Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, Yazid b. Muhallab invaded it; the *ispahbadh* made peace and promised to pay an annual tribute of 4,700,000 dirhems, 400 ass-loads of saffron, and the sending of 400 men each bearing a shield, a silver cup and a silk saddle cushion. The inhabitants rebelled in the time of Marwān b. Muḥammad. They were subdued but for a short time only by the governor sent by Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh. The Caliph al-Manṣūr sent against them Khāzim b. Khuzaima al-Tamīmī and Rawḥ b. Ḥatim al-Muhallabī. 'Umar b. al-'Alā' invaded the mountainous country of Dailam. His great-grandson Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ and Mayazdayār b. Kārin conquered the wild mountain country of Sharwin. The latter was given the title of *ispahbadh* by al-Ma'mūn. When he rebelled in the sixth year of the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, he was defeated by Ḥusain b. Ḥasan sent by his nephew 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, governor of Khorāsān, captured and sent to Sāmarrā, where he died under the lash (225 = 840). His body was hung beside that of Bābak al-Khurramī. Ṭabaristān thus passed to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

In 240 (854) the *ispahbadh* Kārin b. Shahriyār who ruled in the mountains became a convert to Islām. In 247—248 (861—862) the 'Alid Muḥammad b. Zaid seized the province and agreed with the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla Fannā-Khusraw about the propagation of the Shī'a and the restoration of the mausoleums of the family of 'Alī.

He was killed by an emissary of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. One of his brothers, Ḥasan b. Zaid, rebelled in 250 (864); on his death in 270 (884) he was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad who took the title of *al-Dā'i al-kabir* "the great missionary" and was killed fighting with Muḥammad b. Hārūn, a general of the Sāmānid Ismā'il b. Aḥmad (287 = 900); the latter annexed the country. In 297/298 (910/911) the Russians, coming by water laid waste Ābaskūn and Sārt but were finally driven back by the inhabitants; on their way back what remained of their fleet was intercepted and destroyed by the king of the Khazars. Another 'Alid, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, surnamed al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr, rebelled in Āmul against the Sāmānids (301 = 914) and on his death (304 = 917) left his power to his son-in-law al-Ḥasan b. al-Kāsim, surnamed al-Dā'i ila 'l-Ḥaqq, till in 311 (923) he disappeared into the mountains after long fighting with Abu 'l-Kāsim Dja'far b. al-Nāṣir and with the condottiere Makān b. Kākī; he was killed by Mardāwīdj, then in the service of Asfār b. Shīrūya (cf. ZIYĀRIDIS) with a blow from a mace at 'Alī-ābād. Thus Asfār became lord of Ṭabaristān until he perished by the hand of Mardāwīdj in 319 (931). It was the brother of the latter, Wushmgīr, who next ruled, down to the battle of Ishāk-ābād in 329 (940) where Makān b. Kākī was killed and the army of Wushmgīr destroyed; the latter having made up his mind to become a vassal of the Sāmānids, settled in Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān at intervals like his successors Qābūs I and Mi-nūchīr; the latter accepted the suzerainty of the Ghaznawids. The province next passed to the Saldjūks; but *isphahbadh's* belonging to the house of Bāwand for long remained practically independent, especially in the mountains: 'Alā' al-Dawla 'Alī b. Shahrīyār b. Kārin, contemporary of the Ghaznawid Mas'ūd III; Nuṣrat al-Dīn Rustam; Tādī al-Mulūk 'Alī b. Mardāwīdj, contemporary of the Saldjūk Sandjar; 'Alā' al-Dawla Ḥasan b. Rustam b. 'Alī; Ḥusām al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn Ar-daṣhīr b. Ḥasan, contemporary of Toḡhrīl II b. Arslān.

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(CL. HUART)

ṬABARIYA, Tiberias, a town on the western side of the lake of Tiberias (sea of Galilee) (*Buḥairat Ṭabariya*) through which the Jordan flows to the south; the lake is rich in fishes, is 13 miles long, 6 broad and lies 700 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; the town is long and narrow as it is shut in by the steep hills on the west which come right down to the water, north and south of the town. S.S.W. of the town is the Mount of Herod. Ṭabariya had probably a predecessor in a little town in this

region mentioned in the Old Testament (on account of the hot springs some identify it with Ḥammat, Joshua, xix. 35) but nothing certain has been established on this point. The town only became of importance when Herod Antipas about 26 A.D. founded a city to which he gave the name of Tiberias in honour of the emperor Tiberius. It was built with great splendour on the model of Hellenistic towns with temples, theatres, and other public buildings. The splendid palace of the king, described by Josephus, lay on the Mount of Herod (Qaşr bint al-Malik) surrounded by the old city wall, the course of which has been traced by G. Schumacher. The stricter Jews avoided it and the population was therefore very mixed, some forced by Herod to settle there and others tempted thither by various privileges. At a later date a remarkable change took place as Tiberias became one of the main centres of purely Jewish life and a centre of Talmudic studies. Here about 200 A.D. was edited the collection of laws known as the *Mishna* and later at the beginning of the fourth century the Palestinian *Gemara* (the so-called Jerusalem Talmud) composed and in the viii/ixth century the 'Tiberian' system of notation in general use established. The Hebrew teacher of Jerome was a Jew in Tiberias. The Jewish scholars who worked here are recalled by a series of tombs among them those of R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai and R. 'Aqiba. Another old Jewish cemetery with several sarcophagi has been discovered close to the western gate of the city in laying out a new road.

After Constantine the Great, Christianity penetrated, although slowly, into Galilee and in the lists of synods several bishops of Tiberias are mentioned. A temple begun by the Emperor Hadrian in this town was turned into a temple.

The destroyed walls of the town were rebuilt by Justinian. At the Persian invasion in 614 the Jews there, as was the case elsewhere also, are said to have sided with them. In 13 (635) Tiberias passed to the Muslims. While a number of towns in the province of Urdunn had to be taken by force, Ṭabariya surrendered to the Arab general Shurahbīl who guaranteed the inhabitants their lives and the half of their houses and churches. For each *djarīb* of ground they had to pay annually a *djarīb* of wheat or barley, and a *ḍīnār* for each head of cattle; he also reserved for himself a site on which a mosque was to be built. In the caliphate of 'Othmān the people of Tiberias broke the agreement but were conquered by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī (according to others by Shurahbīl) and yielded on the old terms. With the Crusaders began a new chapter in the history of Ṭabariya. It was granted as a fief to Tancred and ultimately came into the possession of Raymond of Tripoli. On Thursday July 2, 1187 (583 A.H.) Saladin surrounded the town and conquered it in a few hours, although it was strongly fortified, and then set it on fire. The Christian army encamped at Ṣaffuriya in spite of the urgent warnings of Raymond was persuaded by the overweening Grand Templar Gerard to set out to the help of the town, which resulted in the disastrous battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [q.v.] which again in turn led to the capture of Jerusalem and the collapse of Frankish power. Later, in 1240 the town again came into the hands of the Christians when Odo of Montbelliard took it, but in 1247 it was lost to

the Khwārizmians and henceforth Tiberias was Muslim right down to the end of Turkish rule in Palestine. In the middle of the xviii century the town belonged to the Shaikh Zāhir al-ʿAmr who had it fortified. In 1759 it suffered from an earthquake, but that of 1837 was much worse, as it destroyed most of the town (but not the baths). In 1799 it was occupied for a short time by Napoleon's troops.

There are more or less brief descriptions of Ṭabarīya, the capital of the province of Urdunn, in the Arab geographers. Ya'kūbī (278 = 891-892) mentions the position of the town at the foot of a mountain and on a large lake through which the Jordan flows. Iṣṭakhri (340 = 951) gives the lake a length of 12 and a breadth of 2-3 miles (its real dimensions are 13 miles long and 6 broad). Muḳaddasī (375 = 985) says: "The houses stand between the mountain and the lake, the town is narrow and in summer hot and unhealthy. It is about a mile long but of no breadth. The market place stretches from one gate to the other and the cemeteries are on a hill. The chief mosque on the market place is large and beautiful.... Around the lake are villages and palm-trees and ships go up and down. The lake is full of fishes and the water quite pleasing". The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusrav, who visited Ṭabarīya in 438 (1047) puts the length of the lake at 6 and the breadth at 3 miles. "The town is surrounded by walls but not on the lake side; many houses have their foundation on the rocky bottom below the water; besides the chief mosque in the centre of the town there is another on the west side, the Masjīd al-Yāsamin. Here is the tomb of Joshua son of Nun and of the 70 prophets slain by the Israelites and also the grave of Abū Huraira. The inhabitants make mats of rushes; on the hill west of the town is a castle built of hewn stones, with a Hebrew inscription". Idrisi (1154, during the period of Crusader rule) describes Ṭabarīya as an imposing town on a high hill on a lake with fresh water, 12 miles long and the same in breadth (!). The boats on it bring supplies to the town. He also mentions the making of rush-mats which was a very important industry. Yāqūt (623 = 1125) reproduces what is said by several of his predecessors; like the other Arab geographers he makes Ṭabarīya be built by Tiberius. Abu 'l-Fida' (d. 732 = 1331) records that the town was destroyed by Saladin, which shows that it was still in ruins and from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (725 = 1325) it is evident that this remained the case later.

As long as they existed, the hot medicinal baths (*al-Ḥammāmāt*) played an important part in the life of the town. They lay about 40 minutes south of it and perhaps influenced Herod in choosing this town for his capital. Josephus correctly tells us that they were not far from Tiberias at a village called Ἀμμαδος (i. e. the native *Ḥammāt*) which agrees with the fact that the old city wall discovered by Schumacher ran from the Mount of Herod to the shore of the lake without enclosing them ("in Tiberias", as Josephus, *Vita*, 85, *Bell.*, ii. 1614 says therefore means "in the territory of Tiberias"). They are mentioned as early as Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, v. 15) and frequently in the *Talmud* and the Arab geographers are never tired of telling that they are warm without fire being kindled there. Ya'kūbī says that the hot water is brought into the town in pipes and

Iṣṭakhri adds that the water, although the springs are about 2 parasangs from the town (quite an absurd exaggeration), is still so hot on entering the baths that skins thrown into it have the hair taken off by it, so that the baths cannot be used till cold water is added. Muḳaddasī speaks of a boiling spring, which supplies most of the baths jointly and from which the steam warms the building. Nāṣir-i Khusrav mentions a spring at the door of the mosque in the centre of the town over which a bath was built, ascribed to King Solomon. Idrisi makes special mention of a large bath called Damākir, in the saltish water of which small goats and fowls could be stewed and eggs boiled; one bath called *al-Lulū* had hot water which was not salt, while the so-called "little bath" was the only one that was heated by fire; a Muslim prince had built a bath for his family over the latter but later it was presented to the public. There were also many hot springs to the south of it; to these baths there came from all parts paralysed and injured people, or those with diseases of the chest who remained three days in the water and with God's help became healed. These descriptions leave something to be desired in accuracy and clearness, especially as some of them mention in connection with the baths springs at a considerable distance away. In 1703 the springs dried up for a period (Reland, *Palestina*, p. 703). When the old bathing establishment fell into ruins, a new one was built at the beginning of the sixteenth century which is described by Burckhardt; it was however very simple so that Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1833 had a more handsomely equipped one built. In 1890 a third was built somewhat more to the South. According to Robinson the water comes out of four springs one of which is under the old bath house. According to his measurements the water has a temperature of 60° C. Frei read the temperature of the new bath where the water enters the basin as 59.5° behind the old one 58°, in a smaller spring near it 63°. Frei also gives the result of a chemical analysis of the water.

The new political conditions will no doubt bring a revival of prosperity to Tiberias, while before the war its condition formed a striking contrast to its brilliant past (cf. the enthusiastic description in Jos., *Bell.*, iii. 516 sq.). Ships and boats were only rarely seen on the lake and the once so intensively cultivated gardens were a wilderness. There is an almost complete lack of ancient remains.

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TABARKA, a town on the Tunisian coast, 75 miles W.N.W. of Tunis and 10 miles E. of the Algerian frontier. It is built on a sandy bay surrounded by hills at the mouth of a rather narrow fertile valley watered by the Wād al-Kabīr, which descends from the mountains of Ain-Dra-ham (Khumiria). Three quarters of a mile from the shore lies a rocky islet, 2,000 yards long and 500 broad. A roadstead lies between this island and the mainland accessible on the east side to ships of medium tonnage but only possible on the west side, the better sheltered, to small boats. The trade is insignificant, but the anchovy and sardine fishery attracts from March to September, 200—300 Italian fishermen. The village itself, the capital of a 'contrôle civile', has a thousand inhabitants, half French and half Italian. A few European works have been built on the adjoining plain.

The site of Tabarka corresponds to that of Thabraca, a flourishing town in the Roman period and Byzantine period. It was the port for the export of 'Numidian marble' from the quarries of Simithu (Chemtou) on the left bank of the Medjerda. Ancient ruins were still standing in the time of al-Bakrī (*Description*, transl. de Slane, p. 121); they have now almost completely disappeared except for a few traces of cisterns and buildings of the Christian period; on the other hand Christian burial-places have been unearthed in the neighbourhood. In the time of Bakrī Tabarka had still considerable trade; the ancient harbour however no longer existed and ships moored in the mouth of the Wād al-Kabīr itself. The wealth of the coral deposits there later attracted Provençal and Italian sailors thither. In 1540 the Lomellini of Genoa obtained for an annual payment the monopoly of the exploitation of the coral and the right to keep a garrison on the island. It is without proof however that this has been said to be the ransom paid for Dragut made prisoner by the Genoese Admiral Doria. In any case for two centuries (1540—1741), the island belonged to the Lomellini; they built a strong castle there and established a colony of their compatriots who sometimes numbered as many as a thousand. The Turks in their turn becoming lords of Tunisia installed a garrison of Janissaries on the mainland. As a result of the presence of the Christians, the island became a market where European merchandise was exchanged for the products of the country (wax, hides, corn) purchased very cheaply (cf. Savary de Brèves, *Relation*, p. 254). It was at the same time a kind of depot where the Christian slaves were interned while awaiting the arrival of the sums arranged for their ransoms, a transaction in which the Genoese apparently acted as intermediaries. The profits made by the Lomellini no less than the strategic value of the island could not fail to excite the cupidity of the French companies established on the Algerian coast. In 1633, Sanson Napollon, governor of "Bastion de France", tried to take the island but was killed as soon as he had made a landing on the island. During the second half of the xviiith century and the first half of the xviiith negotiations were several times conducted between the French government and the Lomellini to obtain the cession of the island by the latter. They were just reaching a settlement when the Bey 'Alī learning what was going on sent troops to occupy the island (June 12,

1741). The Genoese establishments were destroyed, a section of the inhabitants managed to escape and settle on the island of San Pietro, off the coast of Sardinia. The others were taken to Tunis where their descendants were long known as Tabarkans. War as a result broke out between France and the Regency and a French naval officer M. de Saurins attempted an unsuccessful attack on Tabarka on July 2, 1742; a hundred men were killed and 224, including the leader of the expedition, captured by the Turks. Henceforth the Tunisians remained in possession of the island and refused to yield to the demand for concessions made by France and other foreign powers. But although the coral continued to be exploited, Tabarka lost all commercial importance. At the beginning of the Tunisian expedition, the French bombarded the Turkish front and landed at Tabarka on 26th April 1881. Since then a European centre has been created here and a road made to connect the coast with the valley of the Medjerda through the massif of Khumiria. But as a result of its outlying position, the town has only developed slowly. The making of a road and a railway to Mateur and Beja and the exploitation of the mineral deposits discovered in the region will undoubtedly however bring it some elements of prosperity.

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(G. YVER)

TABAS, a town in Persia, in the province of Khurāsān, in reality two towns whence the dual form used by the Arab geographers: *Tabasāni*. The first is called Tabas al-Unnāb, "T. of the jujube-trees" (in Persian Tabas-Masinān), and the second Tabas al-Tamr, "T. of the date-palms" (*al-sufā*, Mukaddasi), in Persian Tabas-Gilaki (Kurī, Kurīn). The first has walls now in ruins and no citadel. The second is commanded by a fortress; it has a small market and a graceful mosque; it gets its water-supply from reservoirs fed by open canals (*zāhira*). These two towns are under Kāin, the capital of the district of Kūhistān; they form the southern frontier of Khurāsān. In the reign of the Caliph 'Othmān, they were the first Muslim conquests in this province, for these two towns are, as it were, the gates of this country. They were taken by 'Abdallāh b. Budail b. Waraka. After the occupation of Alamūt by Ḥasan Sabbāh, they became centres of the Ismā'īlīs. In the Saljūq conquests, they were allotted to Kāwart, son of Čaghri. They were laid waste by the Uzbeks in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I before 1006 (1597).

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f° 367 v°; Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, *G.M.S.*, p. 145; transl. p. 141, 143; P. M. Sykes, *Journal R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1905, xxvi., and *History of Persia*, ii. 109; E. G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, ii. 172; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 359—361, 362—363.

(CL. HUART)

TABĀSHĪR, a drug highly esteemed in the east, consisting of pebble-like accretions, which are formed in the nodes of *Bambusa arundinaria* Wild. The substance is obtained, according to Ḳazwīnī (ii. 82) or Ibn Muḥalhil, by burning the reed and from ancient times it has always been a valuable article of commerce which the Greeks called *τάβασσις*.

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(J. RUSKA)

TĀBĪ' (A.), pl. *tābī'un*, follower, follower of a prince, disciple of a teacher, adherent of a doctrine; the verbal form is *tābā'a*, e.g. *tābā'a Djalīnūs*, he followed Galen (in medicine).

The word is of special significance in Tradition where the name *tābī'* is given to those who came after the Companions of the Prophet, the *Aṣḥāb*. The *aṣḥāb* are the people who saw and were directly acquainted with the Prophet; the *tābī'un* are those of the next generation or contemporaries of the Prophet, who did not know him personally but who knew one of his Companions. The "followers" of the second generation (*tābī'u 'l-tābī'in*) are those who knew one of the first *tābī'un* and so on. Traditions are of more or less value according as they go back to a "follower" of a more or less early generation and according as the *tābī'* who is the first transmitter of it is more or less esteemed and famous. Thus the *maṣḥūr* or wide-spread tradition is that which goes back to a *tābī'* of the first generation and which has been disseminated and handed down by several *tābī'un* of the second generation and their successors (cf. ḤADĪTH). There are in the same way generations of transmitters for traditions regarding the reading of the *Qur'ān* and for those of *Ṣūfism*. One of the most celebrated "followers" of the first generation is Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TAB'ĪR. [See *ru'yā*.]

TABRİZ, capital of the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān [q.v.].

Geographical position. The town lies in the eastern corner of the alluvial plain (measuring about 30 × 20 miles) sloping slightly towards the north-east bank of Lake Urmīya. The plain is watered by several streams, the chief of which is the Adjī-ḥai ("bitter river") which, rising in the south-west face of Mount Sawalān runs along the *Ḳaradja-dagh* which forms a barrier on the south and entering the plain runs around on the north-west suburbs of the town. The left bank tributary

of the Adjī-ḥai, Mihrān-rūd (now the Meidān-ḥai), runs through the town. The altitude of the different quarters of Tabriz, according to the Russian map may be put at 4,000—5,000 feet. Immediately to the north-east of the town rise the heights of 'Ainali-Zainali (the *ziyārat* of 'Awn b. 'Alī and Zaid b. 'Alī) which (6,000 feet) forms a link between the mountain system of the *Ḳaradja-dagh* (in the north and north-east) and the outer spurs of the Sahand whose peaks (about 30 miles south of the town) reach a height of 11,500 feet. As the *Ḳaradja-dagh* is a very wild and mountainous region and the great massif of Sahand fills the whole area between Tabriz and Marāgha, the site of Tabriz is the only suitable pass for communications between east (Astāra [on the Caspian]—Ardabil—Tabriz and Teherān—Ḳazwīn—Miyāna—Tabriz), west (Trebizond—Erzerūm—*Khōi*—Tabriz) and north (Tiflis—Eriwān—Djulfā—Marand—Tabriz). Lastly as the outer spurs of the Sahand leave a rather narrow couloir along the east bank of the Lake of Urmīya, communication between north (Transcaucasia, *Ḳaradja-dagh*) and the south (Marāgha, Kurdistān) must also take place via Tabriz.

This fortunate position had predestined Tabriz to become the centre of the vast and rich province lying between Turkey and Russian (or Soviet) Transcaucasia and in general one of the most important cities between Constantinople and India (only Tiflis, Teherān, Iṣfahān and Baghdād fall into the same category). Tabriz has now about 200,000 inhabitants.

The climate of Tabriz is very severe in winter with heavy snowfalls. In summer the heat is tempered by the proximity of the Sahand and by the presence of numerous gardens about the town. The climate is on the whole healthy except for epidemics of cholera and typhus which are due rather to the unsanitary state of the town.

One feature of Tabriz is the frequent earthquakes. The most formidable took place in 244 (858), in 434 (1042) mentioned by Naṣir-i Khusrāw in his *Safar-nāma* (and predicted by the astronomer Abū Tāhir Shīrāzi), in 1641 (Arakel of Tabriz, p. 496), in 1727, in 1780 (Ousely, iii. 436; Ritter, ix. 854) etc. The earthquakes of Sept. 22—23, 1854 and of Oct. 30, 1856 have been described from personal observation by Khanykow in the *Bull. Hist. Phil. de l'Acad. de St. Péterbourg*, 1855, p. 251; 1858, p. 337—352. Seismic shocks are of everyday occurrence at Tabriz; they may be due to the volcanic activity of the Sahand but Khanykow thought they were due rather to a mechanical displacement of the earth's strata.

The fortifications of the town were razed to the ground in the reign of Naṣir al-Din Shāh (*Mir'āt al-Buldān*, i. 343). The part of the town called the *Ḳal'a* (the districts of Čār-minār, Surkhāb, Dāwāči, Waidjūya [vulgo: Wārdjī], Mihād-mihīn [vulgo: Miyar-miyar], Nawbar, Maḳṣūdiya etc.) is therefore no longer separated from the former part *extra muros* (the districts of Ahrāb, Lailābād [vulgo: Leilava], Čarandāb, *Khīyābān*, Bāgh-mēsha etc.). The town has also incorporated the former suburbs to the west of the town (Amīr-khiz, Čüst-düzān, Ḥukmābād [vulgo: Hükmaraw], *Ḳara-malik*, *Ḳara-aghadj*, Akhūni, Kūča-bāgh, *Khātib*) and the south-east (Maralān). The tendency of the city is to extend to the west and south-west.

Tabriz is the administrative and economic centre of the vast province of Ādharbāidjān, the present

sub-divisions of which are: Ardabil (with Astārā, Mughān etc.), Karādja-Dagh (capital Ahar), Marand (with Djulfā and Gargar), Khōi, Mākū, Salmās, Urmia (with Ushnū), the region of Mukri (capital Sawdj-bulāk), Sa'in-kāl'a, Marāgha, Hashtarūd and Garmarūd (capital Miyāna), Sarāb and the central district of Tabriz.

In the xvth century, Hamdullāh (cf. Ewliyā, ii. 257) gave the divisions of this last district (*tuman*) as: Mihrān-rūd, to the east of the town; Sardarūd, to the south-west of the town; Bawil-rūd (?), to the south of the preceding (with the villages of Khushraw-shāh, Uskūya, Milān); Arwanāk, to the north-east of the Lake of Urmia with the villages of Shabistar, Sofiyān etc.; Rūdķāb (?), Khānum-ābād (?) and Badūstān (?), all three to the north of the town. The boundaries of the old central *tuman* were unchanged down to the xxth century.

The name. According to Yāķūt, i. 822, the name of the town is pronounced Tibriz. Yāķūt gives as his authority Abū Zakariyā al-Tabrizī (a pupil of Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arī, 363—449) of whom we know that he spoke the local Iranian dialect (cf. al-Sam'āni, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, G. M. S., s. v. Tanūkhī, and Saiyid Ahmad Kisrawī Tabrizī, *Adhārī yā sabān-i bāstān-i Adharbāyagān*, Tēherān 1304, p. 11). The pronunciation Tibriz must be one of the peculiarities of this dialect which is related to those called "Caspian". The modern pronunciation is exclusively Tabriz (or with a metathesis typical of the Turkish dialect, now predominant throughout Adharbāidjān: Tarbīz). The Armenian sources confirm the pronunciation with *a*. Faustus of Byzantium (fourth century) has Thavrēz and Thavrēsh, Asolik (xth century) Thavrēz. Vardan (xivth century) has Thavrēz and Davrēz, this last form evidently adopted to a popular Armenian etymology: *da i vrēz*, "that is for vengeance"; cf. Čamčan, *History of Armenia*, Venice 1784, i. 365; Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, i. 42; do., *Pers. Stud.*, p. 179. For the fifth (fourth) century of the Christian era the form of the name attested in Armenian is therefore Thavrēz < Pers. Tavrēz (Hübschmann). The popular Persian etymology explains *Tabriz* as "making fever run" (= disappear). (Ewliyā Čelebi: *sīma döküdü*), but it is possible that the name rather means "that which makes the heat disappear", in some connection with the volcanic activities of the Sahand (cf. also the name of the pass between Bayazid and Vān: Tapariz). The Armenian orthography reflects the peculiarities of Northern Pehlevi (*taw* < *tap* and especially *rēz* for **rēz*) and this suggests the origin of the name may go back to a very early period, pre-Sāsānian and perhaps pre-Arsakid (on the linguistic changes that have taken place in Adharbāidjān as a result of the Turkish invasions cf. the article TĀT).

History. The identification of Tabriz with some ancient city of Media has given rise to much discussion (cf. the resumé in Ritter, ix. 770—779). The possibility that Tabriz = Γάβρις in Ptolemy vi., Ch. 2 (from *Γάβρις) is made less probable by the analysis of the Armenian form quoted above. Rawlinson, *Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana*, J. R. G. S., 1840, x., p. 107—111, has definitely cleared up the confusion between Tabriz and Ganza = al-Shiz (in Armenian Gandzak Shāhastan distinguished from Thavrēz by Faustus of Byzantium).

According to the Armenian historian Vardan

(xivth century), Tabriz was founded on Persian territory by the Arshakid Armenian Khosrow (217—233) as an act of revenge against the first Sāsānian king Ardashīr (224—241) who had killed the last Parthian king Artabanus; cf. St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i., 423. This story is not found in any ancient source and is probably explained by the popular etymology given above. In Faustus of Byzantium, transl. Lauer, iv., Ch. 25 and 39 and v., Ch. 2. we only find that in the reign of Arshak II of Armenia (351—367) the Armenian general Wasak attacked the Sāsānian Shāpūr II (309—379) who was encamped at Thavrēz. Wasak later slew the Persian general Boyekan there, burned the royal palace and shot an arrow into the statue of the king there. Later Mushegh, son of Wasak, defeated the Persian troops at Tabriz.

It remains to be seen whether the name Thebarmais, where in 614 the emperor Heraclius after laying waste Ganza, burnt the town and fire-temple (Theophanus, p. 474: ἀπάρας ἀπὸ Γαζανῶ καταλαμβάνει τὴν Θιβαρμαῖς) does not show some confusion with Thavrēz.

Arab rule. During the conquest of Adharbāidjān by the Arabs (c. 22 = 642) the principal efforts of the latter were directed against Ardabil. Tabriz is not mentioned, among the towns from which the Persian Marzubān had levied his troops (Balādhuri, p. 326). After the devastation mentioned by Faustus, Tabriz must have become a mere village (cf. Yāķūt). The later legend (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, 730 = 1340) of the "building" of Tabriz in 175 (791) by Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashid, is perhaps based on the fact that after the sequestration of the Umayyad estates Zubaida had received Warthān (in Adharbāidjān on the Araxes). According to Balādhuri, p. 331 and Ibn al-Fakih, p. 285 (cf. also Yāķūt, i. 822) the rebuilding of Tabriz was the work of the family of al-Rawwād al-Azdi and particularly of the latter's sons, al-Wadjnā and others who built the walls round the town. Tabarī (iii. 1171 = Ibn al-Athir, vi. 315) speaking of the rebellion of Babak (201—220) mentions among his conquerors a certain Muḥammad b. Ba'ith, owner of two castles: Shāhī which he had taken from al-Wadjnā and Tabriz (no details given). Shāhī which was 2 farsakhs (?) in extent was stronger than Tabriz [cf. the name of the peninsula of Shāhū or Shāhī on Lake Urmia to the south-west of Tabriz; but according to Balādhuri, p. 330 the fief of Ba'ith was Marand.]

When Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119 wrote (232 = 840), Tabriz belonged to Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād. In 244 the town was destroyed by an earthquake but rebuilt before the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232—247). Tabriz seems then to have changed hands several times, for, according to al-Iṣṭakhri (c. 340), p. 181, the strip of territory which included Tabriz, Djabrawān (or Dih-Kharakān?) and Ushnūh [g. v.] bore the name of the ruling tribe Banū Rudaini, which had already disappeared by the time of Ibn Hawkal (c. 367), p. 289. These owners seem to have ruled in practical independence for the history of the Sādjids (lords of Adharbāidjān from 276—317) contains no reference to their intervention in the affairs of Tabriz: cf. Defrémery, *Mém. sur la famille des Sadjides*, J. A., 1847 (the capital of this dynasty was first Marāgha and later Ardabil; *ibid.*, reprint, p. 25, 41, 47, 57, 77).

After the disappearance of the Sādjids, Ādharbāidjān became the arena of numerous struggles. A former governor for the Ziyārid Mardāwīdj, Lashkari b. Mardī, had seized the province in 326. He was driven out by the Kurd Daisam (cf. KURDS) who soon came into conflict with the Dailamī Musāfirids [q. v.]. The people of Tabriz invited Daisam into their town, which was at once besieged by the Musāfirid al-Marzubān. Daisam left Tabriz and the rule of al-Marzubān was proclaimed in all the towns of Ādharbāidjān (c. 330).

The end of the Musāfirid dynasty is not quite clear. Huart, *Les Musāfirides de l'Adharbaidjan*, in *Volume... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, gives 438 as the last mention of their rule at Tārom but Sir E. D. Ross, *On 3 Muhamm. dynasties, Asia Major*, 1925, ii., p. 212—215 connects with the Musāfirids the family of the Rawwādī which can be traced at Tabriz down to 446. It is however possible that these Rawwādī were descendants of al-Rawwād al-Azdi, father of the rebuilder of Tabriz, and had nothing to do with the Dailamī Musāfirids (apart from intermarriage). The following events are connected with these Rawwādī: in 420, Wahsūdān b. Mahlān (Mamlān?) had a large number of Ghuzz chiefs massacred at Tabriz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 279); in 434 an earthquake destroyed Tabriz and the amīr (probably the same one) went to his other strongholds for fear of al-Ghuzz al-Saldjūkiya (*ibid.*, p. 351); in 438 Nāšir-i Khusrāw found in Tabriz a king Saif al-Dawla wa-Sharaf al-Milla Abū Manšūr Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad (Mamlān?) Mawlā Amiri 'l-Mu'minin; in 446 Toghrīl received the submission of the lord of Tabriz al-Amīr Abū Manšūr b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādī (*ibid.*, ix. 410).

Tabriz in the early centuries of the Hīdjra. While Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119, Balādhuri, p. 331, Ṭabarī, iii. 1171, Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 285 and even al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 181 simply mention Tabriz among the little towns of Ādharbāidjān, al-Muḥaddasī already sings the praises of Tabriz and his contemporary Ibn Hawḳal (c. 367 = 978) considers it the most prosperous town in Ādharbāidjān with a busy trade and manufactures of *armani*. Ibn Miskawaih (d. 421 = 1030) calls Tabriz a "noble city with a strong wall, surrounded by woods and gardens", and calls its inhabitants "brave, martial and rich". According to Nāšir-i Khusrāw the area occupied by the town in 438 was 1,400 × 1,400 paces which is only about a third of a square mile.

Saldjūk period. Tabriz is very rarely mentioned in the history of the Great Saldjūks. In the vicinity of the town Tughrīl celebrated his marriage with the caliph's daughter (*Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, p. 111). During his struggle with his brother Muḥammad, Sulṭān Barkiyarūḳ retired in 494 to the mountainous region to the south of Tabriz but at the reconciliation of the brothers, Tabriz fell to Muḥammad who appointed Sa'd al-Mulk as wazīr there (498). In 505 we find al-Amīr Suḳmān al-Kuṭbī mentioned as lord of Tabriz i. e. the founder of the dynasty of Shāhs of Armenia (*shāh-arman*) which ruled at Akhlāt from 493 to 604.

Under the branch of the Saldjūks of the 'Irāk whose capital was at Hamadān, Ādharbāidjān played a more important part. In 514 Sulṭān Maḥmūd spent some time at Tabriz to calm the inhabitants who were alarmed at the inroads of the Georgians. The name of the atābeg of Ādhar-

bāidjān at this period was Kun-toḡhdi. After his death (515) the Amīr of Marāgha Aḳ-Sunḳur Aḥmadilī endeavoured to get Tabriz out of the hands of Tughrīl (brother of the Sulṭān) but these intrigues came to nought. Maḥmūd appointed to Ādharbāidjān the Amīr Djuyūsh of Mawsil who was killed at the gate of Tabriz in 516. After the death of Maḥmūd (525), his brother Mas'ūd occupied Tabriz and was besieged there by Dāwūd, son of Maḥmūd. Finally Dāwūd established himself in Tabriz and from this town ruled (526—533) a great fief composed of Ādharbāidjān, Arrān and Armenia. Ādharbāidjān and Arrān were later entrusted to Tughrīl I's old slave, the Atābeg Kara-Sunḳur, whose capital seems to have been at Ardabil (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 52). After his death in 535 the Amīr Dja'uli (Cawli) al-Tughrīlī succeeded him but we soon find Ildigīz, the founder of the dynasty of Atābegs which ruled the province till 622, established in Ādharbāidjān. The centre of Ildigīzid power was at first to the north-west of Ādharbāidjān while Tabriz became part of the possessions of the Aḥmadilī Amīrs of Marāgha for it was not till 570 that the Atābeg Pahlawān b. Ildigīz took Tabriz from Falak al-Dīn, grandson of Aḳ-Sunḳur b. Aḥmadilī, and gave it to his brother Kīzīl Arslān. It was during the period that Kīzīl Arslān was Atābeg (582—587) that Tabriz definitely took its place as the capital of Ādharbāidjān.

In 602 the Amīr Kara-Sunḳur 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmadilī in alliance with the Atābeg of Ardabil made an attempt to retake Tabriz from Kīzīl Arslān's successor, the bon-vivant Abū Bakr. The attempt failed and Kara-Sunḳur lost Marāgha.

The Ildigīzids lived in great style as we may judge from the odes addressed to them by poets like Nizāmī and Khakānī but of their buildings we only know the remains at Nakhčuwān [q. v.]. The political weakness of their epigones is confirmed by the episode mentioned in the Georgian chronicle which took place between 1208 and 1210 (605—607 A. H.). Iwane and Zakhare, generals of queen Thamar, in the course of a hazardous marauding expedition traversed the whole of northern Persia to Djurdjān. The Georgian troops coming from Marand levied a ransom from the people of Tabriz (Thawrēz) but otherwise did not disturb the peace of the country. A little garrison left in the town awaited the return of the troops. The episode is not mentioned in the Muslim sources but by its detail the story inspires a certain confidence. Cf. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i. 470.

The Mongols. The Mongols made their appearance before the walls of Tabriz in the winter of 617. The incapable Atābeg Özbek b. Pahlawān obtained their departure by paying a heavy ransom. Next year the Mongols came back again. The Atābeg fled to Nakhčuwān but a resistance was organised by the valiant Shams al-Dīn al-Tughrāī and the Mongols departed with a new ransom after which Özbek returned to Tabriz. In 621 a new horde arrived from Mongolia and demanded from Özbek the surrender of all the Khwārizmians in Tabriz. Özbek hastened to yield to this demand.

Djalāl al-Dīn. The Khwārizm-shāh soon arrived from Marāgha and on 27th Radjab 622 gained admittance to the town which Özbek had again abandoned. The inhabitants were glad to find a valiant defender especially as Djalāl al-Dīn

was soon to show his energy by an expedition against Tiflis and by the punishment of the marauding Turkomans of the tribe of Aiwā (al-Aiwā'iya). Djalāl al-Dīn having married the *malika*, the former wife of Özbeg, held Tabriz for six years but towards the close of this period, his position was seriously compromised by his failures as well as by his personal conduct (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 323). As early as 627 a Turkoman chief of the tribe of Qush-yalwa (?), a chief of Rūyin-diz (near Marāgha), dared to plunder the environs of Tabriz. In 628 Djalāl al-Dīn left Ādharbāidjān and the Mongols conquered the whole province, including the town of "Tabriz which is the very heart (*asf*) of the country [for] every one is dependent on it and on those who live there" (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 328). The "malik" of the Mongols (Djurmaghun-noin) sent for the notables (Shams al-Dīn al-Tughra'i alone did not stir), levied a heavy indemnity, ordered the weavers to make *khata'i* stuffs for the use of the great king (Ügedei) and fixed the amount of the annual tribute. From the time of Guyük the effective rule of Arrān and Ādharbāidjān was in the hands of Malik Šadr al-Dīn, a Persian ally of the Mongols. Cf. *Djahān-Gushā*, ed. M. Kazwini, *G. M. S.*, ii., 255.

The Mongol Ilkhāns. After the taking of Baghdād in 654 (1256) Hülāgū went to Ādharbāidjān and settled at Marāgha [q. v.]. In 661 (1263) after the defeat inflicted on him in the northern Caucasus by Berkai's troops, Hülāgū returned to Tabriz and massacred the merchants there of Kıpçak origin. In 662 (1264) at the re-distribution of the fiefs Hülāgū confirmed Malik Šadr al-Dīn in the governorship of the province of Tabriz.

Tabriz became the official capital under Abaḳā (663—680) and kept this position under his successors till the coming of Üldjaitū. In 688 (1289) under Arghūn the Jewish vizier Sa'd al-Dawla appointed his cousin Abū Maṣṣūr to Tabriz. Under Kai-Khatu the revenues of the province of Tabriz were estimated at 80 *tumāns*. In 693 (1294) Tabriz was the scene of a rebellion as a result of the introduction of a paper currency (*ṣao*). It was in the reign of Ghazān-Khān that Tabriz attained its greatest splendour. This monarch entered Tabriz in 694 (1295) and took up his abode in the palace built by Arghūn in the village of Shām to the west of the town, on the left bank of the Adjī-ḥai (the old form of this Persian name is *shanb*, "cupola" [Quatremère, *N. E.*, xiv., p. 31: "building surmounted by a cupola"], but the name was already pronounced Shām in the xivth century, cf. *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*). Orders were at once given to destroy the temples of idols, churches and synagogues, and fire-altars. These orders are said to have been revoked in the next year on the appeal of the Armenian king Hethum. In 699 (1299) on his return from the Syrian campaign, Ghazān began a whole series of buildings. He intended Shām, already mentioned, as the site of his eternal rest. A building was erected there higher than the *gumbad* of the Sultān Sandjar at Marw, which was then considered the highest building in the Muslim world. Besides this mausoleum, which was crowned by a dome, there was a mosque, two madrasas (one Shāfi'i and the other Hanafi), a hostel for Saiyids (*dār al-siyādat*), a hospital, an observatory like that at Marāgha, a library, archives, a building for the officers of these establishments, a cistern for drinking-water

and baths with hot water. *Wakfs*, the revenues from which amounted to 100 *tumāns* of gold (*Waṣṣāf*), were set aside for the maintenance of these foundations. At each of the gates of the new town was built a caravanseraī, a market and baths. Fruit-trees were brought from distant lands.

In the town of Tabriz itself great improvements were also made. Hitherto its wall (*bārū*) was only 6,000 *gām* ("paces"; *Djihān-numā: kulādī* "fathom"). Ghazān gave it a new wall 25,000 *gām* in length ($4\frac{1}{2}$ farsakhs). All the gardens and the Kūh-i Waliyān and Sandjarān quarters were incorporated in the town. Within the wall on the slopes of the Kūh-i Waliyān (now Kūh-i Surkhāb or 'Ainali-Zainali) a series of fine buildings was erected by the famous vizier Rashid al-Dīn and the quarter was therefore known as *Rab'i Rashidi* (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 76). We have a letter from Rashid al-Dīn in which he asks his son to send him from Rūm 40 young men and women to people one of the villages in the new quarter; cf. Browne, *A Hist. of Pers. Liter.*, iii. 82.

As if to emphasise the fact that Tabriz was the real centre of the empire which stretched from the Oxus to Egypt, the gold and silver coins and the measures (*hila*, *gaz*) were standardised according to the standards of Tabriz (D'Ohsson, iv. 144; 271—277, 350, 466—469).

In 703 (1304) Ghazān-Khān was buried with great ceremony in the mausoleum of Shām. In 705 (1307) his successor Üldjaitū conceived the idea of creating a new capital at Sultāniya [q. v.]. It was however not easy to move the inhabitants, as in 715 (1315) we still find the ambassador from the Özbegs of Kıpçak following the route by Tabriz instead of the shorter Mughān-Ardabil-Sultāniya. It is also noteworthy that Tādī al-Dīn 'Alī-Shāh (vizier from 711—1312) had begun the construction of a magnificent mosque at Tabriz (outside the Mihād-mihin quarter).

In 717 (1317) under Abū Sa'id the retiring vizier Rashid al-Dīn went to Tabriz and only left it the following year to meet his fate. His property was confiscated and Rab'i Rashidi sacked (Browne, iii. 71). His son Ghiyāth al-Dīn who was called to power by Abū Sa'id himself continued to enlarge Rab'i Rashidi. The capital continued to be Sultāniya judging from the fact that Abū Sa'id was buried there in a mausoleum which he himself had ordered to be built (D'Ohsson, iv. 720).

When in 736 (1336) his successor Arpa lost the battle of Taghatu (this to be read for Baghatu) his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn was killed by the conqueror 'Alī Pādshāh Oirat. The property of the family of Rashid al-Dīn was plundered by the people of Tabriz and valuable collections and precious books disappeared on this occasion.

The Djalā'irs and the Čobanids: In the midst of the anarchy which followed these events we have the rise of the Djalā'ir (Ilkhāni) dynasty whose fortunes were closely associated with Tabriz. In 736 (1336) Ḥasan Buzurg Djalā'ir established on the throne of Tabriz his candidate Sultān Muḥammad. In spite of its temporary nature this episode marks the restoration of its primacy to the old capital. The Čobanid Ḥasan Kūtik soon appeared on the scene with his own candidates. Ḥasan Buzurg retired to Baghdād and Ḥasan Kūtik (740—1340) put on the throne Sulaimān Khān with rule over 'Irāk 'Adjam, Ādharbāidjān,

Arrān, Mughān and Georgia. The successor of Ḥasan Kūčik, his brother Ashraf, in 744 (1344) proclaimed a new puppet Anūshirwān while he himself remained in Tabriz as the real ruler and extended his authority as far as Fārs. His cruelty and exactions provoked an "intervention in the cause of humanity" by Djāni-beg Khān of the Blue Horde (Eastern Kıpçak). Ashraf was defeated at Khoi and Marand and his head suspended over the door of a mosque in Tabriz (756 = 1355). The vizier Akhidjūk whom Djāni-beg had left in Ādharbāidjān found his authority disputed on several sides. Tabriz was temporarily occupied by the Djālā'ir Uwais b. Ḥasan Buzurg who came from Baghdād. Hardly had he been driven out by Akhidjūk than the Muzaḥḥarid of Fārs, Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad, quarrelling with Djāni-beg who had called upon him to recognise his suzerainty arrived from Shirāz, defeated Akhidjūk at Miyāna and seized Tabriz in 758 (1357). After two years he retired before Uwais (cf. *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, G.M.S., p. 677—679, 715—717) who soon afterwards reoccupied Tabriz and slew Akhidjūk.

When the news of the death of Sultān Uwais (776 = 1377) reached Fārs, Shāh Shudjā' who had succeeded Mubārīz al-Dīn set out from Shirāz to take Tabriz. Ḥusain, son of Uwais, was defeated and Tabriz occupied but after a few months a rebellion having broken out at Ūdjan forced Shudjā' to evacuate the town which Ḥusain reoccupied without striking a blow. Sultāniya seems to have marked the limits of the lands of the Muzaḥḥarids in the north-west (*Tārīkh-i Guzida*, p. 723—725). In 784 (1382), Ḥusain Djālā'ir was slain at Tabriz and his brother Sultān Aḥmad succeeded him in Ādharbāidjān but his rule was to be brief for Timūr soon after appeared on the scene.

In spite of all the vicissitudes of their intermittent rule the Djālā'irs were able to gain the sympathy of the people of Tabriz. Their rights were implicitly recognised by the lords of Shirwān and the Kara-Koyunlu. Among their buildings in Tabriz are recorded their mausoleum Dimishkiya and a large building by Sultān Uwais, which, according to Clavijo, ed. Sreznewski, p. 169, contained 20,000 chambers ("camaras apartadas é apartamentos") and was called Dawlat-Khāna ("Tolbatgana ... la casa de la ventura"); cf. Markow, *Katalog Djala'ir. monet.*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. i.—xliv.: history of the Djālā'irs. — Coins of the following years struck by the Djālā'irs at Tabriz are known: Ḥasan Buzurg — 757, Uwais — 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 769, 770, Ḥusain — 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, Aḥmad — 785, 810.

Period of Timūr. During his first invasion of Persia (786) Timūr returned to Samarkand after taking Sultāniya. His great rival Toktamish-Khān of the Golden Horde at once sent an expedition against Ādharbāidjān by Darband in 787 (1385). The invaders took Tabriz which was badly defended by Amīr Walī (the former lord of Djurdjān [cf. TUGHĀ-TIMŪR] driven out by Timūr) and the Khān of Khalkhāl, plundered the inhabitants, carried off prisoners (including the poet Kamāl Khudjandi) and returned to Darband (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 392; Browne, *Hist. Pers. Lit.*, iii. 321).

Hardly had Sultān Aḥmad Djālā'ir recovered Tabriz than he was driven out again by Timūr (788) who came on the pretext of protecting the Muslims. Timūr encamped at Shām-Ghazān and

levied an indemnity (*māl-i amān*) on the people of Tabriz; cf. *Zafar-nāma*, i. 326; al-'Aini is much severer on Timūr, cf. Markov, *Catalogue*, p. xxvii.).

In 795 (1392) the "fief of Hūlāgū" (*takht-i Hūlāgū*), consisting of Ādharbāidjān, al-Raiy, Gilān, Shirwān, Darband and the lands of Asia Minor, was granted to Mirān-shāh (*ibid.*, ii. 623) and Tabriz became the capital of this territory. Three years later this prince became insane and committed a series of insensate actions (execution of innocent people, destruction of buildings, *ibid.*, ii. 200, 213, and Browne, *op. cit.*, iii. 71). Timūr immediately on his return from India set out for Ādharbāidjān in 802 and executed those who shared in Mirān-shāh's debauches.

In 806, Mirzā 'Omar, son of Mirān-Shāh, was placed at the head of the "fief of Hūlāgū" and the lands conquered by Timūr in the west. His father Mirān-shāh (in Arrān) and his brother Abū Bakr (in Mesopotamia) were placed under the authority of Mirzā 'Omar. After the death of Timūr a long struggle began between 'Omar and Abū Bakr. In 808, Abū Bakr succeeded in levying on Tabriz a tribute of 200 'Irāki tumāns. 'Omar returned to Tabriz but his Turkomans harassed the people and Abū Bakr regained the town. Hardly had he left Tabriz than the Turkoman rebel Bistām Djāgiri entered it but hurriedly retreated on the approach of Shāikh Ibrāhīm of Shirwān [q. v.]. In 809 the latter handed over Tabriz to Sultān Aḥmad Djālā'ir as to its true sovereign and the inhabitants showed great joy on this occasion; cf. *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, transl. Quatremère, *N. E.*, xiv., p. 109. On Rabī' I, 8, Abū Bakr was again at Shām-Ghazān but did not dare go into the city where the plague was raging.

A short time before these latter happenings, the Ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Clavijo, spent some time in Tabriz (June 11—20, 1404 and with intervals Febr. 28—Aug. 22, 1405, i.e. from the end of 806 to the beginning of 808 A.H.). In spite of the trials it had undergone, the town was very busy and conducted considerable trade. Clavijo talks highly of the streets, markets and buildings of Tabriz.

The Kara-Koyunlu. On the 1st Djumādā I, 809, Kara Yūsuf, the Kara-Koyunlu Turkoman on the Araxes, inflicted a defeat on Abū Bakr who in his retreat handed Tabriz over to plunder, and nothing escaped the rapacity of his army" (*Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, p. 110). Kara Yūsuf advanced as far as Sultāniya and carried off the population of this town to Tabriz, Ardabil and Marāgha. Abū Bakr soon returned to Ādharbāidjān but Kara Yūsuf assisted by Bistām defeated him at Sardarūd (5 miles south of Tabriz). Mirān Shāh fell in this battle and was buried at Tabriz in the cemetery of Surkhāh.

Kara Yūsuf, remembering the agreements on the redistribution of the territory made with Sultān Aḥmad at the time when both were in exile in Egypt had recourse to a stratagem. With great ceremony he put on the throne of Tabriz his son Pir-Budāgh who was regarded as the adopted son of Sultān Aḥmad (according to the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, Kara Yūsuf did not give the title of Khān to Pir-Budāgh till 814). Aḥmad to outward appearance resigned himself to this arrangement but, when Kara Yūsuf was absent in Armenia, he occupied Tabriz. In the battle of Asad (?) two farsakhs from Tabriz, Sultān Aḥmad was finally defeated (28th

Rabī II, 813 = 1410). He was executed by Qara Yūsuf and buried in the Dimishkiya beside his father and mother. Once more the sympathies of the people of Tabriz were with the last Djalā'ir king; cf. Huart, *La fin de la dynastie des Ilkhaniens*, *Journ. As.*, Oct. 1876, p. 316—362.

Tabriz is regularly mentioned as the centre from which Qara Yūsuf sent out his expeditions. The Timūrid Shāhrukh fearing the influence of Qara-Yūsuf in 817 undertook his first expedition against him but did not advance beyond al-Raiy (*Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, p. 238, 250). When in 823 (1420) he was renewing his attempt, news reached him of the death of Qara Yūsuf (on Dhu 'l-Qa'da 7, 823 = November 12, 1420). Anarchy broke out in the Turkoman camp and a week later Mirzā Baisunghur occupied Tabriz; cf. Price, *Chronological Retrospect of the Events of Mahom. History*, London 1821, iii. 541, following the *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* and the *Khulāṣat al-Akhbār*. Shāhrukh arrived there in the summer of 824 (1421) after defeating in Armenia the sons of Qara Yūsuf. In 832 Iskandar, son of Qara Yūsuf, seized Sulṭāniya. Shāhrukh again arrived at Shām-Ghazān at the head of an army and inflicted a defeat on the Qara-Qoyunlu at Salmās. In the winter of 833 Ādharbāidjān was given to Abū Sa'īd b. Qara Yūsuf who had come to pay homage to Shāhrukh. In the following year he was slain by his brother Iskandar. In the winter of 838 (1434) Shāhrukh came to Ādharbāidjān for the third time. Iskandar thought it wiser to retire before him but his brother Djahānshāh hastened to join Shāhrukh. The latter spent the summer of 839 (1436) in Tabriz and on the approach of winter gave investiture to Djahān-shāh.

Thus began the career of the prince who made Tabriz the capital of a kingdom stretching from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf and to Herāt. The most remarkable building in Tabriz "the Blue Mosque" (Gök-masjid) is the work of Djahān-shāh (according to Berezin, of his wife Begum-Khātūn). It is possible that the presence in Tabriz in the Surkhāb and Čarandāb quarters of members of the Ahl-i Haḡḡ sect (cf. SULṬĀN-ISḤĀḠ) dates from the time of Djahān-shāh on whose heretical views cf. Münedjdjim-baṣhī, iii. 154.

The Aḡ-Qoyunlu. On the 12th Rabī II, 872 (10th November 1467) Djahān-shāh was surprised in Armenia and slain by Uzun Ḥasan Bayanduri, chief of the Aḡ-Qoyunlu Turkomans. The two daughters of Iskandar proclaimed at Tabriz their dervish brother Ḥusain 'Alī but Begum Khātūn, widow of Djahān-shāh, put a stop to this plan. Tabriz was however occupied by Ḥusain 'Alī, the mad son of Djahān-shāh (by another wife) who put to death Begum Khātūn and her relatives (Münedjdjim-baṣhī).

In spite of the assistance which he had received from the Timūrid Abū Sa'īd, Ḥasan 'Alī was defeated at Marand. Subsequent events led up to death of Abū Sa'īd himself. In 873 (1468) Uzun Ḥasan seized Tabriz which he made his capital (he announced this decision in a letter to the Ottoman Sulṭān, Fērīdūn-bey, *Münsha'āt*).

The Venetian sources are of considerable value for the period of Uzun Ḥasan. [The first Venetian consul at Tabriz was Marco da Molino in 1324]. Giosafa Barbaro, sent by the republic in 1474, describes the animated life of Tabriz to which embassies came from all parts. Barbaro was received in a pavilion of the magnificent palace which he calls

"Aptisti" (*Haft + ?*). The anonymous Venetian merchant who visited Tabriz as late as 1514 (?) still speaks of the splendour of the reign of Uzun Ḥasan "who has so far not yet had an equal in Persia". Uzun Ḥasan died in 852 (1477) and was buried in the Naṣriya Madrasa which he had built and which was later to be used for the burial of his son Ya'qūb. During the twelve years of his comparatively peaceful reign (883—896) the latter attracted to his court many men of letters (the Kurdish historian Idris was his secretary) and in 888 built in the garden of Shāhib-abād the Hasht-bihisht palace (cf. the history of Ya'qūb by Faḡl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, a unique MS. of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris, ancien fonds pers. 101, fol. 105r). This palace (*Astibisti*) has also been described by the Venetian merchant; on the ceiling of the great hall were represented all the great battles of Persia, embassies, etc. Beside the Hasht-bihisht there was a ḥarem in which 1,000 women could be housed, a vast maidān, a mosque and a hospital to hold 1,000 patients (cf. also Ewliyā, ii. 249).

The Ṣafawis and the Turco-Persian wars. Ismā'il I occupied Tabriz in 906 (1500) after his victory at Sharūr over Mirzā Alwand Aḡ-Qoyunlu. Of the 200—300,000 inhabitants of the town two-thirds were reported to be Sunni but the new ruler was not long in imposing the Shī'a upon them and took rigorous measures against those who objected (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 31). In his hatred of the Aḡ-Qoyunlu Ismā'il had the remains of his predecessors exhumed and burned (the historian of Ya'qūb, fol. 206v; G. M. Angiolello). The Venetian merchant speaks of the despair into which the debauches of the young prince had plunged several noble families. When Ismā'il set out for Arzindjān after Alwand the latter succeeded in returning to Tabriz and during his brief stay there "oppressed the rich" (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 31).

The battle of Čaldīrān (2nd Radjab 920 = 23rd August 1514) opened to the Ottomans the road to Tabriz. Nine days later the city was occupied by the vizier Dukagin-oghlu and the defterdār Pīri and on the 6th September Sulṭān Selim made his triumphal entry into it. In the town the Turks conducted themselves with moderation (Browne, *Pers. Lit. in Mod. Times*, p. 77) but seized the treasures amassed by the Persian sovereigns and carried off to Constantinople 1,000 skilled artisans. The Sulṭān only stayed a week in Tabriz as he had to return to his own lands in consequence of the refusal of the Janissaries to continue the campaign (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 720).

The events of 1514 were a grave warning to the Persians and under Tahmāsp I, the capital was transferred much farther east to Kazwin. According to the Venetian Ambassador Alessandri, Tahmāsp, as a result of his avarice, was not popular in the old capital of the Aḡ-Qoyunlu.

At the suggestion of the renegade Ulāma (of the Turkoman tribe of Tekke) the troops of Sulaimān I under the command of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, occupied Tabriz in 941 (July 13, 1534) and went to the summer camp at Asadābād (Sa'īd-abād?). Ibrāhīm Pasha began to build a fortress at Shām-Ghazān. The government of Ādharbāidjān was entrusted to Ulāma who had held the same post under Tahmāsp. On September 27, Sulṭān Sulaimān himself arrived in Tabriz. A little later he made a thrust as far as Sulṭāniya and occupied

Baghdād. On his return to Tabriz he spent 14 days engaged in administrative business. The cold forced the Turkish army to retreat and the Persian troops at once advanced as far as Wān. Again in 955 (July 28, 1548) at the instigation of Alkās Mirzā, brother of Shāh Tahmāsp, Sulaimān occupied Tabriz but only stayed five days there. The Persian tactics were to destroy all means of subsistence for the invader and famine thus forced the Turks to retreat once more. According to the *Haft-Iklīm* Sulaimān had bought back from his soldiers their right of plundering the conquered city for 3 days but in spite of this the citizens continued to slay Turks in secret. Sulaimān refused Alkās Mirzā's proposal that the inhabitants should all be massacred or carried off into captivity. M. d'Aramon, ambassador of Francis I, was an eye-witness of the occupation of Tabriz and testifies to the Sultān's efforts to protect the town (*Voyage*, p. 83). In 962 (May 29, 1555) there was signed at Amasia the first treaty of peace between Turkey and Persia which lasted about 30 years (v. Hammer, ii. 112, 120, 269; *Ālam-ārā*, p. 49—59).

In 993 (1585) the grand vizier of Murād III Ōzdemir-zāde Ōthmān-pāshā with 40,000 men undertook the recapture of Tabriz. The governor of Wān, Ğighala-zāde, joined him with 6,000 men. Going via Āldīrān and Şofiyān the Turks arrived before Shām-Ghazān. The Persian governor 'Alī Ğulī-Khān after a bold sortie which cost Ğighala-zāde 3,000 men, retired during the night. In September the Turks occupied the town. As a punishment for the murder of several soldiers, the Turks sacked the town and massacred its inhabitants for three days. The Persian prime minister Ħamza Mirzā operating around the city on several occasions inflicted heavy losses on the Ottoman troops. To defend Tabriz, Ōthmān Pāshā-zāde built a square citadel the walls of which were 12,700 ells long (Ewliyā, *mimār-i mekkī arşunī*). This citadel which was erected in 36 days was inside the town (*Ālam-ārā* "on the site of the old dawlat-khāna"; Ewliyā "around the Khīyābān of the Shāh"). It was held by a garrison of 45,000 men. The eunuch Dja'far Pāshā was appointed governor of Tabriz. On October 29, 1585, Ōthmān Pāshā died. Ğighala-zāde whom he had appointed on his deathbed to command the Ottoman troops succeeded in defeating the Persians but soon the latter were able to besiege the Turks within the town. Forty-eight encounters took place before Farhād Pāshā definitely relieved the garrison (v. Hammer, ii. 354). By the disastrous peace of 998 (1590) Shāh 'Abbās had to cede to the Ottomans their conquests in Transcaucasia and the west of Persia. Henceforth the Turks took their occupation of Tabriz seriously. Their many buildings, especially those of Dja'far Pāshā, are mentioned by Ewliyā in Tabriz and its vicinity. But the Persians were keeping a watchful eye on their old capital.

The troubles with the *sipāhī* at the beginning of 1603 showed the weakness of Sultān Muḥammad III. In the autumn Shāh 'Abbās left Işfāhān unexpectedly and entered Tabriz 12 days later. 'Alī Pāshā was defeated at Hādjīdji Ħarāmī (2 farsakhs from the town) after which the citadel surrendered. Shāh 'Abbās treated the defeated foe with generosity (cf. the evidence of Tectander who was in Tabriz) but in a revival of Shī'a fanaticism the inhabitants killed a large number of Turks in the town and neighbourhood without heed for any bonds of

kinship or friendship that had been formed during the 20 years of Ottoman occupation. 'Abbās I invited the people to do away with all traces of Turkish rule and "in a few days they had left no vestige of the citadel nor of any of [their] houses, buildings, dwellings, caravanserais, shops, baths etc." (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 441, 451).

In 1019 (1610) in the reign of the weak Sultān Aḥmad III the Turks again tried to resume the offensive. The grand vizier Murād Pāshā with an army unexpectedly appeared in front of Tabriz but 'Abbās I had had time to make his preparations. The town was defended by the governor Pir-Budaḡ-Khān while the Shāh took up his position to the north of the Surkhāb. No fighting took place but the Turks suffered greatly from want of provisions in the country which the Persians had laid waste. Five days later the Turkish army was retracing its steps while Shāh 'Abbās and Murād Pāshā continued to exchange embassies. This Turkish invasion hastened the building of a new fortress at Tabriz. The site of the old Turkish citadel was thought to be unsuitable as liable to inundation by the Mīhrān-rūd. The new fortress was built under the shadow of Surkhāb in the Rab'-i Rashīdī quarter. The materials were taken from old ruins particularly at Shām-Ghazān (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 584, 601). On the other hand the unsuccessful invasion by Murād Pāshā led to the conclusion of a new treaty in 1022 (1612) by which the Persians succeeded in restoring the status quo as it had existed in the time of Shāh Tahmāsp and Sultān Sulaimān (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 600, 611; v. Hammer, ii. 736, 745). The actual demarcation however met with obstacles.

In 1027 (1618) at the instigation of some Tatar Khāns of the Crimea the Ottoman troops (60,000 men) of Wān suddenly invaded Ādharbājdjān. The Persians evacuated Tabriz and Ardabil. The Turks who were short of supplies revictualled at Tabriz and advanced to Sarāb where Ğarēḡai Khān, *sipāhsālār* of Tabriz, won a brilliant victory over them. A new treaty was made confirming the conditions of that of 1022 (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 656—661; v. Hammer, ii. 773).

After the death of 'Abbās I the struggle between Turk and Persian was resumed on a great scale. In the reign of his successor Shāh Şafī, Sultān Murād IV invaded Ādharbājdjān in 1045 (1635) and entered Tabriz on September 12. The aim of this campaign was plunder rather than conquest. Murād ordered his soldiers to destroy the town. Having in this way "knocked down Tabriz" (Ewliyā, *eyidje örseleyip*) Murād in view of the advance of the season hastened to return to Wān. He only spent 3 days in Tabriz. In the following spring, the Persians reoccupied their possessions as far as Eriwān and by the treaty of 1049 (1639) secured for themselves the frontier which has survived in its main lines to the present day.

Hādjīdji Khālifa who was an eye-witness of the campaign of 1045, says that after the devastation wrought by Murād IV the old ramparts had completely disappeared and "only here and there could traces of old buildings be seen" (*Djīhānumā*, p. 381). Even Shām-Ghazān was not spared; the mosque of Uzun Ḥasan alone was left intact. The soldiers also tried to cut down the fruit-trees but in view of their number only managed to destroy a tenth of them.

Such then was the state of the town when a

series of travellers who visited it a few years later say had undergone a splendid revival. The interesting story of Ewliyā Çelebi (in the reign of 'Abbās II in 1057 [1647]) gives detailed statistics of Tabriz, its madrasas (47), schools (400), caravanserais (200), houses of notables (1,070), dervish tekıyes (160), gardens (47,000), animated public promenades. In the same period Tavernier says that in spite of the damage done by Murād IV "the town is almost completely rebuilt". According to Chardin (ii. 328) in 1673 under Shāh Sulaimān I, there were in Tabriz 550,000 inhabitants (the figure seems exaggerated), 15,000 houses and 15,000 shops. It was "really a large and important town... There is plenty of all the necessities of life and one can live very well and cheaply in it". There was a hospice of Capucins at Tabriz on which the authorities cast a kindly eye. The Begler-begi of Tabriz had under his authority the Khāns of Karş, Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabil and 20 "sultāns" (= local chiefs).

The end of the Safawids and Nādir. The Afghān invasion of Persia resulted in a state of complete anarchy. The heir to the throne, Tahmāsp, who had fled from Isfahān arrived in Tabriz where he was proclaimed king in 1135 (1722). When by the treaty of September 12, 1723, Tahmāsp II ceded the Caspian provinces to Russia, Turkey announced that as a precautionary measure she would be forced to occupy the frontier districts between Tabriz and Eriwān. After the fall of Eriwān, Nakhçuwān and Marand, the Turks under the ser-asker Abdullāh Pāshā Köprülü arrived before Tabriz in the autumn of 1137 (1724). They occupied the Deweti and Surkhāb quarters (where Selīm I had once pitched his camp). The Persians who made Shām-Ghazān their base held out. The Turks had some success but the advanced season of the year forced them to retreat before the end of the month. In the following spring Köprülü returned at the head of 70,000 men. The siege only lasted four days but the fighting in the seven fortified quarters was very desperate. The Persians lost 30,000 men and the Turks 20,000. The survivors of the Persian garrison to the number of 7,000 withdrew without hindrance to Ardabil ('Alī Ḥazin, ed. Balfour, p. 153; Hanway, ii., p. 229).

The treaty of 1140 (1727) concluded with the Afghān Ashraf confirmed to the Ottomans the possession of N. W. Persia as far as Sultāniya and Abhar. Two years later Nādir defeated Muṣṭafā Pāshā's army at Suhailān (*vulgo* Sawalān or Sīnīkh-köprü) near Tabriz. He entered this city on the 8th Muharram 1142 (1729) and made prisoner Rustam Pāshā, governor of Hashtarūd.

Anxious to take advantage of the domestic troubles of Turkey, Shāh Tahmāsp resumed the offensive but lost the battle of Kuridjān (near Hamadān) and the ser-asker 'Alī Pāshā returned to Tabriz in the winter of 1144 (1731) and even built a mosque and madrasa there. By the treaty concluded a little later (January 16, 1732), the Persians ceded to the Porte the lands north of the Araxes but kept Tabriz and the western provinces. As Tabriz had actually been occupied by 'Alī Pāshā, the Porte very reluctantly agreed to its restoration to Persia and the signing of the treaty resulted in the dismissal of the grand vizier (v. Hammer, iv. 281). On the other hand the cession of the Transcaucasian provinces to Turkey gave Nādir an excuse for deposing Tahmāsp II.

After checking Nādir near Baghdād the governor of Wān Rustam Pāshā re-occupied Tabriz. In 1734, Nādir set out for Tabriz and as a result of his victories in Transcaucasia the treaty of 1149 (1736) re-established the status quo of 1049 (1639).

Towards the end of the reign of Nādir, when anarchy was again beginning, the people of Tabriz declared in favour of an obscure pretender who claimed to be Sām Mirzā. The death of Nādir in 1160 (1747) might have given the Porte an opportunity to intervene in Persian affairs especially as Ridā Khān, son of Faṭh 'Alī Khān, *diwān-begi* of Tabriz, had come to Erzerūm to beg Turkish support for one of the candidates for the throne (a Nādirid; v. Hammer, iv. 474) but Turkey maintained complete neutrality.

Nādir Shāh had entrusted Ādharbāidjān to his valiant cousin Amīr Arslān Khān who had 30,000 men under him. After Nādir's death, this general aided Nādir's nephew Ibrāhīm Khān to defeat his brother 'Adil Shāh (Sultān 'Alī Shāh) but Ibrāhīm at once turned on his ally, slew him and after collecting 120,000 men spent six months in Tabriz where (Dhu 'l-Kāda 7, 1161) he had himself proclaimed king (*Ta'rikh-i bād-Nādiriya*, ed. O. Mann, p. 36—37). He was soon killed by Shāhrukh, grandson of Nādir.

The history of Ādharbāidjān during the rule of the dynasty of Karīm Khān Zand is still little known. The Afghān Āzād Khān was at first lord of the province. In 1170 (1756) it was taken from him by Muhammad Husain Khān Kādjār. Next year Karīm Khān defeated Faṭh 'Alī Khān Afshar of Urmiya and conquered the greater part of Ādharbāidjān (Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*). In 1780 an earthquake did great damage in Tabriz.

The Kādjārs. Towards the end of 1205 (1790) Ākā Muḥammad, founder of the Kādjār dynasty, set out to occupy Ādharbāidjān. Among the governors who came to meet him was the hereditary lord of Khoi, Husain Khān Dumbuli (cf. KURDS, ii., p. 1145). Ākā Muḥammad added Tabriz to his fief. After the assassination in 1211 (1796) of the first Kādjār Shāh, troubles broke out in Ādharbāidjān. Šadiḳ Khān of the Shikāki tribe [q. v.] attempted to seize the supreme power and appointed his brother Muḥammad 'Alī Sultān to Tabriz. The Dumbuli Khāns took an active part in suppressing the rising and in return Faṭh 'Alī Shāh confirmed Dja'far Kulī Khān Dumbuli in the governorship of Tabriz. The latter as soon as he arrived in Tabriz in 1213 (1798) formed a coalition with Šadiḳ Khān who had re-established himself in Sarāb and the Afshār Khān of Urmiya and shaking off "the dependence which was so slight that it really was absolute independence" drove out the Shāh's representatives. Troops were sent against Dja'far Khān who with the help of the Kurds held out for some time in Khoi; cf. H. J. Brydges, *The Dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833, p. 50, 84 etc. In 1214 (1799) the heir to the throne of Persia 'Abbās Mirzā established himself in Tabriz with Ahmad Khān Muḥaddam (of Marāgha) as his beglerbegi. Dja'far Khān sought refuge in Russia (cf. SHEKKI) but for some time other members of the Dumbuli family continued to rule in Tabriz. In 1224 (1809) Nadjaf Kulī Khān Dumbuli rebuilt the citadel of Tabriz (*Mir'āt al-Buldān*, i. 343; S. Wilson, p. 325) around which 'Abbās Mirzā dug ditches in 1241 (1825).

After the incorporation of Georgia into Russia (1801) complications between Russia and Persia gradually increased and Tabriz became the principal centre of Persian activities. 'Abbas Mirzā set himself the task of europeanising the Persian army. An important English mission including a number of very notable explorers of Persia (Ouseley, iii. 399; Ritter, ix. 876—880) made its headquarters in Tabriz. The English and Russian diplomatic missions (the secretary and later head of the latter was the famous writer Griboyedov) also came to the court of 'Abbās Mirzā. The energetic heir to the throne built arsenals, cannon foundries, depots and workshops. After the trials it had undergone the town was however but a shadow of the splendid city of the time of Chardin. Tancoigne (1807) estimated its population at 50—60,000 including several Armenian families; Dupré (1809) at 40,000 with 50 Armenian families. Kinnear gives Tabriz ("one of the most wretched cities") only 30,000 inhabitants. Morier, who in the account of his first journey (1809) had given the exaggerated figure of 50,000 houses with 250,000 inhabitants, in his second journey confines himself to saying that Tabriz has only a tenth of its pristine magnificence and that it has no public buildings of note.

The Russo-Persian wars filled the period to 1828. During the operations of 1827 the General Prince Eristov with the help of certain discontented Khāns entered Tabriz with 3,000 soldiers on 3rd Rabi' II, 1243. 'Abbās Mirzā was away and opinions in the town were divided. Allāh-yār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla was for continuing the struggle but an important ecclesiastic the Imām Mirzā Fattāh insisted on surrender and opened the gates of the town to the Russians. (After the peace Mirzā Fattāh had to leave Persia and take refuge in Transcaucasia). The commander-in-chief Count Paskewitch then came to Tabriz and met 'Abbās Mirzā at Dih-Kharakān. An armistice was signed but the court of Teherān, did not approve of the terms. The Russians resumed the offensive and occupied Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabil. The peace of Turkman-çai (5th Sha'bān, 1243 = Feb. 22, 1828) which fixed the frontier on the Araxes finally put an end to the Russian occupation (*uruslukh*). On these events cf. the *Mir'at al-Buldān*, i. 404—410; Miansarov, *Bibliographia caucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874—1876, p. 743—747; *Détails sur ce qui s'est passé à Tauris du 24 octobre au 5 novembre 1827*, in *Nouv. Annales de Voyages*, Paris 1828, i. 38, p. 325; P. Zubow, *Kartini voyni s Persiyei 1826—1827*, St. Petersburg 1834; do., *Persidskaya voyna*, St. Petersburg 1837; Osten-Saken, *Administration de l'Ādharbāidjān pendant la guerre persane de 1827—1828* (in Russian), in *Russki Invalid*, 1861, N^o. 79.

Since the time of 'Abbās Mirzā, Tabriz has been the official residence of the heir to the Persian throne. Down to the accession of Muhammad Shāh in 1250 (1834) the British and Russian diplomatic missions spent most of their time in Tabriz (Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, ii. 247). Their transfer to Teherān marked the definite transference by the Qājārs of the political capital to that city. Down to the end of the 19th century little of general importance marked the life of Tabriz. On Sha'bān 27 1286 (July 8, 1850) the Bāb [q. v.] was executed in Tabriz at the entrance to the arsenal (*djaba-khāna*); cf. this correction in

Wilson, *Persian Life*, p. 62. In 1880, the approach of the Kurds under Shaikh 'Uбайдallah (cf. SHAMDĪNĀN) greatly disturbed the people of Tabriz. Gates were put up between the quarters to isolate them better if necessary but the Kurds did not go beyond the Bināb.

The consolidation of Qājār power secured peace for Ādharbāidjān and Tabriz gradually recovered. In spite of the terrible ravages of cholera and plague in 1830—1831 the census made in Tabriz in 1842 recorded 9,000 families or 100—120,000 people (Berezin). In 1895 the number of inhabitants was estimated at 150—200,000, of whom 3,000 were Armenians (Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 53). Twenty years later the population was certainly over 200,000 and in spite of the rudimentary nature of the municipal organisation the town showed every sign of prosperity. The trade of Tabriz after a period of stagnation developed, especially between 1833 and 1836, but the too great excess of imports produced a great crisis in 1837. The opening of the route by Transcaucasia (Poti-Baku) meant considerable competition for the parallel route Trebizond-Tabriz. In 1883 the Russian government closed the route through Transcaucasia and Russian trade was thereby encouraged in Northern Persian markets but the movement of goods via Trebizond-Tabriz (the only route to the west) also increased.

Twentieth century. The history of Tabriz since 1904 has been very stirring. The Turks of Tabriz (who are the result of intermarriage of Persians with Ghuzz, Mongols, Turkomans etc.) with their energetic and passionate character played a very important part in the Persian nationalist and revolutionary movement. Open rebellion broke out in Tabriz on June 23, 1908, the day of the bombardment of the Parliament in Teherān. The names of Saṭṭār Khān, a former horse-dealer who became chief of the Amīr Khiz quarter and his companion Bākīr Khān are closely associated with the brave defence of Tabriz but darker sides of their activity have not escaped even E. G. Browne, *The Pers. Revolution*, p. 491—492. The government troops under Prince 'Ain al-Dawla, surrounded the town and at the beginning of February 1909, blockaded it completely. On April 20 the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg agreed to send to Tabriz a Russian force "to facilitate the entrance into the town of the necessary provisions, to protect the consulates and foreign subjects, and to help those who so desired to leave the town". The Russian troops led by General Snarski entered Tabriz on April 30, 1909 (Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 274). The negotiations for their withdrawal lasted till 1911 when the Russian ultimatum presented at Teherān on November 29 provoked a new agitation in the country. On December 21 the *fidā'i* of Tabriz attacked the weak Russian detachment, distributed about the town, and inflicted considerable losses on them. This had the immediate result of the despatch to Tabriz of a Russian brigade under Voropanov, which arrived on the eve of the new year. The Russian military tribunal pronounced several death sentences (including one on the Thikāt al-Islām, an important member of the Shaikhī sect). In October 1912 the Turkish detachments who occupied the "disputed" districts west of Ādharbāidjān were recalled but the question of the Russo-Turkish frontier [cf. KURDS] remained still undecided. The Russian troops therefore re-

mained in Ādharbāidjān till 1914 when the world war broke out.

At the beginning of December, the Kurdish irregulars commanded by Ottoman officers began a movement from Sawdĵ-bulāk towards Marāgha and Tabriz. At the same time Enver Pasha's raid on Sarĵ-kāmīsh (south of Kars) threatened the whole Russian army in the Caucasus. Orders were given to evacuate Ādharbāidjān. Between December 17, 1914 and January 6, 1915, the Russian troops and following them the bulk of the local Christian population had left Tabriz. On January 8 Aḥmad Mukhtār Bey Shamkhal at a head of a body of Kurds entered the town. The situation changed suddenly and on January 31 the Russians returning in force re-occupied Tabriz (cf. the details in the book by the former German consul in Tabriz: W. Litten, *Persische Flitterwochen*, Berlin 1925, p. 8—127).

Since 1906 a paved road connecting Tabriz with the Russian frontier (Djulfā, terminus of the Russian railway) had been constructed by the Russian government company which had obtained the concession from the Persian government. The work of changing this road into a railway was now actively hurried on and it was opened to traffic at the beginning of May 1916. The railway (80 miles long, with a branch line from Sofiyan to Lake Urmia 25 miles long) was the first to be built on Persian territory.

The Russian army on the Persian frontier had become disorganised on the outbreak of the revolution of 1917. Ādharbāidjān was evacuated at the beginning of 1918. The representatives of the Persian central government and even the Crown Prince had remained all this time at their places but when the last Russian detachment left Tabriz on February 28, 1918, the actual power passed into the hands of the local committee of the democratic party and its head Ismā'il Nawbari.

Meanwhile the Turks emerging from their inactivity quickly occupied the frontiers abandoned by the Russians. On June 18, 1918, the Ottoman advance guard entered Tabriz. On July 8 General 'Alī Iḥsān Pāshā arrived and on August 25 Kāzīm Kara-bekir Pāshā who commanded the army corps. The Ottoman authorities banished Nawbari and supported the appointment of Maḍĵd al-Sulṭāna as governor of Ādharbāidjān. This troubled situation lasted for a year and only with the arrival in Tabriz of the new governor-general Sipah-sālār (June 1919) did affairs begin to resume their normal course. Complete order was only established under Riḍā Khān, who became first of all minister of war and later ruler of Persia.

By the treaty of February 26, 1921, the Soviet government renounced all the old concessions in Persia and the railway from Tabriz to Djulfā built at the expense of the Russian government thus became the property of the Persian state.

Antiquities. The oldest monuments in Tabriz date from the Mongol epoch (beginning of the xivth century) but no systematic study has yet been made of this field. The earthquakes and the indifference of the Shī'is to the buildings of their Sunni predecessors or rivals are the two main causes of the disappearance of the monuments, interesting traces of which however still remain.

The magnificent buildings of Ghazān Khān in the village of Shanb/Shām (now the suburb of Kara-malik) have completely disappeared. As early

as 1611 we find Shāh 'Abbās using the material of the ruins of Shām-Ghazān to build a fortress. The earthquake of Feb. 5, 1641 caused further destruction (Arakel of Tabriz, p. 496). Ewliyā Čelebi (ii. 265) still found the ruins of the sepulchral tower standing which reminded him of the tower of Galata (the same remark is made in the *Dihān-namā*). Mme. Dieulafoy and Sarre also visited the mound which is all that remains of Shām-Ghazān and faïences were still found there.

A detailed description of this marvellous building is given in the *Ikḍ al-Djīmān* of Badr al-Dīn al-'Aīnī (d. 835 = 1431) who made use of the account of the embassy from the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Nāṣir in the time of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd (the text was translated by Baron Tiesenhausen, *Zap.*, i. 1886, p. 114—118). The mosque was said to rival the vault of the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon. According to Ḥamdullāh (1340) the mosque was built too rapidly, which caused it to collapse (*furūd āmad*). The Venetian merchant (in 1514) speaks with enthusiasm of its ruins but Chardin (ii. 323) only found the lower part (restored) and the "tower". The name Tāk-i 'Alī Shāh ("vault of 'A.") is at the present day given to the enormous dilapidated brick building which stands in the centre of the town at the entrance to the old Mihād-Mihin quarter (vulgo: Miyar-miyar; cf. Berezin). It is probable that there is some confusion between the old mosque which has now disappeared and the neighbouring citadel which in no way agrees with the description which we have of the mosque. Nothing is definitely known of the date of the *ark*. It may be the vast *dawlat-khāna* ("Tolbatgana") of which Clavijo speaks and which is mentioned in the *'Ālam-ārū* (cf. above). The *ark* was turned into an arsenal by 'Abbās Mirzā and is still the most imposing building in Tabriz.

The beautiful mosque of Djahān Shāh (the Blue Mosque) described by Tavernier and Chardin has been exhaustively studied by Texier, Mme. Dieulafoy and Prof. Sarre. It is in a state of collapse. It is possible that its abandonment was the result of the heretical views of which its builder was accused by the Aḳ-Köyunlu. Ewliyā Čelebi is enthusiastic about "the mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan" adorned with stones from Naḍĵaf and inscriptions traced by the hand of the calligrapher Yākūt-i Mustā'şimī. On either side of the *mihrāb* were two pillars of a rare stone, like amber. This mosque known as Ustād-Shāġird ("master apprentice") was the work of Ḥasan Kūčik Čobani (d. 741 = 1340) (*Zinat al-Maḍĵālīs*, in the *Mir'at al-Buldān*, p. 341, Chardin). According to S. Wilson, the new mosque of this name (built on the site of the old one) is situated near the wool-market. This mosque seems to be different from the mosque of Uzun Ḥasan, of which very little is known.

Ewliyā says that the mosque of Shāh 'Abbās was opposite the Ustād-Shāġird. To the Šafawī period also belongs the "allée" (*Āhiyābān*) of Shāh Šaft (cf. Ewliyā). To the Kāḍĵār period belong the residence of the governor-general Ala-Kapī ("the red gate"), the beautiful gardens of Bāgh-i Shīmāl ("north garden's") which lie however on the south of the town), the pavilion of Shāh-göli ("the Lake of the Shāh"), 5 miles S. of the town (Berezin, p. 80) etc.

A detailed list of the monuments of Tabriz will be found in the *Travels* of Ewliyā Čelebi. The view of Tabriz by Chardin (*Atlas*, Pl. XI) which

shows the public buildings is valuable for the study of the topography. The *Mir'at al-Buldān*, i. 346—348 and the book by the American missionary Wilson also contain useful details. A plan of the town prepared in 1880 by the students of the military school of Tabriz on a scale of 1:8,820 was published in 1894; cf. Houtum-Schindler, *Geogr. Journ.*, 1895, p. 104. Berezin, p. 52 gives a sketch of the quarters of the town. There is a little Persian plan reproduced in Browne, *The Pers. Revolution*, p. 284. A very detailed plan of Tabriz was also published in Tiflis in 1912.

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TABŪK, a town on the pilgrim road and on the railway from Damascus to Medīna (according to Yāqūt four days' journey from al-Ḥidjr and 12 from Medīna). It lies on a slight undulation of the sandy plain and has a very good well, probably the one mentioned in Arab legend.

The most important building is the pilgrim's fort built according to the inscription in 1064 (1654), the oldest parts of which can easily be distinguished from the later restorations. Beside it is a modern mosque built of beautifully hewn stones. Euting found the place empty except for a garrison of five men. Jaussen and Savignac speak of about 40 houses with walls of sundried bricks and roofs of branches covered with rubble. The fruit-trees were in a very neglected condition.

In the time of the Prophet, Tabūk was on the northern frontier of Arabia beyond which Byzantine territory began. The place became historic when Muḥammad's great campaign against the north began in the year 9. The population, Greeks, ʿAmīla, Laḥm and Djudhām, fled on his approach. He had however to abandon his objective which was evidently the lands farther north inhabited by Arabs, as the great heat caused his followers to become dispirited. He therefore only stayed ten days before beginning his retreat but made use of this time for negotiations with the people of Aila, Adhruḥ and Maḥna, which led to their submission.

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TABULA SMARAGDINA, the revelation of secret alchemistic teaching ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos. Known in a later version in the west since the middle of the xiith century, the origin of the text was until recently an unsolved problem in the history of chemistry. Since R. Steele in his edition of Bacon (1920) showed that the text of the *Tabula* existed in Arabic and Latin in the *Sirr al-Asrār* of Pseudo-Aristotle, and E. J. Holmyard in 1923 discovered a more primitive form of the text in the *Kitāb al-Uṣṭukuss al-thāmi* of Djābir b. Ḥaiyān, J. Ruska has been able to show that the original source of the still in many passages puzzling document is to be found at the end of the *Sirr al-khalīka*, composed by Hermes, said to have been found by Balinās (Apollonius of Tyana) in the tomb of Hermes and to throw light on many points of the history of the *Tabula* from the time of Hugo Santelliensis to the present day. He was finally able to show that Djābir b. Ḥaiyān already was acquainted with the book of Apollonius, so that it is fairly certain that the work originated in gnostic circles.

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TABŪR (T.) (Eastern Turkī: *taḫūr*, a palisade formed of wagons arranged in a circle or square; a body of men sent out to reconnoitre), a battalion, a corps of about a thousand men, commanded by a *biñ-baḫḫ* (chief of a thousand).

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TADALLĪS, TEDELLES (Dellys), a town on the Algerian coast, 70 miles east of Algiers and 4 miles E. of the mouth of the Sebau, the principal river of Kabylia, from which it is separated by the mountainous mass which ends in Cape Beugut. — It lies in 55° 20' N. Lat. and 3° 55' E. Long (Greenwich). — The town consists of two distinct quarters: the native quarter with its narrow streets and the European quarter regularly built on a plateau about 175 feet above sea-level. Below, the harbour, sheltered against the winds from the west and northwest, offers a fairly secure anchorage but is frequented only by a few small trading vessels. The country round is covered with tall trees and well-tilled gardens and offers a pleasing picture. The total population is 3,884 of whom 2,508 are natives. The latter are of Kabyl origin but like the majority of the tribes of the district speak only Arabic.

The site of Dellys was occupied in the Roman period by the town of Rusucurru a few traces of which have been discovered (remains of walls, cisterns, etc.). This town must have been destroyed at the Arab conquest and for long the site remained uninhabited. Al-Bakri (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, p. 135) does mention a port situated to the east of Mersa 'l-Hadjadj which he calls the town of the Benī Djennad but this place seems to correspond to Cape Djinet rather than to Dellys.

The name itself under the form Thadellast, Thadellisth ("the cottages") does not appear till the period when the Hammādid sovereigns (cf. HAMMĀDIDS) established their capital in Bougie. Owing to its position which enabled relations to be easily established with the people of the valley of the Sebau, this little town acquired a certain commercial and military importance; it even had a Hammādid governor. (In 496 [1102—3] the Sulṭān al-Manṣūr gave this office to a prince of Almeria who had taken refuge in Africa). Idrīsī (p. 104) describes Tadā'ilīs as a town on an eminence and surrounded by a strong wall. He mentions the fertility of the country round, the low cost of living, and the abundance of cattle which were exported to the adjacent regions. After the fall of the Hammādid kingdom, Dellys passed under the rule of the Almohads, was taken by Yahyā b. Ḡhaniya (622 = 1226—1227), then its possession was disputed among the Almohads, Zaiyanids, Ḥafṣids and the Marinids who took it in 1394. In the xvth century according to Leo Africanus (Bk. iv., transl. Schefer iii., 69), Dellys shared the fate of Algiers. Like all the towns on the coast, it received a number of refugees from Spain who must have contributed to the economic and intellectual life of the town. Leo (*loc. cit.*) says that the inhabitants engaged in dyeing, traded successfully and were noted for their skill in playing the lute. As to their fashion of dress, he says it is like that of the people of Djazā'ir. When the Algerians had submitted to Spain (1570), the people of Dellys followed their example but in 1517 it was retaken by Arūḍ [q. v.]. The Turks

put a garrison there and made the town a base of operations against the tribes of the valley of Sebau. Although the inhabitants kept up a constant intercourse by sea with Algiers, Dellys only vegetated under Turkish rule. It was a wretched village when the French occupied it on May 7, 1844. A European quarter was established there two years later. The conquest of Kabylia, which was followed by the transfer of the military establishment to Teizi Uzon and Fort National, arrested its development. In the course of the insurrection of 1871, Dellys was blockaded on the land side by the Kabyls (April-May) but maintained its own communication by sea so that it could not be taken by the rebels. Since then its peace has not been disturbed but owing to its outlying position and the difficulties of its communications the town has remained stationary and colonization by Europeans has not developed around it.

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(G. YVER)

TADBĪR (A.), *Maṣḍar* of the second stem of the root *d-b-r*.

1. With the meaning of „direction, administration”. The Arabic lexicographers explain *dabbara* as a verb from the noun *ḍubur* „the hindmost, the end” (opposite: *ḥubul*); thus we read in the *Lisān*, v. 358: *an taṣṣura ilā mā ta’ūlu ilaihi ‘ākibatahu*, “to heed what one attains at the end of a matter”, or *yaṣṣuru fī ‘awākibihi*, “to heed the end of a matter”. This verb has now a double application: *a.* in the sense of government, administration (e.g. in the title of a work by Ibn Abi ‘l-Rabi’, *Sulūk al-Mālik fī Tadbīr ‘l-Mamālik* [cf. *SIYĀSA*]) and *b.* which concerns us here, in the sense of guidance, management of a household, *tadbīr al-manzil* = *οἰκονομία*. Thus for example, Ibn Khaldūn says in his *Muḥaddima* (ed. Quatremère in *N. E.*, xvi. 62; transl. de Slane in *N. E.*, xix. 78): *al-siyāsāt al-madaniyya hiya tadbīr al-manzil aw al-madina*... “The *Siyāsāt al-madaniyya* is the management of a household or of a state in keeping with the demands of ethics (*akhlāk*) and wisdom, so that the whole may be led on a path on which regularity (*naw’*) is maintained”.

The *Tadbīr al-Manzil* is one of the three subdivisions of practical philosophy, which was taken over by the Muslims from Hellenism with these divisions; the latter are ethics (*‘ilm al-akhlāk*), economics (*‘ilm tadbīr al-manzil*) and politics with *‘ilm al-siyāsa* (cf. e.g. Ibn Sinā, *Aḥṣām al-‘Ulūm al-aḥliyya*, in *Maḍmū‘at al-Rasā’il*, Cairo 1328, p. 229 sq.; al-Kīfī, *Ta’rīkh al-Ḥukamā’*, ed. Lippert, p. 52 and many others). As Ritter was the first to show, the whole economic literature of Islām can be traced to the *Economics* (of which the Greek original is now lost) of the Neopythagorean Bryson, which survives in an Arabic translation (ed. Cheikho in *Machriq*, xix. [1921], 161—181; mentioned as early as *Fihrist*, p. 315), from which again came a Hebrew (Munich, Cod. Hebr. 263, Ritter in *Isl.*, vii. [1917], 12 sq.) and a Latin (Dresden MS. of Galen to which Plessner has called attention) translation. The latter has edited and studied all the material. According to his results the main lines of development of economics in Islām are as

follows: apart from copyists and imitators (al-Dimashkī, *Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tiḍjara*, ed. by Ritter in *Isl.*, vii. 1 sqq.; Ibn Abi ‘l-Rabi’, *Sulūk al-Mālik*; the *Encyclopaedia* of Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi; Ibn al-Fanarī) the *Economics* of Bryson was independently edited by Naṣīr al-Din in his *Akhlāk* and extended by the incorporation of Muslim and Persian ideas. Ṭūsī’s *Economics* was regarded for all time in Islām as the final model. On it were based the *Akhlāk-i Djalālī* and for the most part the later authors also who deal with economics, like al-Ghazālī, al-Shahrazūrī, al-Āmulī (inserts a chapter on attitude to relations) and al-Idjī.

The contents of these economic writings deal with the following subjects: acquisition, preservation and utilisation of property (*māl*), attitude to slaves, women and children; everything is regarded from the point of view of acquiring and retaining the greatest possible good fortune.

The *Fihrist*, p. 263, further mentions a second work on Economics apparently dating from the Hellenistic period and translated into Arabic: The *Kitāb Rūfūs fī Tadbīr al-Manzil li-‘LWSWS* (for ‘one should probably read *gh*, *f* or *k*): “The book of Rūfūs on the Economics of... (?)”. The name of this ancient author cannot be ascertained with certainty, especially as the names of very few ancient economists have come down to us. One might imagine it to be some name like Philodemus.

There is also an Arabic translation (or synopsis) of the first book of the *Economics* wrongly attributed to Aristotle (now usually attributed to Theophrastus) in a manuscript of varied contents in the Escorial (Casiri, No. 883) entitled *Kitāb Aristū fī Tadbīr al-Manāzil* and in a manuscript containing several different works in a private collection in Bairūt entitled *Thimār Maḥāla Aristū fī Tadbīr al-Manzil* (cf. Ma’lūf in *Mach.*, xix. [1921], p. 257—262). These two manuscripts have however not yet been closely studied. In the *Fihrist*, in Abi Usaibi’a and al-Kīfī this *Economics* is not mentioned (cf. thereon Baumstark, *Syrisch-arabische Biographien des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1900, p. 53 sqq.), while Abu ‘l-Qāsim Ṣā’id b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī (d. 462 = 1069—1070), *Tabaḥāt al-Umam*, Cairo, n. d., p. 39 or his authority seems to have been acquainted with an *Economics* (*Siyāsāt al-Manzil*) of Aristotle. The way in which this translation has been handed down in MS. seems to indicate that it originated in Christian Arab circles: Ma’lūf suggests without any authority that the translator was Abu ‘l-Faraj ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ṭaiyib (d. 435 = 1043—1044). The writer is preparing an edition and study of this book on Economics.

Bibliography: Djirdji Zaidān, *Ta’rīkh Adāb al-Lughāt al-‘arabiyya*, Cairo 1912, ii. 232 sq.; Ritter, *Ein arab. Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Isl.*, vii. (1917), 4—14; Plessner, *Der οἰκονομικὸς des Neupythagoräers Bryson und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft*, Breslau, phil. Diss. 1925 (synopsis only; the complete work will appear shortly).

2. With the meaning “Manumission of a slave, which however only becomes operative after the death of the master”. *Dabbara* is in this case a verb formed from the noun *ḍubur*, “(life’s) end”, i. e. death. Cf. *Lisān*, v. 358; Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib*, s. v. For particulars cf. the article ‘ABD. The fullest treatment of the subject in Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, i. 122.

(HEFFENING)

TADHKIRA (A.), memorial, memorandum, from *dḥakara* "to record". The word appears in the titles of many famous works: the *Memorandum of Astronomy* of Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī, the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ*, "Memorial of the Saints" of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, the *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, "memorial of the poets", a biography of the poets, popular in Persia.

In administrative language it means: ticket, memorandum, permit. It is the name given to travellers' passports, *yol tadhkīresi*, to the custom house office's *exeat: murūr tadhkīresi*. It is also more especially applied to the diplomas of investiture given to *kādis* on taking up their office, the general name for these diplomas for ministers of religion being *barʿa*. Under the old Turkish government system there were two *tadhkīrédjis*, a major and a minor, entrusted with the delivery of *tadhkīra*'s; they were important officials directly under the orders of the *kādi-ʿasker* [q. v.] and admitted to the table of the grand vizier.

Bibliography: The dictionaries and M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1791, iv. 539, 597.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TĀDJ (A.), Crown. A Persian loanword in Arabic going back to the Old Persian **tag*; cf. Armenian *tag*, Aramaic *taga*. From it are formed in Arabic the broken plural *tādjān* and the corresponding verb *t-w-dj* II "to crown", V "to be crowned", and *tāʾidj*, "crowned" (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, p. 81; Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, p. 74, 84; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leyden 1886, p. 62). Like the name, the thing itself comes from old Persia. The form of the crowns of the old Persian kings, which we know best from their coins, was not unknown in Arabic literature. Masʿūdi, for example, tells us he had seen an old book with coloured pictures of Persian kings wearing their crowns, which was translated into Arabic for the Omayyad Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (*B.G.A.*, viii., p. 106). A whole series of books now lost with titles like *Kitāb Siyar al-Mulūk*, *Kitāb al-Tādji* seem to have been of similar content. On the latter, cf. Zeki Paṣha in the introduction to his edition of *Kitāb al-Tādji* of Djaḥiẓ (Cairo 1332 [1914]). It is presumably on such sources that are based the statements on the Persian crown in Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb Taʾriḫ Sanī Mulūk al-Ard wa 'l-Anbiyāʾ* (Berlin, Kavianī Press, p. 17, 24 sq., 32, 35 sqq.), and the Persian *Mudjmil al-Tawārīḫ* which utilises him and the statements in Ṭabarī's also (on the relation of their sources cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leyden 1879, Introduction; on the crown among the Persians cf. especially p. 95, 221, 304, 385, 453; A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sasanides*, Copenhagen 1907, p. 14, 89 sqq., 106; do., *Le Règne du Roi Kawadh I et le Communisme mazdakite*, Copenhagen 1925, p. 22 sqq.). In the Arabic *Awāʾil* literature we are told that the first to wear a crown was Dāḥḥāk (see Kaḷkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshāʾ*, Cairo 1331 [1913], i. 415).

On Muḥammadan miniatures which depict the old Persian kings, the latter wear regular crowns but their form is of course in no way authentic. On the miniatures, crowns are also worn by the angels, and notably by the Prophet Muḥammad and Burāk in the *Miʿrādī* (see the miniature in

the edition of the Uigur *Miʿrādī-nāme*, ed. by Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1882).

The Arabs made their first acquaintance with crowns before Islām, for the Persian kings occasionally gave their Arab vassal kings crowns as a token of their rank, e.g. to the Lakhmid Imra' al-Kais (d. 328 A. D.; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Or.*, vi. 307: *Le roi de "tous les Arabes"* and vii. 176 sqq.: *Le Tādji-dār Imrou 'l-Qais et la royauté générale des Arabes*; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 35, 375; also on the difference between *iklil* and *tādji*; the latter seems to mean a simple chaplet only), and to the Lakhmid Nuʿmān III (s. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Ḥira*, Berlin 1899, p. 128) and to the *Dhū Tādji* Hawdha b. 'Alī, the Christian ruler of the Yemāma in the time of Muḥammad, to whom the Prophet is said also to have sent a demand to become converted to Islām (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 971; Kaḷkashandī, vi. 379; Fraenkel, p. 62; Ṭabarī, i. 985; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, p. 258). Crowns and bearers of crowns were often celebrated by the poets (see Siddiqi, p. 84; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 289 sq., where the crown is said to be a peculiarity of the Yemen, possibly a reminiscence of the old relations between Yemen and the Abyssinians; on the crown of the latter cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 225 and 233).

The celebrated crown of Khusrāw II was among the booty which the Arabs took at Ctesiphon (Christensen, *L'Empire*, p. 106). But the crown continued to be something foreign and rare among the Arabs. There is a ḥadīth which says *al-ʿamāʾim tādjān al-ʿArab*, "the turbans are the crowns of the Arabs", i. e. according to the usual explanation in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and elsewhere: turbans are as rare amongst them as crowns, for most Beduins do not wear turbans but only *kaṭānis* (caps: cf. the article KAṬANSUWA) or no headdress at all.

Islām knows no regular royal crown or coronation in our sense as a symbol of regal power. When we find mention of crowns, the reference is to foreign rulers like those of the old Persian Great Kings, of Christian rulers etc. The *tādji al-Bābū* is the tiara of the Pope, *tādji al-uskuf* the mitre of a bishop. Only in the case of the so-called *tādji al-khalīfa* do we seem at first sight to have a Muslim ruler's crown. This crown of the caliph, which is included among the insignia (*āṭāt al-mulūkiya*) of sovereignty, is not found till the ʿAbbāsid period and it has been suggested that this dynasty imitated the Persian tradition in deliberate contrast to the early caliphs and Omayyads (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 453). The Caliph wore this *tādji* on ceremonial occasions (*maʾwākib*) on the great feast-days. Kaḷkashandī (iii. 472 and 484 = Wüstenfeld, *Calcaschandi*, p. 172 and 182) describes the *tādji* of the Fāṭimid Caliph of Egypt. It is evident from him that it was not a proper crown but a turban richly studded with gems, including a particularly large one called *al-yatīma*, weighing seven dirhams, of the colour of the Fāṭimids, namely white, for the elaborate winding of which (*shadd al-tādji al-sharīf*) a special official (the *shādd*, later called *taffāf*) was appointed (cf. Inostrancev, *The ceremonial procession of the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, in Russian, St. Petersburg 1905, p. 64; Ibn al-Sairafī, *Kānūn Diwān al-Rasāʾil*, ed. Bahgat, p. 271). — The Hafsīd Sultān too wore a *tādji* on his *maʾwākib* (cf. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, extract: *Wasf Ifriqiya wa 'l-Andalus*, ed. Ḥasan

Hasanī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Tunis [ca. 1922], p. 23, N^o. 2).

Among the robes of honour which the Caliph or the Sultān used to send to governors, ambassadors etc. there was usually a *tādj*, as is often expressly mentioned. Thus according to Kaḷkashandī, viii. 375 sq. on his accession the Caliph presents a gilt crown (*tādj muraṣṣad*; cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Statthalter*, iii. 38). A similar *tādj* seems also to appear as an emblem on the arms of emirs of the Mamlūk period.

The name *tādj* was also given to the headdress of the Ottoman sultāns. Even 'Othmān I is said to have worn a *tādj-i Khōrāsāni* (d'Ohsson, ii. 135). We know exactly the kind of headdress worn by the conqueror of Constantinople from the pictures by Bellini. He wears a large turban, and the *tādj*; the inner cap of this turban is in the shape of a truncated cone, is usually red and rippled (? stitched). Round this is wound the turban proper (*ṣarīk*) of thin cloth. The form of the turban of the Fātiḥ found on his pictures is also shown on the medals. When we find on the reverse of a medal three regular crowns, which are believed to represent the three kingdoms of Asia, Greece and Trebizond united under Ottoman rule, the explanation probably is simply that the medal was designed and executed by a European artist (cf. G. F. Hill, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1926, p. 287—298 and Pl. xiv.). Karabacek has dealt fully with the *tādj* of the Ottoman Sultāns. According to him the Perso-Turkish *tādj* corresponds to the *ṭarṭūr* of Arabic-speaking lands, a rather high cap which is found represented as early as a papyrus of the viiith century A. D. and assumed many varying forms in the course of time. In remarkable agreement with these forms are the headdresses (heu[n]in) of the xivth—xvth centuries of ladies in France and Spain, which according to Karabacek came direct from the east (the name: Arabic *ḥanīnī* as well as the thing itself). Particular forms of this headdress have survived on women to the present day e.g. among the Druses of the Lebanon and in Algeria and Tunis. In modern Egypt there has developed from this the *ḥurṣ* as a woman's headdress. This is a plate-like ornament of gold and gems, which is sewn on the crown of a rather high cap and is sometimes of considerable weight. This *ḥurṣ* is put on the top (*shāhid*) of the bier of dead women, as is done with the turban in the case of men (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Appendix A; Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 218, 234). The use of a special crown for brides, which is found all over the world, is also sometimes found in the Muslim world (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, i. 424; Lagarde, *Arabes mitrati*, *Nachrichten* Göttingen, 1891, p. 160 sqq. and the title of the well-known *Tādj al-'Arūs*; cf. for Eastern Turkestan: Brockelmann, in *Asia Major*, ii. 122).

The *tādj* has been given a special religious significance as a headdress among the dervishes. The assumption of the *tādj* is an essential part of the *shadd* [q. v.]. The different dervish orders have each their *tādj* of distinct form and colour, frequently with 12 seams (*terk*) from the number of the Imāms, or with 9, 7 etc., and there are numerous names and symbolic interpretations associated with them (see Aḥmad Rif'at, *Mir'āt al-*

Maḳāsid, Stambul 1293, p. 212—215; Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 148 sqq.; pictures in d'Ohsson, ii. 292; there is also a large coloured table of the 14 most important dervish orders with pictures of their *tādj* and accounts of the *silṣile* of their founders, printed in the Stambul press of Maḥmūd Bey, publ. by the *Ṣanā'ī-i nefise Resim-Khānesi* of Ziya Bey, dated 15th Sha'bān 1314). In Persia under Shaikh Haidar (q. v.; whence *Tādj-i Haidarī*) and Shāh Ismā'īl [q. v.] we find the Ṣūfī *tādj* as a kind of official headdress for the king, the court, the army and the officials, granted with a special ceremonial, but it probably existed before them (see Karabacek, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Babinger, *Islām*, xi. 84¹, on the *Kizilbash*).

We find *tādj* used in many ways with a metaphorical application. Names of honour (*alḳāb*) combined with *tādj* are very common in later times and were probably most popular in the Mamlūk period. At first they were content with simple epithets like *Tādj al-Din* for soldiers (Kaḷkashandī, v. 488) or *Tādj al-Dawla* for Christian secretaries (Kaḷkashandī, v. 487); then we get double epithets like *'Aḳd al-Dawla wa Tādj al-Milla* (v. 492), *Tādj al-'Ulamā' wa 'l-Hukkām* for *ḫāḍis* (vi. 41 sqq.) and many others. For infidel kings forms of address like *Bakīyat Abnā al-Tukhūt wa 'l-Tidjān* (vi. 85), *Mukhawwil al-Tukhūt wa 'l-Tidjān* (vi. 175), *Wārith al-Asirra wa 'l-Tidjān* (vi. 177) were used. Perhaps the custom of which there are countless examples of giving books titles in the form of *Tādj* with a genitive is connected with this.

In astronomy *Tādj-i Sa'dān* = Saturn; *Tādj al-Djabbār* a star near Orion. *Tādj 'Amūd* is the capital of a column (see Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise*, ii. 185); *tādj* is also the name given to the comb of a cock and similar birds. *Tādj* is also the Arabic name of the Tagus. — A famous palace of the Caliph was called *Qaṣr al-Tādj*. It was built under the caliphs Mu'taḍid and Muktafi out of the ruins of a palace in Madā'in, one of the seven wonders of the world, burned down in 549 after being struck by lightning, rebuilt but not finished, and completely destroyed in 574 (Yāḳūt, i. 806—809, transl. *Z. D. M. G.*, xviii. 403—406; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i. 74; v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 54; Sarre-Herzfeld, i. 92; ii. 63, 148). Among the pleasure houses (*Manāṣir*) of the caliphs in Cairo there was one called *Manḡarat al-Tādj*, built by Badr al-Djamālī [q. v.], which was in ruins by the time of Maḳrīzī (Maḳrīzī, i. 481; ii. 129; Yāḳūt, suppl., v. 15; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i. 224 and 228).

Bibliography: In addition to the particular works mentioned in the text cf. in general: Dozy, *Dictionnaire des vêtements*, s. v. *Tādj*; Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. *Crown*; Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler in Konstantinopel im 15. u. 16. Jahrhundert*, I. *Italienische Künstler am Hofe Muhammeds II. des Eroberers 1451—1481*, *Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, lxii., vol. i., 1918. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

TĀDJ MAḤALL, the beautiful mausoleum erected at Agra by the emperor Shāh Djahān [q. v.] for his dearly loved wife, Adjumand Bānū Begum, of whose title, Mumtāz Maḥall, the name is a corruption. She was the daughter of Aṣaf Khān, brother of the famous Nūr Djahān [q. v.], and was married to Shāh Djahān on May 10, 1612, at the age of nineteen. She bore him

fourteen children, and died in June, 1631, at Burhānpūr, after giving birth to a daughter. She was buried temporarily at Zainābād, a suburb of Burhānpūr, but her husband, who mourned her deeply, resolved to commemorate their love by a tomb worthy of it, and her body was removed to Āgra, and again temporarily buried on a site which he acquired from Rādjā Djai Singh, and on which the Tādj was erected. The structure, with its subsidiary buildings was not completed for twenty-two years, during which period 20,000 workmen were continuously employed on it. A council of the best architects in the empire was held, and designs were submitted, that finally chosen being the work of Ustādḥ 'Isā, a native either of Turkey or of Shīrāz. The tradition that the architect was the Venetian, Geronimo Veroneo, based on a statement made by the Italian Augustinian Friar, Father Manrique, finds no corroboration either in native annals or in the writings of the travellers Tavernier, Bernier, and Thévenot, who regarded the building as a purely Oriental work. It is, moreover, improbable. The tomb, of white marble from Djodhpūr, stands on a raised plinth, also faced with white marble, 18 feet high and 313 feet square. At each corner of this stands a beautifully proportioned minaret, 133 feet high, girt with three galleries and finished with an open, domed *chattri*. In the centre of this platform stands the mausoleum, "a square of 186 feet with the corners cut off to the extent of 33 feet 9 inches, the façade rising 92 feet 3 inches from the platform. The centre of this is occupied by the principal dome, 58 feet in diameter, and rising 74 feet above the roof, or 191 from the platform". In each face of the building is a high arched porch, and in each a small domical apartment of two stories in height. Each is surmounted by a domed *chattri*, and each has, in its three outer faces, six arched recesses, arranged in two stories and admitting light to latticed windows. These recesses, and the great porches, are vaulted. Beneath the dome, in the centre, is the cenotaph of Mumtāz Maḥall, and beside it that of her husband, both adorned with inscriptions. Immediately beneath these, in the crypt, which is on the ground level, are the true tombs, less ornamented than the cenotaphs. The cenotaphs are enclosed by a screen of trellis-work of white marble, "a chef d'oeuvre of elegance in Indian art". The porches are framed in ornamental inscriptions in the Arabic character, and the beauty of the whole is enhanced by copious and graceful ornamentation in *pietra dura*, all the spandrels, angles, and important architectural details, being inlaid with precious stones, agates, jaspers, bloodstones, cornelians, and the like, combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets, as exquisite in design as beautiful in colour. Light is admitted only "through double screens of white marble trellis work of the most exquisite design, one on the outer, and the other on the inner face of the walls". Beyond the mausoleum and its platform are the two wings, one of which is a beautiful mosque. "This group of buildings forms one side of a garden court, 880 feet square; and beyond this again is an outer court, of the same width, but only half the depth". Pedants in art have endeavoured to judge the Tādj by the canons of Greek and Gothic architecture, but such comparisons are merely impertinent. As Fergusson truly says "the combination of so many beauties, and the perfect manner in which each is subor-

minated to the other make up a whole which the world cannot match".

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TĀDJ AL-DAWLA [See TUTUSH.]
TĀDJ AL-DĪN [See AL-SUBKĪ.]
TĀDJ AL-MULUK [See BŪRĪ.]

TĀDJĪK, older form TĀZĪK or TĀŽĪK (in Maḥmūd Kāshghari, i, 324: TEŽĪK), the name of a people originally used with the meaning "Arab" (later this meaning became confined to the form Tāzi), afterwards "Iranian" in contrast to "Turk". The word is derived from the Arab tribal name of Ṭaiy. The nearest Arab tribe to the Iranians was the Ṭaiy, hence the name of this tribe came to be applied to the whole Arab people. The Ṭaiy are mentioned as early as the beginning of the third century by an Edessene along with the Saracens as representatives of all the Beduins" (Cureton, *Spicil. Syr.*, p. 16 ult. in Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxix., 713). The corresponding word with the meaning "Arab" is in Pahlawi Tāčik, in Armenian Tačik (cf. *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.* i., 2, 187), in Chinese Tashi. The Muslim conquerors seem to have been known by the same name to the Iranian population of Central Asia; as, in the view then prevailing, an Iranian convert to Islām became an Arab (cf. Ṭabari ii., 1508, 13), the word reached the Turks with the meaning "Muḥammadan, a man from the land of Islām"; as the majority of the Muslims known to the Turks were Iranians, the word "Tadjik" came to mean Iranian in Turki. Maḥmūd Kāshghari (*op. cit.*) explains the word "Težik" as "Persian" (*al-Fārisi*); in the contemporary *Kutadghu Bilik* (esp. 8, 1) the "Tadjik" are distinguished from the Arabs as Persians (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, iii., 1096). The Iranians themselves even at this date already called themselves "Tāzīk" in contrast to their Turkish rulers; cf. e.g. Baihaqi, ed. Morley, p. 746 at the top. The difference between Turk and Tadjik is frequently emphasised; it was asserted that relations between a Turk and a Tadjik always ended badly and that a Tadjik could never rely on a Turk (Zahir al-Din Mar'ashi, ed. Dorn, p. 248 and 253 sqq.). On the relation of the word Tadjik to the word "Sart" cf. the article SART. In the use of the two words the importance of the Iranians as a race of traders is apparent. The word "Sart" is first found in Turki as a noun meaning "merchant" and later became the ethnic of the Iranians who were principally regarded as a race of traders; *vice versa*, the name Tadjik (Tezik) later, at least among the Tatars on the Volga, came to be used as a word meaning "merchant". According to one of the original sources for the conquest of Kazan by the Russians in 1552 (Prince Kurbskii's account) the citadel of Kazan was surrounded by the "ditch of the Tezik" (*tenickiy* or *teshickiy* *rov*) and the work Tezik is explained as "merchant" (cf. Karamzin, *Ist. gos. Ross.*, VIII, 110; P. Zarinskiy, *Očer. drevney Kasani*, 1877, p. 8).

At the present day the name Tadjik is sometimes

given to the Eastern Iranians in contrast to the Persians proper; the strip between Astarābād [q.v.] and Yezd is said to be the western limit of the dwellings of the Tādjik. In Turkestan the Tādjik, especially under Özbeg rule have been gradually driven from the plains into the mountains. The Russians include under the name "Tādjik" all the Iranian peoples in Turkestan, both the Tādjik proper, i.e. the people who speak "Tādjiki" and the highlanders on the Pandj (cf. ĀMŪ-DARYĀ) and the upper Zarafshan, who occupy a special linguistic position. In keeping with the use of the name, the autonomous republic of Tadjikistan was founded in 1924 with its capital Dushambe (on the upper Kāfir-Nihān). According to a census of the same year, the number of Tādjik was 871,532. The people themselves use Tādjik in different ways. The inhabitants of several mountainous districts like Shughnān and Roshan call themselves Tādjik while they describe their Tādjiki-speaking neighbours in Darwāz as "Persian-speaking" (*pārsi gūy*); in contrast to this, the people of the upper Zarafshan, who speak a Persian dialect, apply the name Tādjik to themselves and call the people on the river Yaghnob, who speak a peculiar dialect "Galča"; the latter people seem also to distinguish their "Yaghnobi" from the language of the Tādjik.

The old derivation (still given in *Grundr.* ii, 402) of the ethnic Tādjik from the head-dress *tādji* may be absolutely rejected on both linguistic and historical grounds.

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TĀDJĪKĪ, the language of the Tādjik [q.v.]. As a literary language Tādjiki seems to be "more or less remote from modern Persian according to the degree of education of the person writing or speaking it". In this sense (aiming at the elegance of the "Persian literati" but without "denying a dialectal colouring"), the Tādjiki was the official and business language under the rule of the Özbegs of Bukhārā [q.v.] and remained so after the revolution of 1920; since 1924 however Tādjiki has been limited to the area of the new autonomous republic of Tadjikistan founded in that year. As a spoken language Tādjiki has lost a portion of its area to Turkish in the last few centuries; on the other hand in the mountains it has extended its territory at the expense of other dialects (like the Yaghnobi). On the linguistic position and peculiarities of Tādjiki cf. *Grundr. d. ir. Phil.*, i./ii. 407 sq., and the observations thereon by A. Freiman on M. Andreyev in *Tadžikistan*, Tashkent 1925, p. 162. (W. BARTHOLD)

TADJĪNĪS or **DJĪNĀS** (A.), paronomasia, play upon words, is a figure of rhetoric (*badī'*) which consists in using in the same phrase two words of a similar or almost similar sound but of different meanings, e.g. *amantes sunt amentes*.

I. 1. The tadjinis is complete (*tāmm*) when the two words resemble one another in kind, number, vocalisation (or form) and in the order of the consonants.

a. If the two words are of the same kind (e.g. two substantives, two verbs or two particles), it is called identical (*mumāthil*), e.g. "The day and the Hour (*al-sā'a*) will dawn, the guilty will swear that they have only been an hour (*sā'a*) in their graves" (Sūra xxx. 54, 55).

b. If the two words are of different kinds (e.g. a noun and a verb, a noun and a particle, a verb and a particle), it is called "sufficient" or "imperfect" (*mustawfā*), e.g. *man māta min ḥadāthi 'l-zamāni fa-innahu—yayhā ladā Yayhā b. 'Abdallāhi*, "he who dies of the sudden changes of fate, lives (*yayhā*) with Yayhā b. 'Abdallāh, for he is generous and will revive the name of generosity" (Abū Tammām, *Dirwān*, Bairūt 1905, p. 341).

2. If one of the two words is a compound and the other simple, it is called a compound paronomasia (*djīnās al-tarkīb*):

a. If the two words, the simple and the compound, are similar in writing, it is called "resembling" (*mutashābih*) on account of the resemblance or conformity of the two words in writing: e.g. *idhā malikun lam yakun dhā hiba—fa-da'hu fadawlatuhu dhāhiba*, "when a king is not generous (*dhā hiba*), leave him, for his kingdom—power—will not be long in disappearing" (*dhāhiba*) (Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī).

b. If there is no conformity in writing between the two words, it is called separated, divided, cut (*mafrūk*), e.g.: *kullukum ḥad akḥadha' l-djāma wa-lā djāma lanā—ma'lladhi ḍarra mudir al-djāmi law djāmalaṇā*: "You have all taken the cup and we have no cup (*wa-lā djāma lanā*): what would have harmed him who made the cup circulate if he had been kind to us" (*law djāmalaṇā*) (Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī).

II. 1. If the two words are not similar in form or even vocalisation, it is called "transposed" (*muḥarraf*) on account of the transposition found in one compared with the other (*inḥirāf*); e.g. *burd* and *bard*, in *djubbāt al-burd*, *djunnāt al-bard*, "a cloak of striped material (*burd*) is a cuirass against cold" (*bard*); *mufriṭ* and *mufarriṭ* in *al-djāhil immā mufriṭ aw mufarriṭ*, "the ignorant man either goes beyond the limits (*mufriṭ*) or remains far below them" (*mufarriṭ*) (one may note that in this example no notice is taken of the *tashdīd*); *al-bi'a' sharak al-shirk*, "innovation is the lace (*sharak*) of polytheism" (*shirk*).

2. If the two words do not agree in the number of consonants so that one has one or more consonants more than the other, it is called "imperfect" (*nāqis*):

a. Either the extra consonant is at the beginning of the word: e.g. *wa 'l-taffati 'l-sāka bi 'l-sāki ilā rabbika yawma'diḥin il-masāk*, "when one leg (*al-sāk*) shall be twisted over the other (*bi 'l-sāk*)" (on account of the terror which will seize man on the approach of the last judgment), it is to thy Lord that the driving (*al-masāk*) of men shall take place on that day" (Sūra lxxv. 29); or it may be

b. in the centre as in *djaddī djahdī*, "my fortune (*djaddī*) depends on my efforts" (*djahdī*);

c. or it may be at the end as in the verse of Abū Tammām (*Dirwān*, p. 42): *yamuddūna min aidin 'awāṣin 'awāṣimin, taṣūlū bi-asyāfin ḥawāḍin ḥawāḍibi* "they stretch out their hands, strong as rods (*'awāṣin*) and protecting (*'awāṣimin*); they attack with their swords which deal death (*ḥawāḍin*) and which are cutting (*ḥawāḍibi*) (they stretch out

hands which strike their enemies, defend their followers, attack their adversaries with swords which deal death and which cut". Sometimes this last variety is called *muṭarraf*, "rhymed";

d. or the addition is more than one consonant as in this verse of al-Khansā' (*Diwān*, ed. Beyrouth, 1896, p. 25): *inna 'l-bukā'a huwa 'l-shifā'u min al-djawā baina 'l-djawānih*, "tears are the cure of the fire (al-djawā) which is in my loins" (al-djawānih). This variety is sometimes called *mudhaiyal* (prolonged).

3. If the two words do not agree in the nature of the consonants, it is necessary that they do not differ in more than one consonant:

A. If the two different consonants are of pronunciations adjacent to one another, the *djinās* is called *muḍārī* (similar) and comprises three varieties:

a. The different consonant is at the beginning of the words: e.g. *baini wa-baina kinni lailun dāmisun wa-ṭarīkun ṭāmisun*, "between the place where I am and my dwelling there is a dark night (dāmis) and an obliterated path (ṭāmis)" (Ḥariri, ed. de Sacy, *Séance*, xvi., p. 185).

b. It is in the middle: e.g. *wa-hum yanhawna 'anhu wa-yan'awna 'anhu*, "they forbid it to them and (themselves) avoid it" (Sūra vi. 26).

c. It is at the end; e.g. *al-khailu ma'kūdun fī nawāshiha 'l-khairu*, "good fortune (al-khair) is associated with the forelocks of horses (al-khail)" (a ḥadīth quoted by Bukhārī, Muslim, Tirmidhī, Nasā'ī, Ibn Mādjā).

B. If the two consonants have no analogy in pronunciation, it is called *lāhik* (approximate) and is of three kinds:

a. The different consonant is at the beginning e.g. *waitun li-kulli humazatin lumazatin*, "curses on each detractor and defamer" (Sūra civ. 1).

b. It is in the middle: e.g. *lastu 'an ṭharwatīn balaghtu madāhā — ghaira anni 'mrūn kafānī kafāfī*, "it is not by good fortune that I have attained my end, but that I am a man: what is sufficient for me to live (kafāfī) is sufficient for me (kafānī)" (Buḥtūrī, *Diwān*, Cairo 1329 [1911], ii. 108).

c. It is at the end: e.g. *wa-idhā dī'ahum amrun min al-amni awi 'l-khawf*, "when news (amr) inspiring confidence (amn) or fear arrives for them" (Sūra iv. 85).

4. If the two words do not agree in the order of the consonants, it is called *tadjinis al-kalb* ("palindrome" or "inversion"); e.g. *ḥusāmuhu fathun li-awliyā'ihī ḥatfun li-a'dwā'ihī*, "his sword is victory (fath) for his friends and death (ḥatf) to his enemies".

a. It is called "complete inversion" (*kalb kull*) when the order of all the consonants is inverted; e.g. *allāhumma 'stur 'awratinā wa-āmin raw'atinā*, "O God, conceal one faults ('awratinā) and assuage one fears (raw'atinā)".

b. It is called "partial inversion" (*kalb ba'q*) when inversion only takes places with respect to some of the consonants. And in this case, if one of the two words in this variety is at the beginning of a line and the second at the end of a line, it is called "winged inversion" (*maḳlūb mudjannaḥ*) e.g. *ṭāpa anwāru 'l-hudā min — kaḳḳihī fī kullī ḥālī*, "the lights of the good path shone (ṭāḥ) from his hand in every circumstance (ḥāl)".

III. When one of the two similar words follows the other, it is called, *muḍawwidj*, *muraddad*,

mukarrar (joined, repeated); e.g. *djī'tu-ka min Saba' bi-naba'*, "I have brought news (naba') from Saba" (Sūra xxvii. 22).

IV. *Djinās* is conditional on two things:

1. The two words must be derived from the same root; e.g. *fa-akim wadjhaka li'l-dīni 'l-ḳayimi*, "raise thy face towards the immutable religion" (Sūra xxx. 42), in which the words *akim* and *al-ḳayim* are derived from *ḳāma*, *yaḳumu*.

2. There is an "appearance of derivation" (*shibh ishtikāḳ*) between the two words, i.e. the two words which resemble one another, belong to different roots: e.g. *Ḳāla inni li-'amalikum min al-ḳālin*, "he says: I am for your action among the reprovers" (Sūra xxvi. 168) where *ḳāla* and *ḳālin* do not belong to the same root.

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī composed *al-Tadjinis al-anīs al-badī' al-tāsis*, which is a collection of maxims or sentences containing words similar or almost similar but having a different meaning; extracts from it are given in *Ṭashkōprüzāde*, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, ii. 229.

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TADJWID (A.) is the art of reciting the *Qur'ān*, giving each consonant its full value, as much as it requires to be well pronounced without difficulty or exaggeration: strength, weakness, tonality, softness, emphasis, simplicity (*tarḥīḥ*). There are three kinds of *tadjwid*: 1. *tarṭīl*, slow recitation; 2. *ḥadr*, rapid recitation; 3. *tadwīr*, medium recitation. — *Tadjwid*, "the adornment of recitation", has for its object to prevent the tongue making any mistake in the recitation of the divine words. Besides the study of the articulation of consonants it deals with the knowledge of the laws which regulate the pause, the *imāla* or inclination of the vowel *ā* to the sound *ī* and contraction. The consonants fall into two groups:

1. *Musta'liya* "elevated" so called because in pronouncing them, the tongue is raised to the palate. These are خ, ص, ط, غ, and ف. They are all emphatic and ص, ط more so than the others.

2. *mustafila* "depressed", so called because the tongue is below the palate when they are pronounced. They are called simple; i.e. they are not emphatic, except *rā'* and *lām* in the following cases: *rā'* is emphatic when it is vocalised with a *ḍamma* or a *fatḥa*. The *rā'* is not emphasised if it is vocalised with an original or accidental *kesra*, if it is quiescent and preceded by an original *kesra*, and lastly if the *rā'* and the *kesra* belong to the same word, provided the *rā'* is not followed by an elevated consonant. *Lām* is only emphatic in الله and اللهم when they are only preceded by a consonant modified by a *fatḥa* or a *ḍamma*: *ḵāla 'llāh*, *ḵāla 'llāhumma*, *yaḵūlu 'llāh*, *yaḵūlu 'llāhumma*. At the end of a word the *nūn* and *tanwīn* retain their natural pronunciation when they are followed by one of the six guttural letters ع, هـ, غ, خ, ح. The quiescent *nūn* and *tanwīn* are assimilated to the letter which follows them if the latter is ن, م, ر, ي. The assimilation takes place with nasalisation except for the ر. When the word that they affect ends in another consonant the *nūn* and *tanwīn* have not their natural pronunciation; they are assimilated but not completely. It is the same with the quiescent *mīm* which is contracted with the *mīm* which follows it. It is modified when it is followed by a vocalised *bā'*. In other cases it retains its ordinary pronunciation.

There are two kinds of contractions:

1. Great, when the consonants are both vocalised like ما سَلَكْتُمْ (Sūra lxxiv. 43) to be pronounced ما سَلَكْتُمْ.

2. Little, when the first of the consonants is quiescent and the second vocalised.

It should also not be forgotten that the *lām* of the article is only assimilated if the consonant following is solar; the sound should be prolonged when the word contains an *alif*, a *wāw* or a *yā'* preceded by a vowel of the same nature. If the *wāw* or *yā'* are preceded by a *fatḥa* they become softening letters. The *hamza* may be retained or suppressed; in the latter case, its vowel is carried back to the preceding quiescent consonant. If the *hamza* is quiescent, not by apocope, it may be changed into a letter of prolongation of the same nature

as its support. The pronunciation of *hamza* is incompletely softened when it is not preceded by a vocalised and non-quiescent *hamza*; the vowel of the second *hamza* then resembles a *sukūn*, a *wāw* when the *hamza* is preceded by a *ḍamma* اَوْنَبْتُمْ, a *yā'* when it is preceded by a *kesra* أَئِذَا, an *alif* when it is preceded by a *fatḥa* اَئِنَّ. The second *hamza* "falls" when the two *hamza* are affected by the same vowel and belong to two words جَاءَ أَجْلَكُمْ which follow them.

The verses of the *Qur'ān*, although separated by a sign, are not to be recited with a stop at the end of each of them. The pause is only to be made if the sense of the verse or verses is complete and forms a homogeneous whole. As a rule in good copies of the *Qur'ān*, the places where the pause is not allowed are indicated by an لا (= no pause). If a pause is made after words like هُنَّ, مِمَّ, عَمَّ, a quiescent ة should be added (called silent ة). Some readers restore the suppressed final ي in the middle of the discourse like واق, هاد etc...; other drop the *sukūn* and its vowel and say هَاد, وَاق etc... When a word ends in a *hamza* preceded by a *yā'* or a *wāw*, the *hamza* is assimilated to the letter which precedes and one says يَرَى for يَرَى, especially after *hamza*. The ل of the accusative is changed to *alif*. The final ة of feminine singular nouns is changed to quiescent ة. A vocalised final consonant loses its vowel; this vowel is sometimes only weakened (by *rawm*) or rather it is pronounced like a final French *e* (*ishmām*). However this last method of pronunciation is not allowed in words ending in *kesra*; some even say that *rawm* and *ishmām* only affect *ḍamma*.

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(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

TADLĀ (or TADILĀ), the *Tedle* of Leo Africanus, a district of Morocco comprising the plateaus which stretch to the west of the high valley of

the Wādī Umm al-Rabī', as well as the western slopes of the Central Atlas, from Wādī 'l-'Abīd to the sources of the Moluya. The classical ethnic Tādīlī is no longer used except for the *Shorfā* of the district; the popular ethnic is Tādīlāwī.

The region of the plateaus is occupied by six semi-nomad tribes of Arab origin: Urdigha, Bnī Khīrān, Bnī Zemmūr, Smā'la, Bnī 'Āmer, Bnī Mūsā, whose centres are Wād Zem, Bujad (= Bejdjā'd for the classical Abu 'l-Djā'd) and Dār Uld Zidūh.

In the central region of the high valley of the Umm al-Rabī' (the old Wādī Wansīfan) is settled the group known as Āit Rbō', made up of tribes almost entirely sedentary and of mixed Arab and Berber origin. These are the Gtāya, the Semget, the Bnī Ma'dān and Bnī Mellāl. The two principal centres are Kaṣba Tādīlā and the *kaṣba* of the Bnī Mellāl.

On the western slopes of the Central Atlas we have from north to south the following Berber tribes: Āit Sṛī, Āit 'Attā, Āit Bū-zīd, Āit 'Aiyāt and Āit 'Attāb.

The Berber peoples of the mountains belong to the Zanāga group (= Ṣanhādja). In the plains there were at first Zanāta, Berbers who led a nomadic life between Meknās and the Umm al-Rabī' and the Lawāta (Zanāra). The earliest Arab tribes here were the Djusham (B. Djābir, Zīrāra) then the Khulṭ; it was the Sa'dians who introduced tribes of the Ma'kil group.

At a remote period, Tādīlā seems to have been inhabited by people more or less professing Christianity or Judaism. When Idrīs II conquered it in 172 (789), he found — according to the author of the *Rawḍat al-Kīrṭās* — very few Muslims, but many Christians and Jews. Leo Africanus who was in Tādīlā at the beginning of the xvth century mentions the large Jewish colonies there; at Tāfza, the capital of the country in his time, there were about 200 houses of Jews, all merchants and rich artisans. At the present day there are still many Jews at Bujad and in the *kaṣba* of the Bnī Mellāl. This last place corresponds to old Madīnat Udāi, an Arabic-Berber name which seems to mean "town of the Jews". Tādīlā was one of the provinces which the sons of Idrīs II divided among themselves. According to the author of the *Rawḍat al-Kīrṭās*, it went to Aḥmad, but al-Bakrī says that Dāi, the capital of the region, belonged to Yahyā.

In time Tādīlā became incorporated in the empire of the Banū Yafran of Shālla [q. v.] (xth—xith centuries). In 449 (1057—1058) the Almoravids having taken Aghmāt, the Maghrāwīd Laggūt b. Yūsuf, who reigned there, managed to escape and took refuge with the Banū Yafran of Tādīlā; 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, leader of the Almoravids, followed him there and conquered the province. A local legend says that the town of Dāi was destroyed by the Almoravid Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, who built Tāgrāret' to replace it, the ruins of which may still be seen in the immediate vicinity. This incident, which does not seem to be recorded in history, may perhaps be located in the period of Yūsuf b. Tāshfin's war on the fortresses of Fazāz, a region adjoining Tādīlā on the north.

In 526 (1131—1132) the Almohad Sulṭān 'Abd al-Mu'mīn seized Tādīlā and henceforth the province lying halfway between Fās and Marrākeṣh on the

direct road between them, became the battleground of the rival dynasties. Its history is that of these struggles and of the constant risings of the Arab or Berber tribes who live in it.

In 660 (1261—1262), the Marinid chief Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ having come to attack Marrākeṣh, the Almohad Sulṭān al-Murtaḍā sent his cousin Abū Dabbus against him. The Marinid troops drawn up on the Umm al-Rabī' were defeated at the place called Umm al-Ridjīlān, which perhaps corresponds to the ford now called Umm al-Rdjilāt.

In 666 (1267—1268), the Marinid Sulṭān Ya'qūb invaded and laid waste Tādīlā; having raided the Khulṭ, an Arab tribe of Djusham stock, allies of the Almohads, the latter came to their assistance but were defeated as they were deserted in the course of the battle by their Arab allies, the Banū Djābir. In 761 (1359—1360), the *Wazīr* al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar, governor of Marrākeṣh for the Marinid Sulṭān Sālīm Ibrāhīm, rebelled against his master and sought refuge in Tādīlā, where he was welcomed by the Banū Djābir; but, when hard pressed by the Marinid troops, he had to flee to the Zanāga of the mountains who finally handed him over to his pursuers.

On the coming of the Sa'dians, it was once more in Tādīlā at the ford of Abū 'Aḥaba on the Wādī 'l-'Abīd, that was fought the decisive battle in which the Marinids were routed in Ṣafar 943 (July 1536). In the reign of al-Manṣūr, in the xvith century, Tādīlā was governed by Zaidān, son of this Sulṭān. In the middle of the same century, Tādīlā threw off the authority of the Sa'dians and became part of the principality of Zanāga Berbers of the zāwiya of Dilā', and one of them, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādīdj, defeated the Sa'dian Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Shāikh at the ford of Abū 'Aḥaba in 1050 (1640—1641). The sovereignty of the Dilā'is was exercised over this region until the 'Alawī Sulṭān al-Rashīd destroyed their zāwiya in 1079 (1668—1669). In 1084 (1673—1674), the 'Alawī Sulṭān Ismā'il defeated at Abū 'Aḥaba his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥriz, who had rebelled against him.

In 1088 (1677—1678), Mawlay Ismā'il had to put down a serious rising of the Zanāga of Tādīlā, who had rebelled at the instigation of a Dilā'i, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh. In 1099 (1687—1688), he had to make another expedition, which resulted in the building of *kaṣba*'s at Adakhsān (near Khnīfra), Tādīlā and Dilā'. At the division of the provinces of Morocco in 1111 (1699—1700), Tādīlā fell to the son of Mawlay Ismā'il, Mawlay Aḥmad, who lived in the *kaṣba* built by his father and called Kaṣba Tādīlā on the Umm al-Rabī'.

In 1142 (1729—1730), Sulṭān Mawlay 'Abd Allāh had to take the field once again in the Tādīlā against the Āit Yemmūr who were routed. In 1179 (1765—1766), Sulṭān S. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was forced to deport them for a time to the Djebel Selfāt near Fās. They were replaced provisionally by the Gtāya, Semget and Mejjāt, who were later sent back to the Ḥarb. In 1199 (1784—1785), the same ruler had to destroy the Zāwiya of Bujad and imprisoned its head, Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Sharkāwī. In 1222 (1807—1808), Sulṭān Mawlay Sulaimān sent a punitive expedition against the Bnī Mūsā, the Āit 'Attāb, the Rfāla and the Bnī 'Aiyāt. In 1224 (1809—1810), there was a

new expedition against the Berbers of Tādā (Āit Sri) and one against the Urdīgha Arabs. It was Mawlay Sulaimān who built the mosque of Bujad and the bridge over the Umm al-Rabi'.

In 1269 (1852—1853), Sultān 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām punished the Bni Mūsā who had slain their governor Aḥmad b. Zidūh. In 1289 (1872—1873), Sultān S. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān sent an expedition against the Arab tribes of Tādā and Bni Mūsā, who had rebelled against their governor (Smā'la, Bni Zemmūr, Bni 'Umail).

In 1295 (1878—1879), Sultān Mawlay al-Ḥasan to pacify the region had to raid the Bni 'Umail and Bni Mūsā. Next year he returned to punish the Āit 'Attab. It was at Tādā, on the Umm al-Rabi' that he died in 1311 (June 1894).

The great religious centre of the district is the zāwiya of Bujad founded in the xvth century among the Bni Zemmūr by Muḥammad al-Sharḳi. His descendants form the important Marabout group of the Sharḳāwa [q. v.].

Bibliography: Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, v/i, p. 289—310; Cap. Peyronnet, *Tadla*, in *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Alger*, 1922—1923; J. Cimetière, *Notice sur Bou Djad*, in *R.M.M.*, 1913, vol. 24, p. 277—289; E. F. Gantier, *Médinat-Ou-Dai*, in *Hespéris*, vol. vi. (1926), p. 5—25. (G. S. COLIN)

TADMUR [See PALMYRA.]

TAFDĪL is the *nomen actionis* of the second formation of *faḍala*, it "exceeded", or "was", or "became redundant", or "superfluous". In grammar it is applied to the comparison of adjectives. *Ism al-tafḍīl*, "the noun of the attribution of excess, or excellence", is the noun adjective in the comparative and superlative, or, as it is now usually called, the elative degree. This is also called *af'al al-tafḍīl* because it is regularly of the measure *af'al*.

Bibliography: The standard Arabic lexica; Wright-deGoeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge 1896—1898, i. 140—141; de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*, Paris 1831. (T. W. HAIG)

AL-TAFF, the desert region that lies west of Kūfa along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. It is higher than the low-lying ground by the river and forms the transition to the central Arabian plateau. According to the authorities quoted by Yāqūt (iii. 359), *al-taff* means an area raised above the surrounding country; the name is not found after the xiiith century. The district contains a number of springs, the waters of which run southwest (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 187). The best known of these wells was al-'Udhair. From its geographical position al-Taff was the scene of the first encounter between the Arabs and Persians (Ṭabarī i. 2210, 2247; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iii. 345, 351). The Sāsānian kings had stationed there feudal guardians of the frontier which was defended by forts (*maṣṣala*) and a great ditch (*ḥhandak*) which began at Hit (Ibn Rosta, p. 107). On al-Taff lay al-Ḳādisiyya [q. v.] and also Karbalā' famous as the scene of the death of al-Ḥusain (Yāqūt, *loc. cit.* and Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii. 456). The latter is also referred to as *al-Maḳtūl bi'l-Taff* (cf. al-Mukhtār, Ibn al-Aṭhīr iv. 140; cf. also the poem quoted by Yāqūt, *loc. cit.* and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, iv. 267). In later centuries al-Taff is rarely mentioned (e.g. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vii. 379 in connection with the Ḳarṣānīan troubles); and the majority of the Arab geographers make no mention of it. (J. H. KRAMERS)

TAFĪLĀLT, ethnic FĪLĀLĪ, the name of a district in S.E. Morocco, formed by the broadening of the valley of the Wādī Ziz. It consists of an alluvial plain 12 miles long and 10 broad, over which are scattered 200 *ḳṣūr* (or fortified dwellings of clay) surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields. Where irrigation from wells is possible, the soil is wonderfully fertile. The chief product of Tafīlālt is the palm-tree and the most developed industry is the preparation of goat-skins by the use of the bark of the mimosa which yields a tanning gall. Fīlālī leather is famous and sought after throughout all north Africa. The population is dense, in the *ḳṣūr* of Tafīlālt it was estimated in 1920 at 150—200,000. The historical capital of Tafīlālt was Sidjilmāsa (q. v. for the political history of Tafīlālt). Here we may simply state that the district was the cradle of the dynasty of the 'Alid Sharifs of Morocco, also called Fīlālī Sharifs and still the ruling family. Many of these Sharifs after the accession of their family to the throne remained in or returned to settle in Tafīlālt where they may be counted by thousands. A *ḳhalīfa* of the Moroccan Sultān represents the authority of the *makhzen* among them and in the valley of the Ziz. In addition to Sidjilmāsa of which only the ruins remain we may mention as small towns in Tafīlālt the *ḳṣar* of Bū'ām, the business centre of the district, and that of Tighmart with defences built at the end of the sixth century by order of Sultān Mawlay al-Ḥasan.

Bibliography: cf. the article SIDJILMĀSA. A general description with a map will be found in P. Ricard, *Les Guides Bleus: Maroc*, Paris 1919, p. 285—288. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAFSĪR (A.), pl. *tafāsīr*, explanation, commentary, verbal form: *fassara* to explain. The name is applied to commentaries on scientific and philosophical works and is an alternative to *sharḥ*; it is regularly applied to the Greek and Arabic commentaries on Aristotle: the following are examples taken from Ibn al-Ḳifī's *History of Scholars*: Banas al-Rūmī wrote a *Tafsīr* on the *Almagesta* and another on the tenth book of Euclid; Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Buzḡānī, the famous astronomer, wrote a *tafsīr* on the works of Diophantes and of al-Khwarizmi on Algebra; Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī, the famous physician, wrote a commentary on the commentary (*tafsīr al-tafsīr*) of Plutarch on the Timaeus of Plato. The Christian scholar Hunain b. Ishāḳ excelled in translations and *tafāsīr*. The majority of the famous works of Greek science and some of Arab science have had commentaries made on them, translated into or written in Arabic.

In Islām the word *tafsīr* means particularly the commentaries on the Ḳur'ān and the science of interpreting the sacred book. This branch of learning entitled "Knowledge of Ḳur'ān and of the commentary" is a special and important branch of Ḥadīth; it is taught in the madrasas and the universities. There are in *Tafsīr* a few general works on the Ḳur'ān not written in the regular style; but the majority are continuous commentaries, in which the text of the sacred book is explained in regular order, phrase by phrase and sometimes even word by word. These commentaries are numerous: the most famous are those of Ṭabarī, Zamakhsharī and Baiḍāwī.

Ṭabarī (d. 310) is the great historian; his com-

mentary, a very extensive work, contains a large number of traditions handed down by authoritative chains of transmitters (*isnād*). *Zamakhshari* (d. 538) is a very keen brain, a moralist of delicate sensibility and a philologist of consummate skill. His commentary (*al-Kashshāf*) is much valued and has in turn been commented upon by important theologians like Taftazānī (d. 792) and Saiyid Sharif Djurdjānī (d. 816). The commentary of al-Baidāwī (d. 685) is the most popular and is the one taught in the schools; it has fixed the beliefs of the pious Muslim as regards the interpretation of the sacred book and has been several times annotated. Among the other commentaries we may mention that of Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī (d. 606) which is called the great *Tafsir* and that of Ismā'il Haḳḳī of Brusa, an author much esteemed by the Turks (d. 1127). It is worth noting that the majority of these learned men belong to the Persian region.

The science of *tafsir* is old and seems to date from the beginnings of Islām. Ibn 'Abbās for example (d. 68 A.H.) is said to have been an authority on the subject and a *tafsir* is attributed to him (Hamidiya Library in Stambul). Recent criticism (Goldziher, Lammens etc.) has raised the question of the real value of the traditions contained in these enormous compilations. The answer so far has not been very favourable; the majority of the traditions seem to have been invented, either to settle a point of law or with some theological object or with a simple desire to explain or even merely as an amusement. There is, these critics say, no hope of finding much exact information in these commentaries about the circumstances under which the Qur'ān was composed and made public; they are nevertheless important for the minute study of Muslim law and theology as well as for the legends and philology. In our own day a learned Egyptian *Shaiḫ* Tanṭawī has sought to rejuvenate the study of *tafsir*; he is publishing a commentary into which he introduces many ideas borrowed from philosophy and modern science [cf. also TA'WIL].

Bibliography: The Catalogues of Arabic Books and Manuscripts under *tafsir*: Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1890, ii. 206; do., *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koran-auslegung*, Leyden 1920, index; Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, vol. iii., Paris 1923, chap. xi. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TĀFTA (p. "twisted"), a kind of silk, taffeta. Clavijo, ambassador of Henry III of Castile, found in the markets of Tabriz, of Sulṭāniya and of Samarkand, *tafetanes* woven in the country itself. This material spread more and more in the West towards the end of the Middle Ages.

Bibliography: M. Devic, *Dict. des mots français d'origine orientale*, p. 214; Clavijo, *Narrative*, p. 109, 114, 190; W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, French ed. by Raynaud, Leipzig 1886, Index. (CL. HUART)

AL-TAFTĀZĀNĪ (SA'D AL-DIN MAS'UD B. 'UMAR), a celebrated authority on rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, theology, law and other subjects and the author of several text-books used to this day in the *madrasas* of the East, was born in Šafar 722 (Feb.-March 1322) at Taftāzān, a large village near Nasā in Kḥurāsān. He is said to have been a pupil of 'Aḳud al-Din al-Idjī (see above, ii. 447 and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 208) and of Kuṭb al-Din [al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī presumably,

see Brockelmann, ii. 209]. Lists of his chief works, giving, with variations, their dates and places of composition, are extant (*Mudjmal-i Faṣiḥi* under the year 787; *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, p. 309 [considerable variations in the dates]; *al-Fawā'id al-bahiya*, p. 137; Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, N^o. 1959), and provide some information concerning his migrations. His earliest work, the *Sharḥ al-Taṣrif al-'Izzī*, was written by him at the age of sixteen, it is said, in Sha'bān 738 (1338) at Faryūmad. The *Mufawwal*, the *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma'ānī* and the *Talwīḥ* were completed in 748, 756 and 758 at Harāt, Ghudjuḍwān and Gulistān. According to Ibn 'Arabshāh al-Taftāzānī, like Kuṭb al-Din al-Rāzī, was one of the scholars attracted to the court of the Mongols of Western Kīpčāk, and the *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma'ānī*, completed at Ghudjuḍwān in 756, is in fact dedicated to Maḥmūd Djānī Bēg. Khwāndamīr's statement that he settled at Khwārizm is borne out by the fact that works completed by him in 768, 770 and 778 are said to have been written there. Khwāndamīr tells us that in 779 (1377—1378) he presented al-Djurdjānī [see above, i. 1066 and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 216] to the Muzaffarid ruler of Fārs, Shāh Shudjā'. The same author states that when Timūr invaded Khwārizm [in 780—781 (1379) presumably] Malik Muḥammad Sarakḥsī, son of Malik Mu'izz al-Din Ḥusain Kurt, asked his nephew, Pir Muḥammad b. Ghīyāth al-Din Pir 'Alī, who was then in the suite of Timūr, to obtain Timūr's consent and send al-Taftāzānī to Sarakḥs. Timūr agreed, but subsequently on learning how eminent a scholar al-Taftāzānī was, he sent to Sarakḥs a request that he should come to Samarkand. Al-Taftāzānī at first declined on the plea that he was about to visit the Hīdjāz, but on receiving a second summons he transferred himself to Samarkand, where Timūr treated him with great honour. The conquest of Shīrāz by Timūr in 789 (1387) was followed by the arrival in Samarkand of his old acquaintance al-Saiyid al-Sharif al-Djurdjānī. The rivalry between them led to controversies and to an estrangement, which is reflected in the criticisms of al-Taftāzānī's views to be found in some of al-Djurdjānī's works. Al-Taftāzānī died at Samarkand in 791 (1389) (*Bughyat al-Wu'āl*) or on the 22nd of al-Muḥarram 792 (Jan. 10, 1390) (*al-Fawā'id al-bahiya*, p. 135), or on the 22nd of al-Muḥarram 793 (Dec. 30, 1390) (according to a chronogram ascribed to al-Djurdjānī, see the Khedivial Library Catalogue, ii. 242), or in 797 (1394—1395) (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*). The date 787 given by Faṣiḥī is inconsistent with the alleged dates of some of his works and with the statement that he and al-Djurdjānī forgathered after the capture of Shīrāz in 789. He was buried at Sarakḥs.

Al-Taftāzānī seems to have had no pupils of great distinction. The two mentioned in the *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt* are Ḥusām al-Din al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Abīwardī, the author of a work entitled *Rabī' al-Djinnān fī 'l-Ma'ānī wa 'l-Bayān*, and Burhān al-Din Haidar (see Tāshkōprüzāda, *al-Shakā'ik al-Nu'māniya*, transl. Rescher, p. 33 and *Isl.*, xi. 61).

Al-Taftāzānī's merits impressed Ibn Khaldūn, who came across some of his works in Egypt and mentions him in his *Muḳaddima* (transl. de Slane, iii. 129). He wrote both on Shāfi' and on Ḥanafī law and has been described as a Shāfi' by some authors (e. g. al-Kaffāwī and Ḥasan Čelebi)

and as a Ḥanafī by others (e. g. Ibn Nudjaim and 'Alī b. Sultān Muḥammad al-Kāfirī).

Among his works are the following (the dates assigned to these works in the *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*, which in many cases differ considerably from those given elsewhere, are not always mentioned. For fuller information concerning the manuscripts, supercommentaries etc., Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, should be consulted):

I. Grammar

1. *Sharḥ al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* (in India often called the *Sa'diyya*), a commentary on the Arabic accident of al-Zandjānī ('Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm, see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 283) completed at Faryūmad in Sha'bān 738 (1338) when the author was sixteen years of age. MSS. at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 6617—6618), Turin (Nallino, N^o. 39) and elsewhere. Editions: Constantinople 1253, Tihirān 1270, 1884 (in a *muḍimma*), Delhi 1289, 1295 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Sa'diyya* of Aḥmad b. Shāh Gul), 1886 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Sa'diyya*), 1319 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Sa'diyya*), Bombay 1292, Lucknow 1306, Cairo 1307. Of the supercommentaries, in addition to the *Miftāḥ al-Sa'diyya* mentioned above, that of Dede Khalifa has been printed (Bulāḳ 1255).

2. *al-Irshād*, or [*al-ʿIrshād al-hādī*], as Ḥādjdī Khalifa calls it, an Arabic syntax written for his son and completed at Khwārizm in 774 or 778 or 787. A manuscript exists at Vienna (Flügel, N^o. 206). Several commentaries are mentioned by Ḥādjdī Khalifa, including those of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Djurdjānī (a son of al-Saiyid al-Sharīf) and Shāms al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, which are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 6754—6755) and the Escorial (Derenbourg, N^o. 181) respectively.

II. Rhetoric

Al-Taftāzānī's three works on rhetoric are all connected directly or indirectly with the classical exposition of the subject contained in the third part (*kisim*) of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* of al-Sakkākī (see below under al-Sakkākī and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 294). Two of them are interwoven commentaries on the abridgment, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, written by al-Kazwīnī (Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān called the *Khaṭīb Dimashqī*; see Brockelmann, ii. 22).

1. *al-Muṭawwal*, as it is usually called, or *al-Sharḥ al-Muṭawwal*, or *Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ al-Muṭawwal*, completed in Ṣafar 748 (1347) at Harāt.

Editions: Constantinople 1260, 1289 (with al-Djurdjānī's glosses), Lucknow 1265 (first part only), 1287 (first part only), 1878, 1300, 1889 (with Turāb 'Alī's *Isālat al-Uḍal*, a commentary on the verses quoted), Tihirān[?] 1270, Delhi 1326 (with *al-Muṭawwal*, a commentary by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān). A Persian edition of 1274 (with commentaries by al-Fanārī, al-Djurdjānī, al-Samarḳandī, and Muḥammad Riḍā Gulpāyagānī) is mentioned in the catalogue of the Khedivial Library, iv. 153.

The glosses of al-Djurdjānī have moreover been published at Lucknow in 1312 and those of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkōtī at Constantinople in 1266.

2. *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma'ānī*, as it is now commonly called, or *Mukhtaṣar Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, or *Khūṣṣar Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ*, or *al-Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar*, or simply *al-Mukhtaṣar* (the author having given

it no formal title), a shorter interwoven commentary, completed in 756 (1355—1356) at Ghudjduwān and dedicated to Maḥmūd Djānī Bēg. Like the *Muṭawwal* this work is still studied in Eastern madrasas. Manuscripts are common and there are several supercommentaries.

Editions: Calcutta 1813, Lucknow 1261, 1312 (with al-Bunānī's supercommentary), Bulāḳ 1271 (with al-Dasūkī's supercommentary) [1860?], 1285 (with al-Bunānī's supercommentary), Cawnpore 1285—1286 (with al-Khatā'ī's [*al-Khuttā'ī's*] supercommentary), 1296 (with the same supercommentary), Meerut 1285, Constantinople 1301, 1301 (with al-Dasūkī's supercommentary). Lahore 1306—1307, Delhi 1286, 1324.

Extracts from this work have been published by Mehren in *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Copenhagen and Vienna 1853).

3. Al-Taftāzānī's third rhetorical work, *Sharḥ al-Kisim al-thālith min al-Miftāḥ*, is a commentary on the third part of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* itself. It is one of his latest works, having been completed at Samarkand in Shawwāl 787 (1385) or 789 (1387), and it has not enjoyed the same popularity as the *Mukhtaṣar al-Ma'ānī* and the *Muṭawwal*. Manuscripts are preserved at the Escorial (Derenbourg, N^o. 26), the India Office (Loth, N^o. 847—848), Leyden (de Goeje and Houtsma, N^o. 298), Trinity College, Cambridge (Palmer, N^o. 18) and elsewhere.

III. Logic

1. *Sharḥ al-Risālat al-Shamsiyya*, or *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* (in India this work, like the *Sharḥ al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī*, is often called *Sa'diyya*), a commentary on the logical manual of al-Kātibī (Nadīm al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Kazwīnī; see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 466) completed at Djām in Djumādā II 752 (1351) (*Mudjmal*) or 757 (1356) (*al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya*) or 762 (1361) (Ahlwardt, N^o. 1959) or 772 (1370—1371) (*Rawḍat al-Djannāt*). MSS. are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 5266—5268) and elsewhere. Editions: Lucknow 1905 (1326).

2. *Tahdhīb al-Mantiq wa 'l-Kalām*, at it is usually called, or *Ghāyat Tahdhīb al-Kalām fī Tahṣīr al-Mantiq wa 'l-Kalām*, as the author calls it in his preface, a manual of logic and scholastic theology completed in Rajab 789 (1387). Whereas the second part of this work, described by Ḥādjdī Khalifa as an abridgment of the *Maḳāṣid*, was evidently copied but rarely (and indeed no copies seem to be definitely recorded in the existing catalogues of manuscripts) the first part, on logic, became a favourite text-book and has often been published.

Editions: Calcutta 1243 (with al-Yazdī's commentary), 1328 (with an Urdū translation), 1333 (with the same Urdū translation), [Lucknow?] 1260 (preceded by the *Isāghūḍī*), Lucknow 1869 (in a *Madjmu'a-i Mantiq*), 1288 (the introductory portion only with the commentary of al-Dawwānī and glosses by Mir Zāhid and 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī), 1293 (with the same), 1321 (with the same), 1290 (with al-Yazdī's commentary and glosses thereon by 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī), 1292 (with the same commentary and glosses), 1311 (with the same), 1877 (with Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Shahristānī's Persian commentary), 1884 (with the same Persian commentary), 1323 (in a *Madjmu'a-i bist Rasā'il-i Mantiq*), Delhi 1264, 1276, 1283—1284, [1869], 1286 (all these Delhi editions with

al-Yazdī's commentary), Cawnpore 1278—1279 (in a *Madjmū'a-i Manṭiq*), 1291 (with al-Yazdī's commentary and glosses entitled *Tuhfah-i Shāh Dīhānī* by Ilāhī Bakhsh Faīdābādī), 1296 (with the same commentary and glosses), 1881 (in a *Madjmū'a-i Manṭiq*), 1915 (with al-Shahristānī's Persian commentary), Benares [1899] (with an Urdu translation).

IV. Metaphysics and Theology

1. *al-Maḥṣūd*, a compendium of metaphysics and theology, completed with the author's own commentary at Samarkand in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 784 (1383) (in 774 according to the *Rawḍat al-Djannāt*). A Constantinople edition of 1277 is mentioned in the catalogue of the Khedivial Library (ii. 26) and there are manuscripts in the British Museum (Ellis-Edwards, p. 9), the India Office (Loth, N^o. 461—464) and elsewhere. As has been said above, the second part (*kism*) of the *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wa 'l-Kalām* is described by Ḥādījī Khalifa as an abridgment of this work.

2. *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wa 'l-Kalām*. See above under Logic.

3. *Sharḥ al-ʿAḳā'id al-Nasafiya*, completed in Sha'bān 768 (1367) at Khwārizm, a commentary on the extremely brief statement of Muḥammadan belief written by ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafi (d. 537 = 1142—1143; see Brockelmann, i. 427). This work also is a favourite text-book and several supercommentaries have been written on it.

Editions: Calcutta 1244, Delhi [1870], 1904, Lucknow 1876, [1888], 1890, [1894], Constantinople 1297 (with the supercommentaries of al-Kastālī and al-Khayālī and the glosses of Bihishtī on the latter), Cairo 1297 (with al-Khayālī's supercommentary and Kara Khalil's glosses thereon), Cawnpore 1903, 1330. Extracts are translated into French in d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i. and there is a German translation in J. T. Plant's *Birgile Risale* [sic], oder *Elementarbuch der Muhammedanischen Glaubenslehre* (Istanbul and Geneva 1790).

Of the supercommentaries that of al-Khayālī has been published at Delhi in 1870 [?] and 1329 (with ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkōtī's glosses), at Lucknow in 1876, 1313 (with ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkōtī's glosses), 1326 (with the same glosses), at Constantinople in 1297 (with al-Kastālī and Bihishtī) and at Cairo in 1297 (with Kara Khalil's glosses): that of Ḥasan Shahid (Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Afḍal) at Bihār in 1328, and that of Ramaḍān Efendi at Delhi in 1327.

4. An attack on the heresies of Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam* preserved in a Berlin manuscript (Ahlwardt, N^o. 2891), which bears on fol. 1b the doubtful title *Faḍīḥat al-Mulḥidīn*.

V. Principles of Jurisprudence

1. *al-Talwīḥ ilā Kashf Haḳā'iq al-Tanḳīḥ*, completed 29th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 758 (1357) at Gulistān, a commentary on the *Tanḳīḥ al-Uṣūl* of Ṣadr al-Sharī'a the Younger (ʿUbaid Allāh b. Mas'ūd al-Maḥbūbī, d. 747 [1346—1347]; see Brockelmann, ii. 214).

Editions have been published at Delhi in 1267 (1851) (with Ṣadr al-Sharī'a's own commentary *al-Tawḍīḥ*), at Lucknow in 1281 (1864) (with the *Tawḍīḥ*), 1871 (with the *Tawḍīḥ*) and 1292 (1876) (with the *Tawḍīḥ*, and supercommentaries on the *Talwīḥ* by Ḥasan Čelebī, Mullā Khusrāw and

Zakariyā' al-Anṣārī), and at Kazan in 1301 (1884) (with the *Tawḍīḥ*).

2. *Sharḥ Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-Uṣūl*, or *Sharḥ al-Sharḥ*, completed in Dhu 'l-Hijja 770 (1369) at Khwārizm, a supercommentary on the commentary of al-Idjī [see above] on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā*, an abridgment of his own *Muntahā 'l-Su'āl wa 'l-Amāl fī 'Ilm al-Uṣūl wa 'l-Djadal*. A Bulāḳ edition of 1316—1319 is mentioned by Moh. Ben Cheneb in the article IBN AL-ḤĀJJIL. MSS. are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 4376), the India Office (Loth, N^o. 302—4) and elsewhere.

VI. Law

1. *al-Miftāḥ*, on Shāfi'ī *Furū'*. A manuscript is preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 4604).

In addition to this work a collection of Ḥanafī *Fatāwā* is mentioned by his biographers, but no copies seem to be recorded.

2. *Ikhtisār Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Djāmi' al-kabīr*, an unfinished abridgment of the commentary of Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Ghujduwānī on al-Khilāṭī's abridgment of al-Shaibānī's treatise on Ḥanafī *Furū'* entitled *al-Djāmi' al-kabīr* (see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 172 and H. Kh., ii. 401). According to the *Rawḍat al-Djannāt* this work was begun at Sarakhs in 785. A manuscript is preserved in the Yeñi Djāmi' (N^o. 428 bis).

At Delhi in 1870 [?] was published an edition of the *Mukhaddimat al-Ṣalāt* or *Khulāṣa*, a treatise on the ritual prayers ascribed by some to al-Kaidānī (see Ḥādījī Khalifa, vi., p. 83), with commentaries alleged to be by al-Djurdjānī and al-Taftāzānī, but it is not certain that the *Khulāṣa* existed in al-Taftāzānī's time.

VII. Qur'anic Exegesis

1. *Kashf al-Asrār wa 'Uddat al-Abrār*, a Persian commentary on the Qur'an (cf. H. Kh. v., N^o. 10674). A manuscript appears to be preserved in the Yeñi Djāmi' (see the catalogue, p. 80, N^o. 43).

2. *Sharḥ* (or *Hāshiya 'alā*) *al-Kashshāf*, H. Kh., v., N^o. 1872, annotations on the commentary of al-Zamakhsharī (see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 290), said to have been begun at Samarkand in Rabī', ii, 789 and left unfinished. These annotations embrace Sūras i.—x. 58 and xxxviii.—liv. Manuscripts are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N^o. 793), the British Museum (Ellis-Edwards, p. 3), the India Office and elsewhere.

VIII. Philology

1. *al-Ni'am al-sawābiḡ fī Sharḥ al-Kilām al-nawābiḡ*, a commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's collection of *sententiae* entitled *al-Kilām al-nawābiḡ*. Selections from this commentary were published by H. A. Schultens in his *Anthologia sententiarum arabicarum* (Leyden 1772) and it was printed at Cairo in 1287.

2. A Turkish versified translation of Sa'dī's *Būstān* made in 755 (see E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 202).

Bibliography: Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjā'ib al-Maḳdūr*, ed. Golius, iii. 422; Faṣiḥī, *Mudjmal* (under the year 787; see E. G. Browne, in *Le Muséon*, series iii., vol. i., p. 57); al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 391; Sultān Ḥusain b. Mansūr, *Madjālis al-Uṣshshāḳ*, p. 287; al-Kafawī, *Il'm al-Akhyār*; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 3, 87; Muḥammad Bakīr Khwānsārī,

Rawḍāt al-Diannāt, p. 309; ^cAbd al-Haiy, Lakhnawi, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiya*, p. 128—130, 134—137; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 215; Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, iii. 353—354; Hidāyat Husain, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Buhār Library*, p. 436—438. (C. A. STOREY)

TAGHLAK, or, more properly, TUGHLUQ, the correct vocalization being given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, is the name of a dynasty which reigned at Dihlī from 1320 until 1413, and is taken from the personal name of its founder, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq, a Ḳarawniya Turk, that is to say, the offspring of a Turkish father and an Indian mother. When Mubārak, the last of the Khaldjis [q.v.], was murdered by his vile favourite, Khusrāw, Tughluq, who was employed on the north-western frontier, where his numerous successes against the Mughuls had earned for him the title of Ghāzī Malik, marched on Dihlī, defeated and slew the usurper in the neighbourhood of the city, and on September 8, 1320, ascended the throne. Early in 1325 the aged Tughluq, returning from an expedition to Bangāl, was murdered by Muḥammad, the ablest of his sons, who had already rebelled once, in the Dakan, and now contrived that a temporary pavilion, in which he welcomed his father, should be brought down on the old man's head. Muḥammad b. Tughluq [q.v.] was one of the greatest of the Muslim monarchs of India, but was eccentric to the verge of lunacy. Having extended his sway over the whole of India, he provoked his subjects to rebellion in almost every province, and when he died in Sind, in March, 1351, while endeavouring to suppress a rebellion in that province, the Dakan, Bangāl, and Sind had severed themselves from the empire. He was succeeded by his cousin Firūz b. Rādjab [q.v.] who succeeded in recovering Sind, but failed to recover Bangāl, and did not even attempt to recover the Dakan, which became an independent and powerful kingdom. Firuz grew indolent towards the end of his reign and his kingdom fell into disorder. Before his death he associated his son Muḥammad with him on the throne, but the prince abused his authority, and when Firūz died, in 1388, he was succeeded by his grandson, Tughluq II, who, in attempting to remove possible rivals, alarmed his cousin, Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr rose in rebellion, and Tughluq fled, but was captured and put to death, and early in 1389 Abū Bakr ascended the throne. His uncle Muḥammad, who had been lurking in Sirmūr since the death of Firūz, invaded the kingdom, and in August 31, 1389, entered Dihlī, where he was acknowledged as king after the flight of Abū Bakr. Muḥammad died at Djalesar on January 20, 1394, and was succeeded by his son, Humāyūn Khān, who took the title of 'Alā' al-Dīn Sikandar, but died within two months of his accession. The nobles raised to the throne his brother, Maḥmūd, who was at first entirely under the influence of Malik Sarwar [q.v.], a eunuch whom he appointed to the government of Djaunpūr. Here Malik Sarwar founded the Sharḳī dynasty of kings, and Maḥmūd fell under the influence of Mallū, entitled Iqbāl Khān. A party among the nobles raised Nuṣrat, a cousin of Maḥmūd, to the throne, and for some time there were two puppet kings in Dihlī and its neighbourhood, each supported by his own faction. This was the state of affairs when the Amīr Timūr [q.v.] in-

vaded India in 1398, but before he reached Dihlī Nuṣrat Shāh had been driven from the capital, and Maḥmūd and Mallū were left to face the conqueror. They were defeated and fled, Maḥmūd to Guḍjarāt and Mallū to Baran, but returned after Timūr's departure. Maḥmūd retained the royal title, but was for the rest of his life a state prisoner, at first in the hands of Mallū, and, after Mallū's death in 1405, in those of Dawlat Khān Lodī, who succeeded Mallū as virtual ruler of the kingdom. Maḥmūd died at Kaithal in February, 1413, and with him ended the Tughluq dynasty. Within sixteen months of his death Dawlat Khān was overthrown by Khidr Khān [q.v.] who on May 28, 1414, entered Dihlī and founded the Saiyid dynasty.

Bibliography: Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi*, Calcutta 1862; Shams-i Sirāḍj 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi*, Calcutta 1891; Badā'uni, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, text, and translation by G. S. A. Ranking, Calcutta 1869; Muḥammad Kāsim Firishṭa, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832. (T. W. HAIG)

TAGHLIB [See WĀ'IL.]

TAGUS, Arabic Wādī Tādjoh, Latin *Tagus*, Spanish *Tajo*, Portuguese *Tejo*, the longest river in the Iberian Peninsula, rises in the Serrania de Cuenca at about 6,000 ft. Its length to its estuary at Lisbon is 550 miles (of which 190 are in Portuguese territory). Among the numerous places on its banks one may mention going down stream: Aranjuez, Algodor, Toledo and Talavera de la Reina, in Spain; Abrantès, Santarem and Lisbon, in Portugal.

The Arab geographers describe the Tagus as an important river and mention it especially in their descriptions of Toledo and Lisbon. They also mention the famous Roman bridge built of granite in 105 A.D. by order of the Emperor Trajan on the Tagus at Alcantara, the ancient "Qanṭarat al-Saif" of the Arabs. Cf. above, i., p. 251. See also the articles on LISBON and TOLEDO.

Bibliography: al-Idrisī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, p. 187 of the text and 228 of the transl.; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, Index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAHADJUD (A.), infinitive V from the root *h-d-j* which is one of the roots with opposed meanings (*addād*), as it signifies "sleep" and also "to be awake", "to keep a vigil", "to perform the night ṣalāt or the nightly recitation of the Qur'ān". The latter two meanings have become the usual ones in Islām. The word occurs only once in the Qur'ān, Sūra xvii. 81: "And in a part of the night, perform a ṣalāt as a voluntary effort" etc., but the thing itself is often referred to. We are told of the pious (li. 17) that they sleep little by night and pray to Allāh for forgiveness at dawn. In Sūra xxv. 65, there is a reference to those who spend the night prostrating themselves and standing before their Lord.

From the Qur'ān it may be deduced that the old practice in Mecca was to observe two ṣalāts, by day and one by night (Sūra, xvii. 80 sq.); Sūra, lxxvi. 25: "And mention the name of thy Lord in the morning and in the evening [26] and in the night prostrate thyself before Him and praise Him the livelong night"; Sūra, xi. 116: "And perform the ṣalāt at both ends of the day and in the last part of the night". Tradition is able to tell us — and there is no real reason for scepticism — that

for a shorter or longer period (mention is actually made of a "period of ten years", Ṭabari, *Tafsir*, xxix. 68), vigils were so ardently observed that Muḥammad and his companions began to suffer from swollen feet. The old practice is said to be based on Sūra lxviii, 1: "O thou enfolded one, 2. stand up during the night, except a small portion of it, 3. the half or rather less, 4. or rather more and recite the Kur'ān with accuracy"; but its origin cannot be dissociated from the example of Christian ascetics. In the end however, this form of asceticism became too much for Muḥammad's companions. The revelation of verses 20 ff. of Sūra lxviii. brought an alleviation: "See, thy Lord knoweth that thou standest praying about two thirds, or the half or a third of the night, thou and a part of thy companions. But Allāh measureth the night and the day; he knoweth that ye are not able for this; therefore he turneth mercifully to you with permission to recite as much of the Kur'ān as is convenient for you". By the institution of the five daily ṣalāts the obligatory character of the tahadjdjud was then abolished (cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭāwwu'*, B. 17 and Baiḍāwī on Sūra, lxviii. 20).

Nevertheless Muḥammad is said not to have abandoned the vigils (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭāwwu'*, B. 18b); in Ḥadīth and Fikḥ this is considered blameworthy for those who were wont to perform these ṣalāts (Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 185; Nasā'i, *Kiyām al-Lail*, B. 59; Bādjūri, *Hāshiya*, i. 165). The performance is in general regarded as *sunna*. David is said to have spent a third of the night in these exercises (Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 189; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣawm*, B. 67); another reason given in justification of it is that the tahadjdjud loosens one of the knots which Satan ties in the hair of a sleeper (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭāwwu'*, B. 18). The tahadjdjud is particularly meritorious in Ramaḍān and in the night before each of the two feasts (Ibn Mādja, *Ṣiyām*, B. 68; Nasā'i, *Kiyām al-Lail*, B. 17 where the term *ihyā' al-lail* is used [see also TARĀWĪḤ]).

Even at the present day the *mu'adhdhin* in some lands summons to a night ṣalāt (consisting of an even number of *rak'as* and therefore called *ṣhaḥ'*; cf. WITR) shortly after midnight by an *adhān* to which special formulae are added (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chapter iii. "Religion and Laws"; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 74).

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted cf. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, i. 321 sqq.; M. Th. Houtsma, *Iets over den dagelijkschen ṣalāt der Mohammedanen*, in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1890, p. 137 sqq.; R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, p. 143.

For the views of the different law schools cf. also I. Guidi, *Il "Muḥtaṣar" di Ḥalil ibn Ishāq*, Milan 1919, i. 97; Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tanbih*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, p. 27; al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-Muḥtadī*, i. 488 sqq.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuhfa*, i. 201 sqq.; Abū l-Kāsim al-Ḥillī, *Kitāb Sharā'ī al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, i. 27; A. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, Paris 1871, i. 52 sq.; Nizām, *al-Fatāwa' l'Ālamgiriya*, Calcutta 1243, i. 157. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ṬAḤĀRA (A.); grammatically *ṭahāra* is a *maṣdar* and means purity; it has also the technical sense of ceremonial, levitical purity and purification. It holds an important place in Islām,

for "purity is half the faith", a saying attributed to Muḥammad. Theologians divide defilements into material and mental; lawyers divide them into actual (*ḥaḳīqī*) and religious (*ḥukmī*). *Fikḥ* deals with bodily, material impurity only. Sexual intercourse, menstruation, and child-birth are religious impurities. Actual impurities (*najās*, q. v.) have a perceptible body. They are wine, pigs and dogs and what is begotten of them, dead bodies (except those of men, animals used for food, fish, and creatures that have no blood, i. e. insects), and certain discharges from the body. There are five things that are not unclean: any dirt left after defecation, dust or mud on the roads, the soles of shoes, the blood squashed out of a full-fed flea, and the blood or pus from a boil or pimple or from cupping. Tears, sweat, spittle and mucus are clean. The laws of purity are not meant to be burdensome. The usual means of purification is cold water but after defecation stones are also used. Water is pure if running, if from a pool above 100 sq. cubits (*dhīrā'*) in area, or from smaller quantities so long as the colour, taste and smell are not changed. Elaborate rules are laid down for the various cases. After micturition or defecation there is a preliminary cleansing with stones or earth (*istidjmar*) and one with water (*istindjā'*). On ablutions and baths, see WUḌŪ', GHUṢL. When no water is to be had or, by reason of illness or some other cause, the use of it is feared, sand or dust may be employed [see TAYAMMUM]. The rules of the Shī'a differ in detail from those of the Sunnis. After helping to carry a corpse to the grave an ablution is necessary, not merely approved; and according to them a quantity of water amounting to two *ḳulla* (the meaning is uncertain, but it is generally taken to be a large jar) is clean.

Popular practices do not always agree with canonical rules; it is said that round 'Aden the defilement of micturition can be removed by helping to carry a bier on its way to the cemetery.

These processes must not be just mechanical; purpose (*niyya*) must come first, and they must be accompanied by the thought of God and special prayers, which vary at different times and places. The theologians develop this side of the idea and say that purification consists of four stages: purification of the body from physical dirt; of the members from offences; of the heart from evil desires; of the spirit (*sirr*) from all that is not God.

Ṭahāra has become the common name for circumcision and the ceremonies that accompany it [see KHITĀN].

Bibliography: The chapters *Ṭahāra* and *Najāsa* in the books of *Fikḥ*; Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, vol. 1, book 3; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Kut al-Kulūb*, vol. 2, p. 91; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. wet*, Leyden 1925, p. 165 sqq.; A. J. Wensinck, *Der Ursprung der musul. Reinheitsgesetzgebung*, in *Isl.*, v. 62; do., *Handbook of early Muḥammadan Tradition*, s. v. Purity. (A. S. TRITTON)

ṬAḤĀWĪ, ABŪ DJĀ'FAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SALĀMA B. 'ABD AL-MALIK AL-AZDĪ AL-ṬAḤĀWĪ AL-HADJRI. His *nisba* Ṭahāwī is derived from the name of a village in Upper Egypt named Ṭahā. He is considered the greatest Ḥanafī lawyer which Egypt has produced. His ancestors had settled in Upper Egypt and his grandfather Salāma when the news of the rebellion

of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī reached Egypt threw off, with others, the allegiance to the caliph al-Ma'mūn. The rebels appointed 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Azdī in place of al-Sarī b. al-Hakam, who fled at first, but finally returned and captured 'Abd al-'Azīz. Salāma offered resistance in Upper Egypt, but after fighting he was captured and sent to Fustāt. After being released he fled and joined al-Djarawī in Alexandria; the rebels being successful there, Salāma returned to Upper Egypt, collected many troops and drove out the governors. Finally in 203 (818) an army was sent against Salāma, and after fighting he and his son Ibrāhīm were captured, sent to Fustāt and executed. From this we may conclude that Ṭahāwī belonged to one of the leading families of Egypt. He himself was born according to his own statement in the year 239 (853/854) and received his first instruction under his maternal uncle Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il al-Muzani, who was one of the most celebrated pupils of al-Shāfi'. Ṭahāwī however did not advance in his studies to the satisfaction of his uncle, who said to him one day that he would never make a name. The nephew left his uncle and took up the study of Ḥanafī law under Abū Dja'far b. Abī 'Imrān (Aḥmad b. Musā b. 'Isā; he came to Egypt when Aiyūb was made Finance Minister and stayed there). Muzani died 264 (878) and it is from him that Ṭahāwī received the *Musnad* of al-Shāfi', which by Brockelmann is erroneously enumerated as a *Musnad* of Ṭahāwī. This work Ṭahāwī heard in 252 and read to his pupils again in 317, according to the *isnād*'s found in the best manuscripts. In 268 (881/882) he went to Syria and met there the Ḥanafī chief qāḍī Abū Khāzim 'Abd al-Ḥamid b. Dja'far, and others in Jerusalem, Ghazza and Askalon, but returned the following year to Egypt. He was in his early years very poor, but found a protector in Muḥammad b. 'Abda, who was chief judge of Egypt from 277 to 283. The biographers record how the latter bestowed favours upon him and on one occasion caused Ṭahāwī to receive the rewards intended for the Qāḍī and the ten witnesses in addition to the share of Ṭahāwī himself. The latter in return, with his natural tendency for legal precision, did everything to impress upon persons coming to court the importance of the office of his master. He came into prominence when Abū 'l-Djaish, son of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, required a document to be witnessed. All witnesses signed after the customary form: "The Amīr Abū 'l-Djaish etc. made me witness...". When it came to Ṭahāwī's turn he wrote: "I witness that the Amīr Abū 'l-Djaish... agrees to everything in this deed....". The Amīr was surprised and made Ṭahāwī a suitable present to the envy of all other witnesses. The result was that his antagonists found some cause for accusing him of mismanagement of the properties held in mortmain (*awḳāf*) and he was sent to prison. How long he was there we are not told, but we get another glimpse from a statement of Maslama b. Kāsim al-Andalusi, that a friend of his returning from Egypt to Spain in 300 A.H. told him that the people of Egypt were very excited about the legal mismanagements of Ṭahāwī, especially in regard to a legal decision he had given concerning black slaves in favour of the Amīr Abū 'l-Djaish. Though never gaining the office of Qāḍī he was continuously employed by the chief judges, and it

was in this capacity that he served also under Abū 'Ubadī 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. Ḥarb, who was chief judge from 293 to 311. He had the habit of saying to Abū 'Ubadī in cases of differences, that Ibn Abī 'Imrān used to say so and so. The judge finally got tired of it and said that he had known Ibn Abī 'Imrān well, but sparrows become eagles in Ṭahāwī's country. This stopped Ṭahāwī, and made the saying proverbial. In his later years he devoted himself, besides the composition of his numerous works, to the giving of legal decisions (*fatwā*), but he had always the courtesy, if the questions were brought forward in the presence of the judge, to state that it was the opinion of the judge, unless he was given special licence by the judge to give the decision upon his own authority. He died according to the historian Ibn Yūnus on the 6th of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 321 A.H. (Oct. 31, 933). Ibn Khallikān says, in the night of Thursday the 1st of the same month, and that he was buried in the Ḳarāfa cemetery. The *Fihrist* has wrongly the year 322.

Ṭahāwī was in the first place a lawyer, and is unanimously praised for his skill in the art of drawing up valid contracts, but he also is counted among the traditionists and as such transmitted the *Musnad* of al-Shāfi', but more than one authority states that *ḥadīth* was really not his business. However his larger works abound in citations of traditions, but these are always cited with a legal aim in view. His works are many and several have been preserved in manuscript and printed. Those mentioned by his biographers are: 1) *Ma'āni 'l-Athār*, his first work; printed with glosses in Lucknow in a large 4° volume; 2) *Iḥtīlāf al-'Ulamā'* (MS. at Cairo); 3) *Aḥkām al-Kur'ān* in 20 *kurrāsā's*; 4) *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-Fiqh*, a work which gave the author much pleasure and has been the subject of many commentaries the earliest of which is by Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Djassās (MS. at Cairo); 5) *Sharḥ al-Djāmī al-Ṣaḡīr*; 6) *al-Shurūṭ al-Kabīr*, which is preserved in an incomplete MS. at Cairo from which Schacht has published a portion (Heidelberg 1926); 7) *al-Shurūṭ al-Awsaṭ*; 8) *al-Shurūṭ al-Ṣaḡīr*; 9) *Maḥādīr*, *Saḍīllāt*, *Waṣāyā* and *Farā'id*, these are perhaps several treatises as the *Waṣāyā* are mentioned by some biographers separately; 10) *Sharḥ al-Djāmī al-Kabīr*; 11) *Naḥḍ Kitāb al-Mudlisin* against al-Karābisi; 12) *al-Ta'rikh al-Kabīr*, probably a kind of biographical dictionary of lawyers; 13) *Manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa* in one volume; 14) a book on the Kur'ān mentioned by the Qāḍī Iyāḍ in his work *al-Ikmāl*; it contained about a thousand leaves and is perhaps identical with the *Mushkil al-Athār*; 15) *al-Nawādir al-Fiqhiya* in over 20 *kurrāsā's*; 16) *Ḥukm Arāḍī Makka wa-Ḳism al-Fa' wa 'l-Ghanā'im*; 17) *al-Radd 'alā 'Isā b. Abān*; against the latter's book called *Khāṭa al-Kutāb*; 18) *al-Radd 'alā Abī 'Ubadī fī-mā aḥḱa'a fī Kitāb al-Nasab*; 19) *Iḥtīlāf al-Riwayāt 'alā Madḥhab al-Kuḥyūyin*; 20) *Mushkil al-Athār*, his last work; it is the final deposit of his studies and has been printed in Haidarābād in four large 4° volumes, 1333 A.H.; this book has been abbreviated by the Māliki lawyer Ibn Rushd; 21) *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* (also called *Aḳida Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djama'a* or *Bayān al-Sunna wa 'l-Djama'a*) printed in Kāzān 1893 and in India; it is a short pamphlet of about ten leaves, setting out the Sunni con-

fession of faith in clear legal language. This little book has also found a number of commentators (cf. Brockelmann); 22) *al-Nawādir wa 'l-Ḥikāyāt* in 20 *kurrāsāt*; 23) some biographers attribute to him two books with the title of *Mukhtaṣar* distinguished as *al-Kabir* and *al-Ṣaḡhir*, but it appears that it is the smaller one which is the one generally commented; 24) in the *Djawāhir al-Muḍḍ'a* is mentioned also a book, the basis of which are the books on dismissal from office (*Kutub al-'Aṣl*), but I am not clear if I understand this correctly.

In books on Ḥanafī law Ṭaḥāwī is cited continually and the number of his pupils or such who came to Egypt to gain information from him is very great, and many are enumerated in the biographies, especially in the *Djawāhir* and the *Lisān al-Misrān*; among them are mentioned: 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, who became later Qāḍī of Egypt and superior to Ṭaḥāwī; Maslama b. al-Kāsim al-Kurṭubī; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Da'ūdī, who was considered the head of the Zāhiri's in his time; the celebrated Qāḍī Ibn Abī 'l-'Awwām; Sulaimān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, the author of the *Muḍjam* and many others.

Bibliography: Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 207; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 24; ed. Cairo 1310, i. 19; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb, G. M. S.*, p. 368^v ult.—369; *Djawāhir al-Muḍḍ'a*, ed. Haidarābād, i. 102—105; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, iii. 29; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Lisān al-Misrān*, i. 274—282; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muhādḍara*, i. 161; Ibn Kutlubugha, No. 15; Lakhnawī, *al-Fawā'id al-Bakiya*, Cairo 1324, p. 31—34; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 255 *sqq.*; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 516; Yāfī, *Mir'at*, ii. 281; al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, passim; and Introduction, p. 18; Flügel, *Classen der hanefitischen Rechtsgelahrten*, 1861, p. 296 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 173; Ḥājjdī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, passim, cf. No. 4131. — He is cited in almost all books on Ḥanafī law. (F. KRENKOW)

TAHERT (we also have TĪHERT), a mediaeval town of Algeria, on the eastern border of the present departement of Oran. According to Idrīsī there used to be two large towns of this name: the one, Old Tāhert, an old Roman site, perhaps the capital of a native dynasty, vassals or allies of the Byzantines (Gsell), rose from its ruins in the modern period and became the capital of Tiaret; the other, New Tāhert, lies 6 miles w. s. w. of Tiaret, not far from Tagdempt which was one of the strongholds of the amir 'Abd al-Kādir [q. v.]. It no longer has more than a few almost obliterated traces of its past grandeur.

New Tāhert was the capital of the Abādī Imāms (or Ibādī, q. v.) of the Rustamid family for 147 years. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam fled from Kairawān after the return of the Arab armies commanded by Ibn al-Ash'ath and sought refuge in this part of the central Maghrib where the Khāridjīs were numerous. He founded Tāhert in 144. (761). The site was well chosen. The climate is severe (al-Bakrī tells us stories of the cold that prevails in Tāhert) but the land around could be irrigated and produced excellent fruit. Tāhert owed its wealth mainly to its trade. Placed at the foot of the Djabal Gezzūl, at the end of the Tell on the northern border of the steppes in touch with the country of the nomads and settled lands, it was destined to become a great market like modern

Tiaret. The nomads flocked to it; the hope of making a fortune as well as attachment to Khāridjī doctrines brought many foreigners there, especially Persians. They had fine dwellings and sūks and Tāhert was known as "Little 'Irāk". We also know how intense was the religious life of this capital of a theocratic kingdom and are told of the intellectual life of the Imāms and their entourage. It is no longer possible to know what the town and its buildings looked like; probably the latter were quite simple. Al-Bakrī speaks of four of its gates and its citadel commanding the marketplace.

Tāhert taken in 296 (908) by the Shī'ī propagandist Abū 'Abd Allāh was utterly ruined. Henceforth it only plays a very minor role in the history of the Berbers. Tiaret inherited part of the economic prosperity of Tāhert. This prosperity, which the Algerian centre, like the ixth century town, owes to its situation as the port of the steppes has increased again, since the plateau of Sersū, which adjoins it, has become an important centre of colonisation.

Bibliography: al-Ya'kūbī, Descriptio al-maghribi, ed. de Goeje, p. 14; transl., p. 100—107; al-Bakrī, Algiers 1911, p. 66—69; transl. de Slane, 1913, p. 138—141; al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 87; transl., p. 100—101; Ibn 'Adharī, *Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 203 *sqq.*; transl. Fagnan, i. 283 *sqq.*; Ibn Ṣaḡhir, *Chronique*, ed. and transl. C. Motylinski, in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris 1908; Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, f. 33, No. 14. (GEORGES MARÇAIS)

ṬĀHIR B. AL-ḤUSAIN, founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty [q. v.] in Khorāsān [q. v.], born in 159 (775—776), died in Djumādā I (Ṭabarī, iii. 1065, 13) or Djumādā II (Ibn Khallikān) 207 (822). Ṭāhir belonged to a family of Persian descent and also to the Arab tribe of Khuzā'a [q. v.]. His ancestor Razīk was a client of the governor of Sistān, Abū Muḥammad Talha b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khuzā'i; Razīk's son Muṣ'ab took part in the fighting against the Umayyads under Abū Muslim as secretary (*kātib*) to the general Sulaimān b. Kaṭhir al-Khuzā'i. The town of Būshandj [q. v.] in the district of Herāt [q. v.] was held by Muṣ'ab and afterwards by his son al-Ḥusain (d. 199 = 814—815). Ṭāhir himself took part in the fighting against the rebel Rāfi' b. Laith in Samarkand in the last years of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (c. 193 = 808—809). In 194 (810), Ma'mūn's minister Faḍl b. Sahl [q. v.] gave him command of the army sent against al-Amin [q. v.]. In Sha'bān 195 (May 811) the enemy under 'Alī b. 'Isā was defeated; Ṭāhir is said to have used his sword with both hands during the battle and for this to have been given the name *Dhu 'l-Yaminain* (ambidextrous) by Ma'mūn. After the taking of Baghdād (198 = 813) Ṭāhir was appointed governor of al-Djazīra [q. v.] with the supreme command over Syria and the west. When Ma'mūn went in 819 (203—204) from Khorāsān to the 'Irāk, Ṭāhir was ordered to leave Raḡḡa and come to meet the Caliph at Nabrawān. In 205 (820—821) Ṭāhir was given the governorship of all the lands east of Baghdād, especially of Khorāsān. There he died suddenly in his capital Merw, shortly after he had omitted the mention of the Caliph in prayer one Friday, and thus committed an act of open rebellion. The details are variously recorded

in the sources: cf. M. J. de Goeje in *Travaux de la 3^{ème} Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes à St. Pétersbourg*, 1876, ii. 163 sqq.

Although his mother-tongue was Persian (cf. the utterances in Persian ascribed to him in Ibn al-Ṭāhir, ed. Keller, p. 130 and Tabari, iii. 1063 infra), Ṭāhir is said, like his descendants, to have been well versed in the Arabic language and culture. His letter written in 206 (821—822) to his son 'Abd Allāh on his appointment as governor of Diyār Rabī'a [q. v.] became celebrated even among his contemporaries; cf. *Kitāb Baghdād*, ed. Keller, p. 36 sqq. (German transl., p. 17 sqq.); Tabari, iii. 1046 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 258 sqq.; Russian transl. by A. Schmidt, *Bulletin de l'Univ. de l'Asie Centrale*, viii., 1925, p. 129 sqq.

Bibliography: esp. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o 308; ed. de Slane, text, p. 331 sqq.; transl., i. 649 sq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TĀHIR 'OMAR [See ZĀHIR 'OMAR.]

TĀHIR WAḤĪD, MUḤAMMAD, 'IMĀD AL-DAWLĀ, a Persian poet of Ḳazwīn, who was the secretary of the two Prime Ministers Mirzā Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad and Khālifa Sultān; in 1055 (1645—6) appointed historiographer to Shāh 'Abās II, he became minister in 1101 (1689—90) in the reign of Sulaimān; afterwards he retired into private life and died most probably in 1110 (1698—99) aged 90. The British Museum has five MSS. of his historical works. The *Ātash-kedē* (Bombay 1277, not paginated) says that his poems were mainly admired because of the rank of the author.

Bibliography: Hammer, *Gesch. Redek. Pers.*, p. 380 (fragments transl.); Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, . . . , p. 189—190; E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times* (Cambridge 1924), 258, 264; Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat. As. Soc. Bengal* (Calcutta 1924), p. 371; Ethé, *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii. 312, 342.

(CL. HUART)

BĀBĀ TĀHIR, a mystic and poet who wrote in a Persian dialect. According to Ridā Ḳulī Khān (xixth century), who does not give his source, Bābā Ṭāhir lived in the period of Dailamī rule and died in 401 (1010). Among his quatrains there is an enigmatical one: "I am that sea (*baḥr*) which entered into a vase; that point which entered into the letter. In each *alf* "thousand", i. e. of years?) arises an *alif-kadd* (a man upright in stature like the letter *alif*). I am the *alif-kadd* who has come in this *alf*". Mahdī Khān in the *J. A. S. Bengal* has given an extremely curious interpretation of this quatrain: the letters *alf-kd* have the value 215, the same as the letters of the word *daryā* (Persian equivalent of the Arabic *baḥr* "sea") and those of the name of the poet Ṭāhir. If we add *alf-kd* (215) to *alf* (111) we get 326 (the same value by the way as the Persian word *hazār*, "thousand", if we spell it *hā, zā, alif, rā*). In this way the phrase "an *alif-kadd* come into the *alif*" would give the date (326) of the birth of Bābā Ṭāhir who may well have lived till 401.

In spite of the ingenuity of this explanation, it is nevertheless true that the only historical evidence that we possess about Bābā Ṭāhir is that of the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* (c. 601 [1204], *G. M. S.*, p. 98—99), the author of which "had heard" that when the Saljuḳ Sultān Tuḡhrīl entered Hamadān (in 447 = 1055), Bābā Ṭāhir addressed an ad-

monition to him ("O Turk, how you going to act towards the Muslims"?) which much impressed the conqueror. The anecdote suggests for the death of Bābā Ṭāhir a date later than 447 but is in no way contradictory to the statement that Bābā Ṭāhir flourished under the Dailamis, i. e. under the Būyids and their relatives, the Ḳākōyids, whose rule in Hamadān lasted till the expedition of Ibrāhīm Yānāl in 435. Bābā Ṭāhir may well have been the contemporary of Avicenna (Abū Sīnā) who died at Hamadān in 428 (1037), but the legends which make him a witness of the execution of the mystic 'Ain al-Ḳudāt of Hamadān in 533 and the contemporary of Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 672) are pure inventions.

The sources sometimes call Bābā Ṭāhir Hamadānī (cf. the Arabic MS. 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. Paris, the *Sarandjām*, etc.), sometimes Lurī (Lūrī). This latter form—in place of Lur [q. v.]—is somewhat puzzling: does it mean some other connection than of origin between Bābā Ṭāhir and Luristān? It is certainly well to remember that in the xth century there were very close links between Hamadān and Luristān and the poet may have spent his life between the two places. In Ḳhurramābād there is a quarter bearing the name of Bābā Ṭāhir (cf. Edmonds, *Geogr. Journ.*, June 1922, p. 443). The association of Bābā Ṭāhir with Luristān in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [see below] is also significant. In the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir (cf. nos. 102, 200, 274 of the *Diwān*), Mount Alwand [q. v.] overshadowing Hamadān is frequently mentioned. The tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir lies on a little hill to the northwest of the town in the Bun-i bazār quarter; beside the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir are those of his faithful Fāṭima [see below] and Mirzā 'Alī Naḳī Kawṭhārī (xixth century); the building is a humble one and of no interest. The tomb is mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (740 = 1340), *Gibb. Mem. Ser.*, p. 75; cf. the photograph in Minorsky, *Matériaux*, Moscow 1911, p. xi. and Williams Jackson, *A visit to the Tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir at Hamadān*, in *A Volume presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 257—260.

The stories one hears in Māzandarān about B. Ṭāhir's connection with that province have no foundation and may have been brought by immigrants from Luristān (the Lāk). Besides, all the nomads of Persia like to claim B. Ṭāhir as a compatriot.

The language of Bābā Ṭāhir. Since all the facts and traditions connect the poet with Hamadān and Luristān, it is reasonable to expect to find in his dialect traces of a dialect of this region of Persia. But as this dialect was very close to Persian and as so many different mouths have been trying to render more comprehensible the verses transmitted orally, there is little hope of reestablishing the text in its dialectic purity. It is not an improbable suggestion that B. Ṭāhir simply wanted to imitate the dialects of these adepts. In our own day a Kurd Christian claims to have made verses in the Gūrānī dialect, quite distinct from his own in order to "transmit the message" to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (Dr. Sa'īd Khān, in the *Moslem World*, Jan. 1927, p. 40).

The country between Hamadān and Ḳhurramābād still has many dialects, but that of Bābā Ṭāhir is not connected with any definite one and seems to borrow from all. The closeness of the present

text of B. Ṭāhir to literary Persian is undeniable; on the other hand changes like *nām* > *nūm* "name", *dastam* > *dastum* ("my hand"), *raftam* > *raftum* ("I have gone"), *dūr* > *dir* (cf. Huart, xiv = *Diwān*, N^o. 82) are typical of the Lur dialects; the stems *vādī* "to speak", *kar* "to do" are common to the Kurdish and central dialects; the forms *mī-kar-ū* "he does" and *āy-ū* "he comes" recall particularly the Gūrānī spoken much farther to the west. For certain peculiarities (*dāram* > **dērom*) we only find analogies at Kāzrūn (near Shīrāz).

Hadank's detailed analysis has plainly proved this mixture of dialects (*Dialektgemisch*) in the quatrains, at least as we know them now. The term "Muḥammadan Pahlavi" proposed by Huart (1885) for the language of Bābā Ṭāhir has not been accepted by scholars.

The metre of the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir and of his ghazals is almost exclusively *hazaj musaddas mahdhūf* | — — — | — — — | — — — which has made the new editor call the quatrains *do-beiti* (distichs) instead of *rubāʿi*, the last term being too closely associated with the metre *hazaj makṣuf makṣūr* — — — | — — — | — — — | — — —. The authenticity of some regular *rubāʿi* attributed to B. Ṭāhir seems doubtful. The metre of B. Ṭāhir is also found in popular songs (Mīrzā Djaʿfar [Korsch], *Gramm. Pers. Yayika*, Moscow 1901, p. 308).

Bābā Ṭāhir—poet. Down to 1927, all that was known of his poems was a rather small number found for the most part in anthologies of the xviiith and xixth centuries. Huart's researches produced in 1885, 59 quatrains and in 1908, another 28 and one *ghazal*. E. Heron Allen only found 3 new quatrains (they are moreover very doubtful). Leszczynski (who used the Berlin manuscripts) has translated 80 quatrains and one *ghazal* (a different one from Huart's). Finally Ḥusain Waḥid Dastgirdi Isfahānī, editor of the Persian review *Armaghān*, published in 1306 (1927) at Tihrān a *Diwān* of B. Ṭāhir containing 296 *do-beiti* and 4 *ghazals* of this poet; as an appendix the editor gives 62 *do-beiti* found in the "different collections" and the 3 *rubāʿi* added by Heron Allen. The quatrains of the *Diwān* are arranged in the alphabetical order of the rhymes. The editor unfortunately gives no details of the manuscript of the *Diwān* reproduced in his edition. The new quatrains several of which mention Ṭāhir's name, the mountains of Alwand and Meymand (?) etc., confirm the characteristics already known of Bābā Ṭāhir, while making them a little more banal by the inevitable repetitions. The dialectic flavour of most of the quatrains is in favour of their authenticity, although the imitation of the peculiarities of the language of B. Ṭāhir would really not be a very difficult matter. The question of the authenticity of the quatrains of B. Ṭāhir certainly arises, as it did in the case of those of ʿOmar Khayyām. Żukowski says that the quatrains of B. Ṭāhir are found in the *Diwān* of Mullā Muḥammad Šūfi Māzandarānī (xith cent. A. H.). A certain Shāṭir Beg Muḥammad, a modern poet of Hamadān, claimed to be the author of several "Kurdi (Pahlawī)" quatrains attributed to B. Ṭāhir; cf. *Diwān*, p. 21.

The choice of subjects in Bābā Ṭāhir is very restricted, but the poet's work bears the stamp of a distinct personality. We give an analysis of the 59 quatrains published by Huart to enable the reader to judge. As usual it is difficult to draw

a rigid distinction between the expression of mystical and that of profane love; 34 quatrains are almost equally divided between two categories of lyric poetry. Two quatrains are simple hymns to God. The rest is more individual and characteristic. B. Ṭāhir often refers to his life as a wandering dervishkalandar, without a roof above his head, sleeping with a stone for a pillow, continually harassed by spiritual anxieties (Nos. 6, 7, 14, 28). Cares and melancholy torment him; the "flower of grief" alone flourishes in his heart; even the charms of spring leave him still unhappy (34, 35, 47, 54). B. Ṭāhir professes the philosophy of the true Šūfi, confesses his sins, implores pardon for them, preaches humility, invokes nirvana (*fanā*) as the only remedy for his misfortunes (1, 13, 45, 50, 58). One human failing is especially characteristic of Bābā Ṭāhir: his eyes and his heart do not readily detach themselves from the things of this world; his rebellious heart burns within him, leaves him no rest for a moment and the poet cries in anguish: "Art thou a lion, a panther, O my Heart, thou who art continually struggling with me. If thou fallest into my hands, I shall spill thy blood to see what colour thou art, O my heart" (3, 8, 9, 26, 36, 42).

Bābā Ṭāhir's psychology shows striking contrast to that of ʿOmar Khayyām. Bābā Ṭāhir shows no trace of the hedonism of the latter (d. 517 [1123 ?]) nor of his serenity in face of the changes brought by death, while ʿOmar Khayyām lacks the mystic fire of Bābā Ṭāhir (cf. Christensen, *Critical Studies in the Rubāʿiyyāt of ʿUmar-i Khayyām*, Copenhagen 1917, p. 44).

What pleases in Bābā Ṭāhir is the freshness of his sentiments which Šūfi routine had not yet stereotyped, the spontaneity of his images, the naiveté of his language, when expressing terror. A new Fitzgerald might make of Bābā Ṭāhir a worthy rival to ʿOmar Khayyām.

Bābā Ṭāhir—mystic. The Persian dervishes with whom Żukowski talked about Bābā Ṭāhir knew that he was the author of 22 metaphysical treatises (cf. also Riḍā Kulī Khān) but it is only from Ethé and Blochet that we have learned in Europe of the existence in Oxford and Paris of commentaries on the maxims of B. Ṭāhir. The complete treatise [*al*]-*Kalimāt* [*al*]-*ḫiṣār* ("The brief sayings") has now been published in the edition of the *Armaghān*. This treatise consists of 368 Arabic maxims divided into 23 *bāb* dealing with the following subjects: knowledge (*ilm*); gnosis (*maʿrifā*); inspiration and penetration (*ilhām*, *firāsa*); reason and the soul (*aql*, *nafs*); this world and the beyond (*dunyā*, *uḫbā*); the musical performance (*samāʿ*) and the *dhikr*; sincerity and spiritual retreat (*ikhṭāṣ*, *ʿitikāf*) etc.

Here are a few specimens of these maxims: N^o. 86: "Real knowledge is the intuition after which the knowledge of certainty has been acquired" (*al-ḥaḳīqatu'l-mushāhidatu ba'da 'ilmi 'l-yaḳīni*); N^o. 96: "Ecstasy (*wadūd*) is the loss (of the knowledge) of existing things and is the existence of lost things"; N^o. 368: "he who has been the witness of predestination (coming) from God remains without movement and without volition"; N^o. 300: "he whom ignorance has slain has never lived, he whom the *dhikr* has killed will never die".

The "Brief Sayings" seem to have enjoyed considerable popularity among the Šūfis. The Persian editor mentions the following commentaries

on this treatise: the Arabic commentary attributed to 'Ain al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. in 533 but often associated in legends with Bābā Ṭāhir); another Arabic commentary by an unknown author; the Arabic and Persian commentaries by Mullā Sultān 'Alī Gunābādī: the Persian commentary was printed in 1326 (1906) but is very rare. The editor of the *Amarghān* expresses the hope of being one day able to publish the "Brief Sayings" accompanied by one of the commentaries.

The Arabic manuscript 1903 of the Bibl. Nat. contains the first 8 chapters of the maxims of Bābā Ṭāhir in an abridged form (fol. 100^b—105^b), as well as a commentary on them (fol. 74^a—100^a) entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-rabbāniya fī Ishārāt al-Hamadāniya*.

The manuscript seems to be in the hand of the author of the commentary, Dīānī Beg al-'Azīzī, who began his work in Shawwāl 889 and ended it on 20th Sha'bān 890 (1485). The commentary was written at the request of a certain Shaikh Abu 'l-Baḳā who had possessed the *Ishārāt* of Bābā Ṭāhir since 853. He had let them fall into the well of Zamzam at Mecca but the manuscript was miraculously recovered. The 'ulamā' had dissuaded Abu 'l-Baḳā from writing a commentary on the text on account of its profundity and obscurity. Finally Abu 'l-Baḳā engaged Dīānī Beg to accomplish this task. The commentary deals with the text of the maxims of Bābā Ṭāhir word by word.

Bābā Ṭāhir — a saint. As is the case with the majority of the mystical poets ('Attār, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Ḥāfiz), there are numerous legends of the life and miracles of Bābā Ṭāhir. It is related that when Bābā Ṭāhir had asked the students of the madrasa of Hamadān to show him the way to acquire knowledge, the students as a joke told him to spend a winter night in the frozen water of a tank. Bābā Ṭāhir carried out the advice and next morning found himself enlightened and exclaimed: *Amsaiiru Kurdiyan wa-asbahtu 'Arabiyan* ("last night I was a Kurd and this morning I have become an Arab"). This story was heard by Żukowski in Teherān and by Heron Allen's informant at Būshir; it is widely current in Hamadān (cf. the preface to the *Diwān*, p. 17 and the manuscripts from Hamadān). This Arabic utterance is found in the preface to the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, where however it is referred to an unknown (mystic?) ancestor of Ibn Akhi, a Turk of Urmiya. In the *Nafahāt al-Uns* of Dīāmī, ed. Nassau Lees, p. 362—363, the phrase is attributed to Abū 'Abd Allāh Bābūnī.

Other pious legends represent Bābā Ṭāhir as making the snow on Mount Alwand melt by the ardour of his spiritual fire, tracing with the point of his great toe the solution of an astronomical problem which had been put him, etc. (Żukowski, Heron Allen, Leszczynski, preface to the *Diwān*, manuscripts from Hamadān).

Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 344, already knew that the adepts of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect were in the habit of "praising exceedingly and giving pride of place to the names of famous Sūfis, notably of Bābā Ṭāhir whose poems in the Lur dialect are highly esteemed, and of his sister Bibi Fatima" etc. The discovery of the religious work *Sarandjām* has enabled us to locate Bābā Ṭāhir in the theogony of the sect. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ believed in 7 manifestations of the divinity (the

first, that of Khāwandigār was in pre-eternity, the second is that of 'Alī, the third that of Bābā Khoshin, the fourth that of Sultān Ishāḳ [q. v.]). Each of these manifestations was accompanied by a retinue of 4 angels, each of whom had special duties. Bābā Ṭāhir is regarded as one of the angels of Bābā Khoshin and the incarnation of Azrā'il and Nusair. The mystic stage to which the period of Bābā Khoshin generally corresponds is the *mar'ifa*. The events of this cycle take place in Luristān and Hamadān. The manuscript of the *Sarandjām* recounts the visit of the "King of the World" to Bābā Ṭāhir in Hamadān. Bābā Khoshin is meant by the "King of the World" but the legend seems to be inspired by memories of the episode of Tughrīl, related in the *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*. Bābā Ṭāhir and Fāṭima Lārā ("the thin") of the tribe of Bārā Shāhī (living in the Gūrān country?), who was in his service, fed the whole army of the King with a *čār-yak* of rice. The latter tempts Bābā Ṭāhir with all the treasures of the world but he only desires the "beauty of the King". Fāṭima wants to follow the king of the World; she lays her head on her knees and gives up the ghost. The King consoles Bābā Ṭāhir for his loss and promises that on the day of the Last Judgement he will reunite him to Fāṭima so that they shall be like Lailā and Maḍjūn. 13 poetical fragments (mutilated but in the style of Bābā Ṭāhir) are so scattered through the text (cf. *Minorsky*, p. 29—33, 99—103; these facts have been utilized by Leszczynski, *op. cit.*, p. 18—25). Fāṭima Lārā, who is mentioned in the text is buried beside Bābā Ṭāhir. According to the custodians of the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir, she is not to be confused with another Fāṭima also buried in the same *Buḳ'a* (?). Gobineau and A. V. W. Jackson mention the sister of Bābā Ṭāhir, Bibi Fāṭima or Fāṭima Lailā. Āzād-i Hamadānī (*Diwān*, p. 16—21) speaks of the tomb of the *dāya* "nurse" of Bābā Ṭāhir: everyone seems to endeavour to translate into the language of everyday life the mystic relations of Bābā Ṭāhir to Fāṭima.

The quatrain already quoted at the beginning of this article (*alf, alif-kadd*) may reflect some high aspiration of Bābā Ṭāhir.

Bibliography: The manuscripts containing the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir are as follows: Asiat. Soc. Bengal, pers. N^o. 923, Catal. Ivanow, p. 424 (a *madjmu'a* of 1000 [1592]); Preuss. Staatsbibl., Catal. Pertsch, p. 727, N^o. 697 (written in 1820 and used by Leszczynski): 56 quatrains; Bibl. Nat. de Paris, pers. 174, Cat. Blochet, ii. 290—292 (collection made by Bakhsh 'Alī Karabāghī, dated 1260 [1844]): 174 quatrains and a *ghazal*. In the library of the mosque of Sipāhsālār in Tīhrān, Żukowski found a manuscript, *Ḥalāt-i Bābā Ṭāhir bā inḍimām-i ash'arash*, but the title did not correspond to the contents of the manuscript. The manuscripts of the mystical treatises of Bābā Ṭāhir are as follows: Bibl. Nat. de Paris, Arab 1903 (Blochet, *o. l.*, ii. 291) and the Oxford MS. Ethé, *Cat. Pers. Mss. Bodleian Lib.*, N^o. 1298, fol. 302^b—343. The anthologies which mention the poet are: 'Alī Ḳulī Khān Walīh, *Riyāḍ al-shu'arā*, 1161 (1748), cf. Leszczynski, p. 10; Luṭf 'Alī beg, *Ātashkada*, 1193 (1779), Bombay 1277, p. 247 (25 quatrains); 'Alī Ibrāhīm-shāh, *Suḥuf-i Ibrāhīm*, 1205 (1791), unique MS. in the Preuss. Staatsbibl., Pertsch, p. 627, N^o. 663 (utilised by Żukowski and

Leszczynski); Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjma' al-fuṣṣahā*², Ṭihrān 1295, i. 326 (10 quatrains); Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Riyāḍ al-ʿarīfīn*, Ṭihrān 1303, p. 102 (24 quatrains); 57 quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir were published at Bombay in 1297 and 1308 (with those of ʿOmar Khaiyām); 32 quatrains (with the *Munādījāt* of Anṣārī) at Bombay 1301; 27 quatrains (with those of Khaiyām) at Ṭihrān 1274; the *ghazal* of Bābā Ṭāhir is given in the appendix to the *Diwān* of Shams-i Maḡhribī, Ṭihrān 1298, p. 158, in the appendix to the *Munādījāt* of Anṣārī etc. The *Diwān* of Bābā Ṭāhir (cf. text) with the *Kalimāt-i kiṣār*, a preface by the editor, a biography by Maḥmūd ʿIrfān, a description of the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir by Āzād-i Hamadānī etc. were published as a supplement to the 8th year of the magazine *Armaghān*, Ṭihrān 1306 (1927), p. 1—124. — Huart, *Les quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān en pehlvi musulman*, *J. A.*, series viii., vol. vi., Nov.—Dec. 1885, p. 502—545; Żukowski, *Koye ʿito o B. Ṭāhirē Gollshē Zap.*, 1900, xiii., p. 104—108 (bibliography, 3 anecdotes, 2 new quatrains one of which = N^o. 146 of the *Diwān*), cf. also *Zap.*, ii. p. 12; E. Heron Allen, *The Lament of Bābā Ṭāhir*, London 1902 (text of 62 quatrains, transl. by the editor and a verse transl. by Elisabeth Curtis Brenton); E. G. Browne, *A Liter. Hist. of Persia*, i. 83—87, ii. 259—261; Mirzā Mahdī Khān (Kaukab), *The quatrains of B. Ṭāhir*, *J. A. S. Bengal*, 1904, N^o. 1, p. 1—29 (new edition of the quatrains of Heron Allen [+ 1 quatrain] with important corrections and a very interesting commentary); Huart, *Nouveaux quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir*, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay 1908, p. 290—302 (28 quatrains and 1 *ghazal*) completing the collection of 1885 recently discovered³ in an extract from the *Kashkūl al-fuḳarāʾ* of which the original is in the Muḥammadiya mosque (Fātiḥ) of Constantinople, in the *Diwān* of Maḡhribī and in an album (*djūng*). This second collection of quatrains published by Huart contains very irregular pieces, the translation of which is not certain; Minorsky, *Materiali* ("Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des croyances de la secte persane dite les Ahl-i Haqq ou 'Alī-Ilāhī"), vol. xxxiii. of the *Trudī Lazarew. Instituta*, Moscow 1911, p. 29—33 (transl. of the passages from the *Sarandjām*), p. 99—103 (Persian text of the intercalated poems and notes); G. L. Leszczynski, *Die Rubāʿiyāt des Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān oder Die Gottestränen des Herzens, aus d. west-medischen [sic!] Originale*, Munich 1920 (biographical and bibliographical, verse transl.); K. Hadank, *Die Mundarten v. Khunsār etc.*, in *Kurd.-pers. Forsch. v. O. Mann*, series iii., vol. 1., Leipzig 1926, introduction, p. xxxvii.—lv. (complete study of the question of the language of Bābā Ṭāhir, bibliography).

(V. MINORSKY)

ṬĀHIRIDS, a dynasty in Khorāsān, founded by Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain [q.v.]. The foundation of the rule of the Ṭāhirids was later considered to date from the appointment of Ṭāhir as commander of the army of the Caliph Maʾmūn in 194 (810) and therefore the duration of their rule was put at 65 years (till the deposition of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir in 259 [873]; cf. the biography of Faḍl b. Sahl [q.v.] in Ibn Khallikān N^o. 540, ed. de Slane, p. 577; transl., ii. 473 [where we have wrongly

"six and fifty"]). Ṭāhir was succeeded in Khorāsān by his son Ṭalḥa, d. 213 (828); after him reigned ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q.v.] till 230 (844) and Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh till Radjāb 248 (862), both of whom are described as able rulers. The capital of the dynasty was Niṣhāpūr (Arabic: Naisābūr); from the time of ʿAbd Allāh their territory comprised Raiy and Kirmān, in addition to Khorāsān proper and the lands east of it as far as the Indian frontier and northward to the boundary of the Caliph's empire. Although the Ṭāhirids were nominally only governors for the caliphs, their authority was so firmly established in Khorāsān that the province could not be given to any other. After the death of ʿAbd Allāh the Caliph al-Wāthiq appointed Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṣʿabī governor of Khorāsān, but this appointment was cancelled before the departure of the new governor and Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh confirmed in office in succession to his father (Ṣūli, MS. in the Publ. Libr. in St. Petersburg, f. 18^b sqq.). At the same time from 237 to 253 (851—867) another of ʿAbd Allāh's sons, Muḥammad, held the office of military commandant (*ṣāhib shurṭa*) and deputy of the Caliph in Baghdād. He declined an offer to go to Khorāsān on the death of his brother Ṭāhir, as he knew that the latter had intended his son Muḥammad to succeed him; Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was therefore appointed governor of Khorāsān by the Caliph Mustafīn (Yaʿqūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 604). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, in contrast to his predecessors, is described as a frivolous and pleasure-loving prince; his lands gradually passed to the Ṣaffārid [q.v.] Yaʿqūb b. Laith to whom Muḥammad himself had to surrender in his capital in 259 (873). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, who lived till 296 (908—909) (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 42) does not seem to have returned to Khorāsān, although he was liberated after the defeat of Yaʿqūb at Dair al-ʿAḳūl in 262 (876) and thereupon and once again in 271 (885) appointed governor of Khorāsān. His brother Ḥusain b. Ṭāhir continued the struggle with the Ṣaffārids without much success. The last military commandant of Baghdād of the Ṭāhirid family was ʿUbaid Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh who died in Shawwāl 300 (May 913); according to ʿArib, p. 40, he was 81 years of age but Ibn al-Athīr says he was only born in 223 (838); until his death he was regarded as *Shāikh* of the Khuzāʿa tribe (Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, ii. 80, not in the text p. 382, nor in Wüstenfeld's edition N^o. 366). His son Muḥammad b. ʿUbaid Allāh was for a period commandant of the eastern half of Baghdād and was dismissed from office in 301 (913—914); cf. ʿArib, p. 45.

The Ṭāhirids seem to have occupied a unique position among the rulers of their time on account of their high education and literary activities (in Arabic). In the *Fihrist* (p. 117) a special chapter (*ʿAl Ṭāhir*) is devoted to the Ṭāhirids: many of them, from Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain to ʿUbaid Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh are celebrated as poets and authors. According to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir the "wisdom" (*Hukm*) of the Ṭāhirids was particularly manifested in his nephew Maṣṣūr b. Ṭalḥa, the governor of Merw, Āmul and Khwārizm, and author of several works. According to a statement of little credibility in Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 30), ʿAbdallāh is said to have disapproved of Persian literature and to have ordered Persian books to be burned and destroyed.

Bibliography: Grundriss d. iran. Phil., ii. 559 sq.; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, G. M. S., 1928, p. 207—222. (W. BARTHOLD)

TAHMĀN b. 'AMR AL-KILĀBĪ was a minor Arabic poet whose collected poems have by accident been preserved, while more important collections have been irretrievably lost. The time when he lived is fairly accurately known, as he was captured by the Ḥarūrī leader Naǧǧa b. 'Amr al-Ḥanaḥī on one of his expeditions and employed as a guide. During the night he tried to escape, took one of the best camels and went away. He was however pursued on horses and recaptured. As a punishment for theft the Ḥarūrī imposed the punishment of having the right hand cut off. When he later came to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik he recited to him his most celebrated poem, in which he deploras the loss of his hand and asks the caliph for the payment of the ransom as he had acted only as a loyal subject and had not deserved the punishment imposed upon common criminals. However, according to another account, he did not lose his hand at all and the poem was made solely for the purpose to save his hand when he deserved such punishment. He had been at a wineshop and when drunk had robbed the owner of the money taken by this illegal traffic by breaking open the box in which he kept the money. In this account he is brought before the caliph al-Walid and not 'Abd al-Malik. That he lived to the time of al-Walid is confirmed by another poem (p. 82, 2) where he praises this ruler and the Banū Umayya in general. As also other accounts and verses make allusion to the loss of his hand, the second account appears to be due to an interpolator who was not acquainted with these verses. Tahmān was sensitive about the loss of his hand and he always kept it wrapped up. One day a man of the clan of Abū Rabī'a b. 'Abd, as he was at the watering trough, threw the garment covering his hand back. Tahmān bore the grudge till he surprised the man kneeling at some work and struck him with his sword thinking he had killed him, though he had only wounded him. He fled to the Yaman to the tribe of al-Ḥarīth b. Ka'b and found asylum among the Banū 'Abd al-Madān, one of the noblest Yamaute clans, and sent from there some verses expressing his delight at having avenged the insult. He also had another quarrel in which he killed a man of the tribe of Ghanī on account of a woman; then he ran away and stayed two years in the South of the Yamāma, hiding during the day, robbing the people during the night. His plight however was so wretched that when some of his clansmen of Kilāb passed he asked them in some verses to obtain pardon for him from the governor of al-Madīna. A man named Šudaiy b. Kaīs went to al-Madīna and obtained the pardon and paid the blood-money to the relations of the slain Ghanawī. From all these scattered accounts we may arrive at the conclusion that he lived in the second half of the first century of the Hīǧra. Several of the fragmentary poems are simply love poems, several upon Ḥarīthī, i. e. South-Arabian women, composed during his stay in the Yaman. The short *drwān* probably formed part of the collection of poems made by Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkārī under the title: *Kitāb Luṣūṣ al-'Arab*, "Book of the Arab Robbers". A German translation exists

by O. Rescher, but as it is privately printed; I do not know the date of publication. The Arabic text is published in W. Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, Leyden 1859, p. 76—89. Verses of Tahmān are cited occasionally in other works, sometimes only as being by one of the "Robbers". In the *Lisān al-'Arab* he is cited only four times (iii. 492; ii. 132; xi. 298; xiii. 43, 432); Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 413; Yaḳūt and al-Kalī in places to be found from the indices.

Bibliography: cited above.

(F. KRENKOW)

ṬAHMĀSP I, second ruler of Persia of the Šafawī dynasty, eldest son of Šāh Ismā'īl I born in 919 (1514); he ascended the throne at the age of ten years (930 = 1524) and was of course the plaything of the Kīzīlbash chiefs. He defeated the Uzbegs in 934 (1527) near Turbet-i Šaikḥ Djam. Summoned to Baghdād by the rebellion of Dhu 'l-Faḳār of the Kurd tribe of the Mūslū, who was supported by the Kalhur Kurds and claimed to be under Turkish suzerainty (936 = 1530), he found him murdered by his brothers. He next went to Herāt which the Uzbegs had been besieging for 18 months, but the latter withdrew on his approach. In 940 (1534) the Ottomans occupied Mesopotamia and Tabriz. Sulṭān Sulaimān went to Sulṭāniya, then crossed the mountains to the south to occupy Baghdād; four years later he occupied Wān. The Persians had all the time been on the defensive. In 1541 the great Moghul Humāyūn, son of Bābur, driven from his throne by a rebellion, took refuge with Ṭahmāsp. The magnificent festivities held on this occasion are commemorated in a wall-painting in the pavilion of Čihil-Sutūr in Iṣfahān, but Humāyūn was worried by the Šāh's insisting on his adoption of the Šī'a.

A rebellion of his brother Ilkhāš-Mirzā in 954 (1547) who was supported by the Turks gave Tahmāsp no rest; an Ottoman army occupied Ādharbāidjān and Iṣfahān; Ilkhāš however quarrelled with his allies, the campaign led to nothing and the pretender was later captured and put to death. In 961 (1554) an armistice was concluded with the Turks and the peace signed the following year. Bāyazīd, son of Sulṭān Sulaimān, took refuge in Persia after his rebellion (963 = 1556) but he was handed over after two years' negotiations and Tahmāsp ordered or allowed him to be put to death for a sum of 400,000 pieces of gold.

The last years of his reign were marked by Uzbek invasions of Khorāsān and a famine followed by plague (919 = 1571). Tahmāsp died in 984 (1576), poisoned by the mother of a certain Ḥaidar, chief of the Ustādīlū tribe. His reign had lasted 52 and a half years. He wrote his autobiography, publ. by P. Horn, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Z. D. M. G., xlv., 1890, p. 563—649, transl. Strassburg 1891; it stops at the year 969 (1561) when Bāyazīd was handed over to the Turks. Copies of official letters addressed by him to contemporary sovereigns are found in various MSS. of the British Museum (Rieu, *Catalogue*, N^o. 390, 530, 809, 984). In his reign Persia was visited by Anthony Jenkinson, English Ambassador (1562) and Vincentio d'Alessandri, Venetian Ambassador (1571).

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Tahmāsp II, third son of Shāh Husain, proclaimed heir-presumptive during the siege of Isfahān by the Afghāns (1135 = 1722), escaped at the head of 600 men and tried without success to raise troops in Kāzwīn. He made a treaty with Peter the Great who had just occupied Resht and Bākū (the treaty led to nothing), held out at Farahābād in Māzandarān, with the support of Fath 'Alī Khān, chief of the Kādjar, and was joined there by the future Nādir Shāh, who then took the name Tahmāsp Kuli Khān (the Khān, servant of Tahmāsp) and brought him 5,000 men, Afshār and Kurds. After the assassination of Fath 'Alī Khān near Meshhed by Nādir, the latter was appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian troops, took Meshhed and Herāt, won a signal victory over the Afghāns at Mihmān-Dūst, near Dāmghān in 1141 (1729). Leaving Tahmāsp at Dāmghān, Nādir won a further success at Murte-Khūt, entered Isfahān where Tahmāsp, whose father had been massacred by the Afghāns before their departure, followed him and found his mother there, where she had lived seven years disguised as a slave without being recognised. Tahmāsp rewarded his general for his services by giving him the governorship of Khorāsān, Sidjistan, Kirmān and Māzandarān with the title Sultān. Nādir struck coins in his own name and paid his troops with them. Fired by the victories of his lieutenant, Tahmāsp wished to take command of the army, undertook unsuccessfully the siege of Eriwān and was defeated by the Turks at Koredjān, near Hamadān in 1144 (1731); in the following year he concluded peace by ceding Transcaucasia, but retained Tabriz and the country S.E. of it. Nādir protested against the conclusion of the treaty, marched on Isfahān, seized Tahmāsp and sent him to be imprisoned in Khorāsān putting on the throne a son of the Shāh, aged eight months, under the name of Shāh 'Abbās III; this son dying, Nādir [q. v.] had himself proclaimed ruler of Persia in 1148 (1736). In the course of the campaign in India, the son of Nādir, Ridā Kūli, put Tahmāsp to death along with the greater part of his family at Sebzawār (1151 = 1739).

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TAHMŪRATH, the second king of the Pishdādī dynasty in the Persian epic cycle.

The name *Takhmō-urupa* (*Avesta*), *Takhmōrup* (*Bundahish*) is compounded of *takhma* ("strong, courageous") (cf. Rustam < Rustahm) + *urupa* (or *urupi*) (cf. Christensen, p. 140), "a certain animal of the dog family", cf. Bartholomae, *Altir. Wört.*, p. 1532, who, however, expresses doubts as to the real meaning of the name (Darmesteter, *Avesta*, ii., p. 583, interprets it "of sturdy shape"; cf.

Sanskrit *rūpa*?). Later forms are *Takhmūraf*, *Tahmūras*. The transcription into Arabic characters *Tahmūrath* (sometimes *Ṭahmūrath*) reflects an intermediate stage in the evolution of the final *p* > *f* > *th* > *s*; the emphatic Arabic *ṭ* seems to show retroactive influence of the *k*; cf. the forms *Tahmāsp*, and *Ṭihrān*. In the *Sidra Rabba* the Mandaean *Tahmūrath* appears under the name Zardānayaṭa *Tahmūrāt*.

As Windischmann points out, *Tahmūrath* is one of the most puzzling characters in the Iranian epic. Syncrretistic imagination has been very much at work on the person of this king and each period has added some new features to his character. According to the majority of the sources, *Tahmūrath* is the son of Wiwandjān (Avestan Vivahvant, Pahl. Vivanghān, who is the grandson or the great grandson of Hūshang). The brothers of *Tahmūrath* are his successors Yim = *Djam*[shēd], *Spitūr* (Spityura) and *Nars*. The *Shāh-nūma* alone makes the order of reigns the same as the order of generations, by making *Tahmūrath* the son of Hūshang and the father of *Djamshēd*. The Muslim sources mention a son of *Tahmūrath* who according to Ibn al-Faḥih was called *Fāris* (eponym of the Persians), according to the *Nushat al-Kutub* (ed. Le Strange, p. 112): *Lashkar*; according to Herbelot's sources: *Kahramān*.

In the *Avesta* *Tahmūrath* has the epithet *asnavant* (*sahnawant*), usually explained (cf. Hamza and the *Mudjmil*, p. 166) as "armed" but according to Bartholomae, *Altir. Wört.*, p. 228 and 1651, having the sense of "watchful", "wide awake". Firdawsī does not mention this epithet unless he alludes to it when he says that *Tahmūrath* saddled (*sin*) Ahriman to serve as a steed for him.

According to the *Avesta*, *Yasht*, 19, 28, *Takhmō* *Urupa* "subdued all the demons and rode Añra-Mainyu whom he transformed into a horse, for 30 years, from one end of the earth to the other" (transl. Darmesteter). The victory of *Tahmūrath* over Ahriman was won on the day *Khurdād* of the month of Farvardīn and this event is celebrated each year by the faithful who should make a special cake for the occasion (according to a Pahlavi treatise in West, *Pahlavi Texts*, iv., p. 314). The Persian *Rivāyat* (Spiegel, *Einleitung*) which gives Mōbad-i Dihlavi as its authority is full of curious details (absent in Firdawsī and elsewhere). Every day *Tahmūrath*, mounted on Ahriman, went three times round the world and three times covered the road from Mt. Alburz to the bridge Činvad. Ahriman felled by mace blows from *Tahmūrath* lived only on the sins of men. By promises of honey and silk garments (on these impure things, cf. Spiegel, *Einleitung*, ii. 153, 158) Ahriman persuaded the wife of *Tahmūrath* to ask her husband if in the course of his rounds he was ever afraid. *Tahmūrath* confessed that he was always afraid that Ahriman might throw himself from the summit of Alburz to the foot. Learning *Tahmūrath*'s weak spot, Ahriman threw him and swallowed him. The angel *Surōsh* announced the disappearance of *Tahmūrath* to *Djamshēd* and tells him what two things delight Ahriman, praises (or song) and sodomy (cf. Marquart in *Handes Amsorya*, Vienna 1916, p. 100). *Djam* played on these passions and when Ahriman prepared to accede to his proposals, *Djam* slipped his hand into his entrails and pulled out his brother's body. Ahriman pursues *Djam* but the latter on the advice

of Surōsh abstains from looking him in the face and Ahri-man thus impotent returns to hell. Djam purifies Tahmūrath and builds an [a]stōdān for him. The hand of Djam which had touched Ahri-man became covered with leprosy. During a dream he learns that his malady can be cured. Hence the institution of the *dukhma* and the use of the *gōmēr*, are connected in the *Rivāyat* with the death of Tahmūrath. The *Mudjīmīl* expressly says that Tahmūrath died a natural death.

The exploits of Tahmūrath also earned him the epithet of *dēvband*, cf. the *Shāhnāma*, the *Mudjīmīl* and the Persian *Rivāyat*. According to the Aogemaidē (*Avesta*, tr. Darmesteter, iii. 165), Tahmūrath made a steed of Ganā-Mainyō, the demon of demons, and extorted from him the 7 kinds of writing. The *Minōkhirad* (tr. West, Ch. xxi. 32) explains that it was the seven alphabets hidden by Ahri-man that were brought to light. Firdawsī does not seem to be aware of the ambiguity of his language, which here suggests the demoniacal origin of the alphabets, while, according to him, they were taught to Tahmūrath by the *dēv* whom he had subdued after their rebellion. Firdawsī speaks of "about 30 alphabets" (*nazdīk-i sī*) but only mentions six by name, the *rūmī*, the *tāzī*, the *pārsī*, the *soghdī*, the *īmī* and the *pahlavī*.

On this tradition there was in time superimposed the legend of the measures taken by Tahmūrath to save the books at the Deluge. As Windischmann has already pointed out, this act of Tahmūrath's connects him with the Babylonian Xisouthros (Berosius, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, ii. 501). Hamza, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 197, says that in 350 (961) there was found at Djai (Isfahān) in the building called Sārwaīh or Sārōya a hoard of 50 bales of skins covered with unknown writings. (Ibn Rusta transcribes the name Sārūk; this is also the name of the citadel of Hamadān, of the capital of Farāhān, of the tributary of the Djaghātu and of the town of Sarūdī near Biredjik). In this connection Hamza under 357 (962) quotes the story of the astronomer Abū Ma'shar (d. 272 = 885), according to which a similar find of manuscripts written on the *tōz* of the white poplar (*khadank*) had previously been made at Sārōya. On this occasion one of the manuscripts written "in old Persian script" could be deciphered. One of the old kings of Persia in it related that 231 years and 300 days before the Deluge, Tahmūrath had known the date of its happening. As a true friend of knowledge and of scholars, he ordered his engineers to find the safest place to erect a building which was called Sārōya. Scientific works of different kinds including astronomical tables were put in it (but the Deluge, cf. al-Birūnī, did not come beyond the frontier of Hulwān).

There are several other traditions connected with Tahmūrath. The reference is very old in the *Bundahish*, ch. xvii. 4, according to which in the time of Tahmūrath "the people regularly passed on the back of the bull Sarsaok from (*Karshvar* [mod. Pers. Kashvar] central) Khvaniras to the other regions". One night in the middle of the sea, the wind blew into the water the sacred fire which had also been placed on the back of Sarsaok, but the fire broke into three parts which shone so brightly that the people were able to cross the sea. This myth is symbolical of the peopling of the 6 *karshvar* of the periphery and of the origin of the three great pyres.

To Tahmūrath (Hamza, p. 29—30) is attributed the building of Babylon, of the citadel (*kuhandiz*) of Marw, of Kardindād (one of the 7 cities of Madā'in; another reading has: Kurdābād; in the *Mudjīmīl al-Tawārikh*: *Girdābād-i buzurgtarīn*), of the two suburbs of Isfahān: Mihrīn (Marbīn?, cf. Ibn al-Fakih, p. 265) and Sārōya (formerly Kūk). According to Tabarī, Tahmūrath founded the town of Sābūr, and Mas'ūdi places there the residence of Tahmūrath. To this list Herbelot's sources add Niniveh and Āmid.

In the *Shāh-nāma*, Tahmūrath is represented as the great initiator in the exploitation of the animal kingdom: from him dates the weaving of wool, the domestication of wild animals, of birds of prey, the rearing of horses and other animals for riding, of watch-dogs and of cocks and hens (cf. also the *Mudjīmīl* and *Tha'alībī*).

Along with Tahmūrath the *Shāh-nāma* mentions his wise and pious minister (*dastūr*) Shēdāsp, whose name looks like a wrong reading for Būdāsp (Boddhisatva, Buddha). Blochet (*Études sur le Gnosticisme*, p. 28) has endeavoured to show from the system of writing Pahlavi the possibility of the substitution of *shēdā*, in place of *būt* in the sense of demon. Tabarī, i. 175 says that in the first year of the reign of Tahmūrath, Būdāsp appeared who preached the doctrine of the Šābi'a [q. v.] and almost all the Muslim historians repeat this (cf. Windischmann and Christensen). Some writers (Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, B. G. A., viii, 90) even suggest that before Zardusht the Persians professed the Sabaeen religion preached by Būdāsp. According to Hamza, Yūdāsp (read Būdāsp) instituted fasting on the occasion of a famine in the time of Tahmūrath. The same writer says that Tahmūrath was tolerant in religious matters and in his reign idolatry had increased. This legend is exactly contrary to what the *Dinkart* (vii. 1, 19) says, that Tahmūrath put down idolatry and caused the worship and adoration of the Creator to increase.

Tahmūrath has no equivalent in Indian mythology. Windischmann and Spiegel have sought to unravel the Indo-European (Iranian?) from the Semitic elements in this complex character. To the former belong the genealogy of Tahmūrath, his struggle with Ahri-man etc. Are the elements dealing with the deluge, the saving of the books etc. Semitic? Windischmann, relying on the second element of the name Tahmūrath (*urupa*), even suspected an animal origin for him (*Tiergestalt*) connecting him with certain Babylonian mythological figures.

An original theory has been advanced by Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 136, 142: he says that it was after the separation of the Iranians from the Indians that Hūshang and Tahmūrath, both keeping traces of the type of the "first man" and the "first king", were inserted in the mythological framework where they took a place before Yim, the Indo-Iranian type of the first man, and after Gayōmard, the pre-anthropropic giant, who became the prototype of the human race. Christensen then proposes to assimilate Hūshang and Tahmūrath to the personages of Scythian legend (Herodotos, iv. 5—7): Targitaos, the first man and his son Arpoxais, "eponym of the Scythian tribe Rpa" (*Arpu > Urupa; Christensen thinks he recognises this element in the toponym of many places in nearer Asia which were the scene of Scythian migrations). Hence the genealogy, Tahmūrath, son of Hūshang,

given by Firdawsi is perhaps in keeping with the tradition, while the three generations introduced between Tāhmūrath and Hushang would only be misreadings of the name Vivanghān.

Later sources rationalised the legend; according to a Pārsi priest (Darmesteter, *Ét. iran.*, ii. 74), the victory of Tāhmūrath over Ahriman simply means his victory "over the impure desires of the flesh". Mirkhond seems to wish to substitute for the revolt of the *dēv*, one of the nobles of the kingdom.

The later evolution of the story of Tāhmūrath in Muslim lands is very curious. According to E. Blochet the mare with a woman's head, al-Burāk, [q. v.], on whom at the *mi'rāj* Muḥammad traversed the world, is derived from Ahriman in the legend of Tāhmūrath. The name of Burāk is, he says, connected with the Persian word *bārā/bārāgi* which are actually used in the *Riwāyat* and Firdawsi. On a Sāsānian vase in Vienna (cf. Arneth, *Monumente d. K. R. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinette in Wien*, 1850, *Die antiken Gold- und Silbermonumente*, pl. vi—vii.) are figures of a man mounted on a monster with a bearded human head having some resemblance to the winged Assyrian bulls. Blochet thinks he recognises in these figures different phases in the exploit of Tāhmūrath. On the other hand, the same scholar has shown how Tāhmūrath, having passed through the avatar of the Muslim *djinn* Samhūras or *Shamhūrash* (metathesis of *h* and *m*?) has come to be confused with the complex figure of St. George. The figure of Samhūras is found in an old manuscript *Dakā'ik al-ḥakā'ik* (Bibl. Nat. Paris, Pers. fonds, N^o 174); in the accompanying text we are told that this spirit is the "great spirit of the atmosphere" and that his residence (*maḥām*) is in the island (sic!) of Ba'albak. He is represented as a warrior fully equipped (*mubāriz*) killing a dragon with a blow from a sword in such a way that the dragon (*āḍahā*) is cut in two while seizing with his teeth the chest of the horse. Wherever two armies meet ready for battle, God orders this spirit to go to the space between them and it is he who gives his aid to the side which God desires to assist".

The name Tāhmūrath, frequent in the modern period among Pārsis, seems to be unknown in Muḥammadan Persia. Since the xvth century it has been very popular among the Christian princes of Georgia (in the form Theimurazi). This curious fate of the name may be explained by the influence of the *Shirwānshāhs* [q. v.] who were related to the Georgians and often bear names from the Iranian epics.

Bibliography: The principal sources mentioning Tāhmūrath are: *Avesta, Yasht*, Chap. 15, 11 and 19, 28, *Afrin-i Zartusht*, § 2; *Bundahish* (West, *Pahlavi texts*, i., Oxford 1880), Chap. 17, 4; 31, 2—3; 34, 4; *Dinā-i Mainōg-i Khradh* (West, *ibid.*, iii., 1885), Chap. 27, 21; *Riwāyat pārsi* on Tāhmūrath is found in Spiegel, *Einleit. in die traditionellen Schriften d. Parsen*, ii., Vienna 1860, p. 158—150 and 317—326 (197 Persian distichs; there is a prose version in a MS. of Munich; cf. Bartholomae, *Cat.*, p. 141); *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i., p. 40—46; ed. Vullers, i., p. 202; Ṭabari, i. 174—175; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, ii. 111; iii. 252; iv. 44, 49; Ḥamza Isfahāni, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 13, 25, 29—30, 197 (transl. p. 9, 17, 20, 151); Birūni, *al-Athār al-bāḥiya*, ed. Sachau, p. 24;

Mudjmil al-Tawārīkh, f. A., 1841, xi. 154, 166⁷ 279, 292, 390, 413; Ṭha'libi, *Ghurur Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs* (before 412), ed. Zotenberg, p. 7—9. For the minor sources cf. Windischmann and Christensen, p. 192—203. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, "réduite et augmentée" ed. of 1783, v., p. 451—456, s. v. Tahamurath, where are quoted the later additions from poems like *Tāhmūrath-nāma* and *Ḳahramān-nāma* [MS. Turkish of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris, N^o 321, 343 and 344; Ḳahramān is the son of Tāhmūrath], cf. Mohl, introd. to his edition of the *Shāh-nāma*, i., p. 74—76: there is no article Tāhmūrath in the original edition of d'Herbelot, Paris 1697, although the *Tāhmūrath-nāma* is quoted there s. v. Malik-al-baḥr à propos of the steed of Siyāmak, son of Kayūmarth. Windischmann, *Zoroastr. Studien*, Berlin 1863: *Takhmō-urupis*, p. 196—212; Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, i., Leipzig 1871, p. 516—522; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, p. 320—321; Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, 1883, ii. 24, 51, 74—75, 178; E. Blochet, *L'ascension au ciel du prophète Mohammed*, R. H. R., 1899, vol. xi., p. 1—25, 203—236; do., *Études sur le gnosticisme musulman*, R. S. O., vol. ii., iii., iv., vi., tirage à part, Rome 1913, p. 1—193, esp. p. 1—17, 28; A. Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, Arch. d'études orient., vol. xiv., Upsala 1918, p. 131—218: Hošang and Taḫmōruw (complete analyse of all the sources). (V. MINORSKY)

TAHRĪF (A.), corruption of a document, whereby the original sense is altered. It may happen in various ways, by direct alteration of the written text, by arbitrary alterations in reading aloud the text which is itself correct, by omitting parts of it or by interpolations or by a wrong exposition of the true sense. The Muslims found occasion to deal with this conception in connection with those passages in the *Kur'ān* where Muḥammad accused the Jews of falsifying the books of revelation given them, i. e. the *Thora*, *ḥarrafū* [cf. *KOR'AN*, vol. ii. 1066a]. This accusation was really the only way of escape for Muḥammad out of a dangerous situation, when he came into closer contact with the Jews in Medina. He had from the beginning appealed to the evidence of the "peoples of a scripture", i. e. the Jews and the Christians, as he was firmly convinced that the contents of the Old and New Testament coincided with what he preached on the basis of his revelations. But his ideas of incidents and laws in the Old Testament contained such misunderstandings that they naturally provoked criticism and ridicule from the Jews and thus he was put in a false position. If his expositions were contradictory to the old revealed scriptures, his claim to have received them by divine revelation was at stake. But as his consciousness of his prophetic inspiration was unassailable, there was only one thing for him to do, namely to declare that the Jews had maliciously corrupted their sacred books while he himself had given their true content. It was a bold assertion but was made easier for him by the fact that these scriptures were sealed books to his followers, while they believed firmly in the truth of his words. In this connection Muḥammad uses the expression *ḥarrafā* (*Sūra* ii. 70; iv. 48; v. 16, 45), more rarely the synonym *lawā* (iii. 72; iv. 48) or *baddala* the meaning of which is

narrower, "to exchange", "to put in the place of something" (ii. 56; vii. 16). How he pictured this alteration to himself is not clear from his words and perhaps he had no very definite idea of it: he was more concerned with the fact itself than with how it was done. There is a direct charge of having falsified the text in Sūra ii. 73: "Woe to them, who write the Scripture with their hands and say: this comes from Allāh." On the other hand in iii. 72 there seems to be a reference to an alteration in the text while it is being read: "A part of them twist their tongue in the scripture so that you think that it is out of the scripture, but it is not out of the scripture; they say: it comes from Allāh, but it does not come from Allāh"; cf. iv. 48: "they twist with their tongue". In other passages he is content with the accusation that the Jews conceal and suppress all sorts of things in their scripture (Sūra ii. 154, 169). This is expressed in a peculiar fashion in vi. 91 where it is said "you make the scripture of Moses into leaves which you read out and suppress much of it"; which can only mean that in his opinion they removed the passages attesting the truth of his mission from the copies which they used in the disputations. He gives in ii. 156; vii. 16 a specimen of their alterations which is unfortunately not clear; he says that they used another word instead of the word *ḥitta* which brought a heavy punishment upon them. The examples quoted in ii. 98; iv. 48 are hardly meant as quotations from scripture. Among the suppressed passages, the scriptures make special mention of the law which punishes incontinence with stoning (Ibn Hishām p. 394 sq.) and the descriptions of Muḥammad as the expected Prophet (*ibid.*, p. 353). Muḥammad naturally extended this charge of *tahrif* to the Christians, of whom he also asserted that they likewise concealed the passages in their holy scriptures which contained evidence of the truth of his mission; cf. the appeal to the "possessors of a scripture" in Sūra ii. 141; iii. 64 and with reference to prophecy of Muḥammad's coming, Ibn Hishām, p. 388, although he probably means that Jesus's refusal of the name God and the doctrine of the Trinity (e.g. v. 116) were based on falsifications of the scripture. His whole attitude was so peculiar that his opponents were able with justice to direct a charge of *tabdīl* against the Prophet's revelations. It is true that in Sūra x. 16 he vigorously defends himself against the charge brought by his opponents that he had substituted another revelation in place of the one given him, but the not rare abrogations of earlier legal prescriptions [cf. *ḲOR'ĀN*] caused him no misgiving and in xvi. 103, Allāh clearly refers to his having occasionally substituted one verse for another, a thing with which his enemies did not forget to reproach the Prophet.

The vague way in which Muḥammad in the *Ḳur'ān* speaks of falsifications of scriptures by the "possessors of a scripture" resulted in the Muḥammadan scholars who gradually became better acquainted with the "Old and New Testaments" and were fond of dealing in their polemical works with the charge of *tahrif*, *tabdīl* and *taghyīr*, coming to hold very divergent views in their opinions of the facts lying at the basis of the charge. Some continued to hold the opinion usual in the early centuries after Muḥammad that the Jews had actually altered the text. A vigorous

champion of this view was the Spanish Arab Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Ḥazm (d. 456 = 1064). Diametrically opposed to this was the view held by others that the texts of the "possessors of a scripture" were intact and that the divergent opinions of Jews and Christians were simply due to erroneous interpretations of the passages concerned. One of the earliest representatives of this view was the Zaidī of the Yemen, al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246 = 860), in his polemical treatise directed against the Christians; among his later followers, special mention may be made of the great historian Ibn Ḳhaldūn. As is usual in such controversies there was also a middle school, for some conceded the actual falsifications of the text by the "peoples of a scripture" but limited them to a minimum. Of these different opinions, the first was decidedly the simplest and most logical, for it was based on the first impression which the words of the *Ḳur'ān* naturally made and had made in the early days of Islām, but it led to rather serious consequences which gradually came to be appreciated. When one had always to deal with the possibility that the texts of the earlier books of revelation had been falsified, they lost considerably in value and indeed the holders of this theory frequently spoke slightly of it and warn against its use. But in this way one came up against a question of apologetics, to which the theologians were devoting themselves with ardour, namely the prophecy of Muḥammad's coming as the Prophet to be expected from the Bible (e.g. Deut., xviii. 15), for this naturally presupposed the authenticity of the passage in question. This factor had such an influence that only a minority took seriously the charge of *tahrif* in its strictest form. But in its milder form it continued to play a principal part in Muslim polemics against Jews and Christians, as may be seen for example from Doughty's statement that in his conversations with Arabs he frequently heard this accusation made (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 298; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 204).

In the disputations between the different Muslim sects the charge of *tahrif* is also made, as the Shī'is have often insisted that in the orthodox *Ḳur'ān* all sorts of things have been omitted or inserted with the object of disposing of or refuting evidence of the truth of their doctrine. The orthodox also naturally reply by making the same charge against the Shī'is.

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxii. 341 sqq., on Steinschneider, *Polemische u. apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. vi., No. 3)*; M. Schreiner, *Z. Gesch. der Polemik zw. Juden u. Muhammedanern, Z. D. M. G.*, xlii. 591 sqq.; Di Matteo, *Tahrif od alterazione della Bibbia secondo il Muselmani, Bessarione, Anno xxvi., vol. xxxviii. 64—111.* — On *tahrif* within Islām cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii., iii. sq.; do., *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 272, 281.

(FR. BUHL)

TAḤṢĪL is the *nomen actionis* of the second formation of the verb *ḥaṣala*, and signifies originally, "collection", "obtaining" or "acquiring". In India the use of the word is restricted to the collection of the revenue, and it is applied, in the United Provinces and Madras to a subdivision of a district (called *ta'alluḳa*, or, cor-

ruptly, *tālūkā*, in the Bombay Presidency) with an area of from 400 to 600 square miles, or less in the United Provinces, forming an administrative and fiscal unit. In size the *taḥṣīl* comes between the *pargana* and the *sarkār* of the Mughul empire, and the official in charge of it is designated *taḥṣīldār* (holder of a *taḥṣīl*) and exercises administrative and, except in Madras, magisterial powers. He is immediately subordinate either to a superior officer in charge of a sub-division comprising two or more *taḥṣīl*'s, or to the District Magistrate and Collector.

Bibliography: The standard lexica; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1909; H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. Wm. Crooke, London 1903. (T. W. HAIG)

TAḤSĪN, MIR MUHAMMAD ḤUSAIN 'ATĀ' KHĀN, with the *takhalluṣ* Taḥsīn, also known by the title Muraṣṣa' Raḳm; an Indian author, as it seems, from Itāwā, son of Mir Bākīr Khān, whose *takhalluṣ* was Shawk. The son of Taḥsīn, named Kāsim 'Alī Khān, was not only an author, but also a musician. The exact dates of Taḥsīn's birth and death cannot be fixed; the date of the completion of his most important work, the *Nawāṭarz-i muraṣṣa'*, is ± 1195 (1780). The author was in the service of General Smith, whom he accompanied from Lakhnaw to Calcutta. Later on, Taḥsīn lived at Patna, then, after his father's death, at Faizābād. His patrons, in the last named place, were successively the Nawwāb Shudjā' al-Dawla († 1189 = 1775) — in whose service he continued the composition of his *Nawāṭarz*, which he seems to have begun at Patna — and the following Nawwāb, Āṣaf al-Dawla (1189—1212 = 1775—1797), under whose reign the work was completed. The author has added, to the preface of the *Nawāṭarz*, a *ḥaṣīda* in honour of Āṣaf al-Dawla. It is said, that the reading of the works of the famous Hindustānī poet Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī Sawdā [† 1195 (1780) at Lakhnaw], induced Taḥsīn to devote himself to in Hindustānī literature also.

Works. (1) *Nawāṭarz-i muraṣṣa'*: a Hindustānī translation, in verse and prose, of a Persian original (named *Kiṣṣa-i ṣāḥar Darwish*). This original is ascribed to Amīr Khusrav, but sometimes also to Andjab or to Muḥammad 'Alī Ma'sūm. The *Nawāṭarz* exhibits an elaborate literary style. This was the reason, why, for didactic purposes, another translation of the *Kiṣṣa-i ṣāḥar Darwish* was begun in 1215 (1801) by Mir Amman of Dihli and completed in 1217 (1803); this translation is the well-known *Bāgh u-Bahār*. Editions of Taḥsīn's *Nawāṭarz* appeared at Bombay (1846), Lakhnaw (1869) and Cawnpore (1874). The *Nawāṭarz* itself has had a literary influence upon another Hindustānī author, 'Azmat Allāh, who, as he himself states in the preface of his romantic work *Kiṣṣa-i rangīn Guṣṭār*, has imitated in that book the style of Taḥsīn's composition. On the other hand, we find in a manuscript of the India Office (N^o. 132 of Blumhardt's 'Catalogue), the Introduction and the tale of the first darwish in Taḥsīn's translation combined with a Hindustānī rendering of the stories resp. of the third darwish and the king Āzādbakht by another literate, Muḥammad Hādī.

(2) Besides the *Nawāṭarz*, Taḥsīn wrote in Persian an English grammar, called *Qawābiṭ-i Angriṣī*, and a work, which seems to be historical, named *Tawāriḳh-i Kāsimī*.

It may be added, that, according to the *Tadhkira* of Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, Taḥsīn was also renowned as a calligrapher. Besides this Taḥsīn, there is also another author of that name, likewise called Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, of whom a cycle of poems in the praise of the prophet, partly in Persian and partly in Hindustānī, was lithographed at Dihli, under the name *Guldasta-i Na't* (1873). There is also a collection of stanzas on Muḥammad, compiled from various sources by one Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān Taḥsīn (the same?), named *Āman-i Madh-i Nabī*, edited at Dihli 1854.

Bibliography: Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindoue et hindoustanie*, 2nd ed., i. 212, 356; iii. 199 etc.; *Grundriss der iran. Phil.*, ii. 324; A. Sprenger, *A Catalogue of the ... manuscripts of the libraries of the King of Oudh*, i. 294; J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of the Hindustani manuscripts of the Library of the India Office* (1926), p. 42—43, 51, 67 etc.; do., *Catalogue of Hindustani printed books in the Library of the British Museum* (1889), p. 231; *Catal. India Office*, II/ii.; J. F. Blumhardt, *Hindustani Books*, p. 124, 146; *Bāgh u-Bahār*, ed. D. Forbes, 6th ed., p. ii. 19.

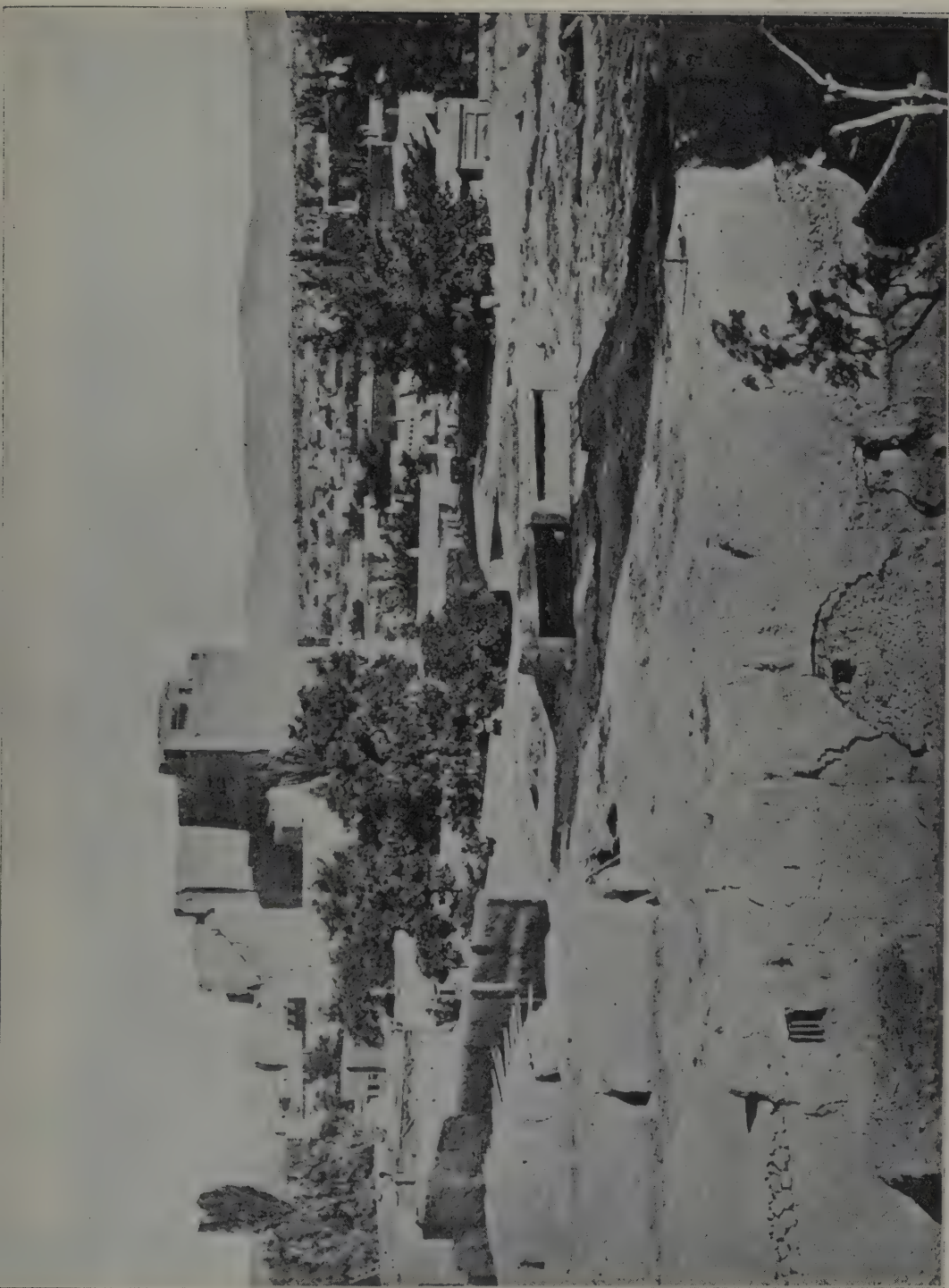
(V. F. BÜCHNER)

AL-ṬĀṬ' LI-AMR ALLĀH (or **LI 'LLĀH**) 'ABD AL-KARīm B. AL-FADL, 'Abbāsīd Caliph, born in 317 (929—930). His father was the caliph al-Muṭṭ' after whose deposition on 13th Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 363 (Aug. 5, 974) he was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful. His mother, who survived him, was called 'Uṭb. As Ibn al-Aṭṭir justly observes (ix. 56), al-Ṭāṭ' during his reign had not sufficient authority to be able to associate himself with any enterprises worthy of mention. He is only mentioned in history, one may safely say, in connection with certificates of appointment to office, letters of condoleance and such like formalities, and his most remarkable feature seems to have been his extraordinary physical strength. The real rulers were at first the Būyids [q. v.] but after the most important of them, 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q. v.] who was the caliph's father-in-law, had died in Shawwāl 372 (March 983) his sons began to quarrel among themselves. In Sha'bān 381 (Oct./Nov. 991) Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.] who was in financial difficulties and could not pay his troops was persuaded by his influential adviser Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Mu'allim to overthrow the caliph and seize his treasure. At an audience at which the Būyid appeared with a large retinue the unsuspecting Ṭāṭ' was torn from his throne by Bahā' al-Dawla's orders and taken to the latter's house where he was kept a prisoner. He was succeeded as caliph by his cousin Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad, who took the name al-Ḳādir [q. v.]. In Rajab 382 (Sept. 992) the ex-caliph was allowed to come to al-Ḳādir's palace. Here he was well treated. He died on 1st Shawwāl 393 (Aug. 3, 1003).

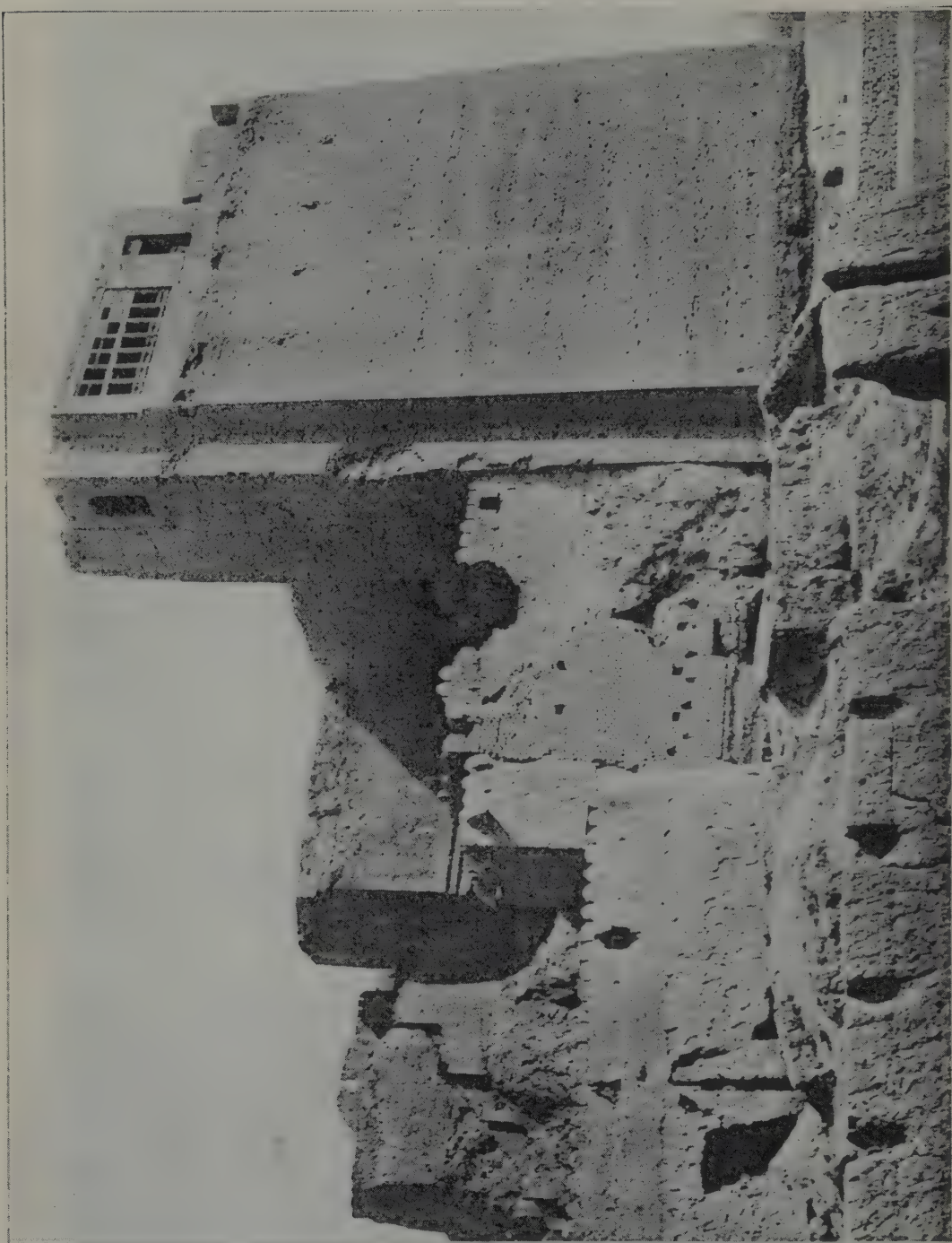
Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubi, *Fawāwī*, ii. 3; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii.—ix., see Index; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 428, 436; Ibn al-Tikṭākā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 391; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 21—44; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*³, p. 582; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasia caliphate*, p. 162, 270, 271.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

TAIBA [See AL-MADINA.]



View of Tabriz from the West.



Tabriz. The ark.

